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The Original Painting by Housman, is in the Poſſeſsion of Mr. Hawes, at Salisbury.

Publiſhed July 1. 1794, by M. Bovi, N.r 207, Piccadilly, London.

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THE

LIVES

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE;—SIR HENRY WOTTON;

MR. RICHARD HOOKER;—MR. GEORGE HERBERT;

AND

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

BY ISAAC WALTON.

WITH

NOTES, and the LIFE of the AUTHOR,

BY THOMAS ZOUCH, D. D. F. L. S.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM.

THESE WERE HONOURABLE MEN IN THEIR GENERATIONS. ECCLES. xliv. 7.

THE SECOND EDITION.

York:

Printed by T. WILSON and R. SPENCE, in High-Ousegate.

SOLD BY T. PAYNE, NO. 88, PALL-MALL, AND J. MAWMAN, POULTRY, LONDON;
AND BY WILSON AND SPENCE, YORK.

1807.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR RICHARD PEPPER ARDEN,

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

SIR,

PERFECTLY ſenſible of that regard which you entertain for the virtuous character, I experience no difficulty in committing to your patronage a new edition of the following pages.—They contain portraits of genuine excellence, finiſhed by no unſkilful artiſt. Charmed from my earlieſt years with their captivating beauties, I ſhall probably be deemed a partial and prejudiced ſpectator. Be this as it may—when I requeſt your permiſsion to inſcribe to you a volume which exhibits a full and adequate repreſentation of perſons eminent for their great and amiable qualities, I am confident of your kind indulgence. I am,

SIR,

with all poſsible reſpect,

your Honour's moſt obliged

and devoted ſervant,

THOMAS ZOUCH.

WYCLIFFE, JAN. 16, 1796.

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PREFACE to the SECOND EDITION.

IT will be neceſsary to obſerve, that a more full and particular account of ſeveral of our Engliſh Divines and other eminent perſons mentioned in this volume might eaſily have been introduced. But ſuch a detail would have far exceeded the bounds of my plan, which was only to interſperſe ſome traits of their characters, ſome ſhort extracts from, or references to their works, ſufficient to incite in the reader a deſire of acquiring a more intimate knowledge of them, by a diligent examination of their writings, or a more enlarged inquiry into their lives.

In compliance with a requeſt made by the late Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, the note relative to his remark on the venerable Richard Hooker is omitted in this edition.

The Editor has been blamed for his attempt to embelliſh this volume with the portraits of thoſe good men whoſe lives are recorded in it. He makes no apology. The ſatisfaction, which is not ſeldom derived to him from contemplating the portraits of excellent men, may be attributed to the deluſions of fancy, or the temerity of groundleſs conjecture. However this may be, he can ſurely incur no great degree of juſt rebuke for indulging himſelf in an harmleſs gratification. He diſcovers, or at leaſt he thinks that he diſcovers in the countenance of Iſaac Walton, a placid and ſerene mind, never ruffled by diſcontent, or diſcompoſed by paſsion. That of Dr. Donne exhibits an acuteneſs, a penetration and promptitude of talent, which peculiarly diſcriminated his character; while in that of Sir Henry Wotton is diſcerned the demeanour of a gentleman adorned with

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urbanity of manners, elegance of taſte, and benignity of diſpoſition. The ever to be revered Hooker preſents the features of an humble, meek, and mild temper. In the lineaments of Mr. George Herbert, piety and benevolence, with an unaffected ſanctity and ſimplicity of heart, are conſpicuous; and Dr. Sanderſon's dignity of aſpect ſuggeſts profound erudition, illuminated wiſdom, and a gravity and ſerioufneſs becoming a Chriſtian Prelate.

———ſic illi oculos, ſic ora ferebant. VIRG.

The authors of a periodical publication *, which was once read with great avidity, have aſſerted, that this biographical work of Iſaac Walton was re-publiſhed with the expreſs intention of miſrepreſenting the conduct of the Diſſenters, and with a view to exalt, at all events, the character of the Church of England. That Church requires no ſuch ſupport. The Editor is not conſcious that he has entertained any other deſign than that of exhibiting the characters of men with truth and candour, and of paying that tribute of applauſe which is due to the modeſt merit of many of our excellent Divines. If remarks are occaſionally made on the temper and behaviour of thoſe who had ſeparated themſelves from the eſtabliſhed Church, he truſts that he has paid the ſtricteſt regard to truth, and that he has neither exaggerated nor extenuated, nor ſet down aught in malice: It is his wiſh to follow the example of Virgil's hero.

Tros Rutulusve fuat, nullo diſcrimine habebo. VIRG.

Many of thoſe gentlemen whoſe aſſiſtance and encouragement he experienced in the firſt impreſſion of this work, are now numbered among the dead: James Boſwell, Eſq. who once formed the deſign of editing theſe Lives; Dr. Richard Farmer, Maſter of Emanuel College, Cambridge; and Dr. William Sheffield, Provoſt of Worceſter College, Oxford, and Keeper of the Aſhmolean Muſeum.

* The Analytical Review, Vol. xxiv. for July 1796, p. 48—50.

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That excellent perſon to whom the firſt edition of this work was inſcribed, died March 19, 1804, aged 59 years. Sir Richard Pepper Arden, Maſter of the Rolls, and one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, was created, May 22, 1801, Baron Alvanley of Alvanley, in the county of Cheſter, and promoted to the office of Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas, which was vacated by the advancement of Lord Eldon to the dignity of Lord High Chancellor. He was formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, having previouſly acquired thoſe academical honours which are conferred upon claſsic and mathematical erudition. His profeſsional learning and talents were univerſally acknowledged. Totally removed from a haughty demeanour, he uniformly endeared himſelf to all who knew him, by the ſuavity of his diſpoſition, and the innocent cheerfulness of his converſation. He diſcharged the relative duties of life with fidelity and honour.

Impreſsed with a ſtrong ſenſe of the intrinſic worth of Chriſtianity, he conformed his life to its precepts, and was himſelf an amiable example of that goodneſs which it enjoins. A true and firm friend to our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, he was a ſerious and conſtant attendant on the ſervices of the Church. From the period of his early years to his demiſe, he was the dear and intimate friend of Mr. William Pitt; of that great and good man, whoſe pre-eminent merit, while it is the admiration of the preſent age, will command the approbation and applauſe of the lateſt poſterity.

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THE LIFE OF

MR. ISAAC WALTON.

I PRESENT not to the reader a hiſtory of a wiſe ſtateſman, an adventurous ſoldier, or a profound philoſopher. Yet I truſt, that he will experience no ſmall degree of ſatisfaction from contemplating the virtues of a private citizen; who, though he arrogates not to himſelf the ſplendour of high deſcent, or the pride of ſuperfluous wealth, deſerves our approbation and regard. Iſaac, or as he uſually wrote his name, Izaac Walton, adorned with a guileleſs ſimplicity of manners, claims from every good man the tribute of applauſe. It was his ambition (and ſurely a more honourable ambition cannot be excited in the human breaſt) to commend to the reverence of poſterity the merits of thoſe excellent perſons, whoſe vaſtly comprehenſive learning and exalted piety will ever endear them to our memories.

The important end of hiſtorical knowledge is a prudent application of it to ourſelves, with a view to regulate and amend our own conduct. As the examples of men ſtrictly and faithfully diſcharging their profeſsional duties muſt obviouſly tend to invigorate our efforts to excel in moral worth, the virtuous characters, which are ſo happily delineated in the following pages, cannot fail, if conſidered with ſerious attention, of producing the moſt beneficial and laſting impreſsions on the mind.

The Life of the Author of this biographical collection was little diverſified with events. He was born of a reſpectable family, on the ninth day of Auguſt, 1593, in the pariſh of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford[a]. Of his father no particular tradition is extant. From his mother he derived an hereditary attachment to the Proteſtant religion, as profeſsed in the Church of England. She was the daughter of Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury, ſiſter to Mr. George Cranmer the pupil and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and niece to that firſt and brighteſt ornament of the Reformation, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. No veſtiges of the place or manner of his education have been diſcovered: Nor have we any authentic information concerning his firſt engagements

[a] "September 1593. Baptiz. fuit Iſaac filius Jervis Walton, XX° die menſis "et anni prædict." *(Register of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford.)*

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in a mercantile life. It has indeed been ſuggeſted, that he was one of thoſe induſtrious young men, whom the munificence of Sir Thomas Greſham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, had placed in the ſhops, which were erected in the upper building of his celebrated Burſe[b]. However this may be, he ſoon improved his fortune by his honeſty, his frugality, and his diligence. His occupation, according to the tradition ſtill preſerved in his family, was that of a wholeſale linen-draper, or Hamburgh merchant[c].

Walton was ſettled at London before the year 1643. The writers of "The Life of Milton" have with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, regularly marked out the different houſes ſucceſsively inhabited by the poet, "as if it was an injury to neglect any place, that he honoured by his preſence." The various parts of London, in which Iſaac Walton reſided, have been recorded with the ſame preciſion. It is ſufficient to intimate, that he was for ſome years an inhabitant of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt. With Dr. John Donne, then Vicar of that pariſh, of whoſe ſermons he was a conſtant hearer, he contracted a friendſhip, which remained uninterrupted to the period of their ſeparation by death. This his pariſhioner attended him in his laſt ſickneſs, and was preſent at the time that he conſigned his ſermons and numerous papers to the care of Dr. Henry King, who was promoted to the See of Chicheſter in 1641.

He married Anne, the daughter of Thomas Ken, Eſq. of Furnival's Inn; a gentleman, whoſe family, of an ancient extraction, was united by alliance with ſeveral noble houſes, and had poſſeſsed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the Kens of Ken-Place, in Somerſetſhire. She was the ſiſter of Thomas Ken, afterwards the deprived Biſhop of Bath and Wells. If there be a name to which I have been accuſtomed from my earlieſt youth to look up with reverential awe, it is that of this amiable Prelate. The primitive innocence of his life, the ſuavity of his diſpoſition, his taſte for poetry and muſic, his acquirements as a polite ſcholar, his eloquence in the pulpit, for he was pronounced by James II. to be the firſt preacher among the Proteſtant Divines—Theſe endearing qualities enſure to him our eſteem and affection. But what principally commands our veneration is that invincible inflexibility of temper, which rendered him ſuperior to every ſecular conſideration. When from a ſtrict adherence to the dictates of conſcience he found himſelf reduced to a private ſtation, he dignified that ſtation by the magnanimity of his demeanour, by a humble and ſerene patience, by an ardent, but unaffected piety.

In 1643, Mr. Walton, having declined buſineſs, retired to a ſmall eſtate in Staffordſhire, not far from the town of Stafford. His loyalty made him obnoxious to the ruling powers; and we are aſsured by himſelf, that he was a ſufferer during the time of the civil wars[d].

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[b] "Sir John Hawkins's Life of Walton," p. xiii.——The economy obſerved in the conſtruction of the ſhops over the Burſe ſcarce allowed him to have elbow-room. They were but ſeven feet and a half long, and five wide.—*(See Ward's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, p.* 12.)

[c] According to Anthony Wood, he followed the trade of a ſempſter. *(Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col.* 305. *See also Sir John Hawkins's Life of Walton, p.* xiii. xv.)

[d] See "Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderſon."

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In 1643 the Covenanters came back into England, marching with the Covenant gloriouſly upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto, "FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS." "This," he adds, "I ſaw, and ſuffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruine of families, the bloodſhed, the decay of common honeſty, and how the former piety and plain dealing of this now ſinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning; when I conſider this, I praiſe God, that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and thoſe ſad confuſions that have followed it." He perſevered in the moſt inviolable attachment to the royal cauſe. In many of his writings he pathetically laments the afflictions of his Sovereign, and the wretched condition of his beloved country involved in all the miſeries of inteſtine diſſentions. The incident of his being inſtrumental in preſerving the leſſer George, which belonged to Charles II. is related in "Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter[c]."

We may now apply to him what has been ſaid of Mr. Cowley; "ſome few friends, a book, a cheerful heart, and innocent conſcience were his companions." In this ſcene of rural privacy he was not unfrequently indulged with the company of learned and good men. Here, as in a ſafe and peaceful aſylum, they met with the moſt cordial and grateful reception. And we are informed by the Oxford Antiquary, that, whenever he went from home, he reſorted principally to the houſes of the eminent clergymen of the Church of England, of whom he was much beloved. To a man deſirous of dilating his intellectual improvements, no converſation could be more agreeable, than that of thoſe Divines, who were known to have diſtinguiſhed him with their perſonal regard.

The Roman Poet, of whom it has been remarked that he made the happieſt union of the courtier and the ſcholar, was of plebeian origin. Yet ſuch was the attraction of his manners and deportment, that he claſsed among his friends the firſt and moſt illuſtrious of his contemporaries, Plotius and Varus, Pollio and Fuſcus, the Viſci and the Meſſalæ. Nor was Iſaac Walton leſs fortunate in his ſocial connexions. The times in which he lived were times of gloomy ſuſpicion, of danger and diſtreſs, when a ſevere ſcrutiny into the public and private behaviour of men eſtabliſhed a rigid diſcrimination of character. He muſt therefore be allowed to have poſſeſſed a peculiar excellency of diſpoſition, who conciliated to himſelf an habitual intimacy with Uſher the Apoſtolical Primate of Ireland, with Archbiſhop Sheldon, with Morton, Biſhop of Durham, Pearſon of Cheſter, and Sanderſon of Lincoln, with the ever memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton, and the judicious Mr. Chilling-

[c] The account is alſo preſerved, by tradition, in the family. "Col. Blague remained at Mr. Barlow's houſe at Blore-Pipe, in Staffordſhire, where, with Mr. Barlow's privity and advice, he hid his Majeſty's George under a heap of duſt and chips, whence it was conveyed through the truſty hands of Mr. Robert Milward of Stafford, to Mr. Iſaac Walton, who conveyed it to London, to Col. Blague, then in the Tower; whence eſcaping not long after, he carried it with him beyond ſeas, and reſtored it to his Majeſty's own hands." *(Plot's Hiſt. of Staffordſhire, Ch. VIII. Sect. 77. See alſo Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, p. 228.)*

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worth; in short, with those who were most celebrated for their piety and learning. Nor could he be deficient in urbanity of manners or elegance of taste, who was the companion of Sir Henry Wotton, the most accomplished gentleman of his age[f]. The singular circumspection which he observed in the choice of his acquaintance, has not escaped the notice of Mr. Cotton. "My Father Walton," says he, "will be seen twice in no man's company he does not like; and likes none but such as he believes to be very honest men; which is one of the best arguments, or at least of the best testimonies I have, that I either am, or that he thinks me one of those, seeing I have not yet found him weary of me[§]."

Before his retirement into the country, he published "The Life of Dr. Donne." It was originally appended to "LXXX Sermons, preached by that learned and reverend Divine, John Donne, Dr. in Divinity, late Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London, 1640." He had been solicited by Sir Henry Wotton, to supply him with materials for writing that Life. Sir Henry dying in 1639, before he had made any progress in the work, Isaac Walton engaged in it. This, his first essay in biography, was by more accurate revisals corrected, and considerably enlarged in subsequent editions. Donne has been principally commended as a poet;—Walton, who, as it has been already remarked, was a constant hearer of his sermons, makes him known to us as a preacher, eloquent, animated, affecting. His poems, like the sky bespangled

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[f] "My next and last example shall be that undervaluer of money, the late Provost of Eton College, Sir Henry Wotton, a man with whom I have often fished and conversed; a man whom foreign employments in the service of this nation, and whose experience, learning, wit, and cheerfulness, made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind."—(*Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. I.*)

In Sir Henry Wotton's verses, written by him as he sate fishing on the bank of a river, he probably alludes to Walton himself, who often accompanied him in his innocent amusement:

"There stood my friend with patient skill,
Attending of his trembling quill."

That this amiable and excellent person set a high value on the conversation of his humble friend appears from the following letter:

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"Since I last saw you, I have been confined to my chamber by a quotidian "feaver, I thank God of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as "I thought, but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a surcrew of "those splenetick vapours, that are called Hypocondriacal; of which most say the "cure is good company, and I desire no better physician than yourself. I have "in one of the fits endeavoured to make it more easie by composing a short "*hymn*; and since I have apparelled my best thoughts so lightly as in verse, I "hope I shall be pardoned a second vanity, if I communicated it with such a "friend as yourself; to whom I wish a cheerful spirit, and a thankful heart to "value it, as one of the greatest blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I "leave you, remaining

"Your poor friend to serve you,
"H. WOTTON."

(*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 361. 4th edit.*——*See the Hymn mentioned in this Letter, in Walton's Life of Dr. Donne.*)

[§] Complete Angler, P. II. Ch. I.

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with small stars, are occasionally interspersed with the ornaments of fine imagery. They must however be pronounced generally devoid of harmony of numbers, or beauty of versification. Involved in the language of metaphysical obscurity [h], they cannot be read but with fastidiousness: They abound in false thoughts, affected phrases, and unnatural conceits [i]. His sermons, though not without that pedantry which debases the writings of almost all the Divines of those times, are often written with energy, elegance, and copiousness of style. Yet it must be confessed, that all the wit and eloquence of the author have been unable to secure them from neglect.

An instance of filial gratitude and affection occurs in a letter from Mr. John Donne, junior, to Mr. Isaac Walton, thanking him for writing his father the Dean's Life.

"SIR,

"I send this book rather to witness my debt, than to make any "payment. For it would be incivil in me to offer any satisfaction "for that that all my father's friends, and indeed all good men, are "so equally engaged. Courtesies that are done to the dead being "examples of so much piety, that they cannot have their reward "in this life, because lasting as long, and still (by awaking the like "charity in others) propagating the debt they must expect a retri-"bution from him, who gave the first inclination.

"2. And by this circle, Sir, I have set you in my place, and in-"stead of making you a payment, I have made you a debtor; but "'tis to Almighty God, to whom I know you will be so willingly "committed, that I may safely take leave to write myself,

"Your thankful servant,

JO. DONNE."

From my house in Covent-Garden, 24°. June, 1640.

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[h] Dr. Donne affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign, and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts and entertain them with the softnesses of love. In this, if I may be pardoned for so bold a truth, Mr. Cowley has copied him to a fault, so great a one in my opinion that it throws his "Mistress" infinitely below his Pindariques and his latter compositions, which are undoubtedly the best of his poems, and the most correct. —(*Mr. Dryden's Dedication prefixed to the Translation of Juvenal and Persius.*)

[i] Mr. Pope has classed the English Poets by their school. First, School of Provence. Second, School of Chaucer. Third, School of Petrarch. Fourth, School of Dante. Fifth, School of Spenser. Sixth, School of Donne. In the latter School he has very injudiciously placed Michael Drayton, who wrote before Donne, and not in the least in his manner.—"Dr. Donne's (poetical) writings are "like a voluntary or prelude, in which a man is not tied to any particular design "of air, but may change his key or mood at pleasure; so his compositions seem "to have been written without any particular scope." (*Butler's Remains, Vol. II. p. 498.*)

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It is difficult to diſcover what correſpondence ſubſiſted between our biographer and the writer of the preceding letter, who, having been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Laws in the Univerſity of Padua, was incorporated in that degree at Oxford in 1638 [k]. In a Will which was printed in 1662, Dr. John Donne, junior, bequeathed all his father's writings, with his "Common Place Book," to Iſaac Walton, for the uſe of his ſon, if he ſhould be brought up a ſcholar. That he was a Clergyman, and had ſome preferment in the dioceſe of Peterborough, we learn from a letter written to him by Dr. John Towers, Biſhop of Peterborough, his dioceſan; wherein his Lordſhip thanks him for the firſt volume of his father's ſermons, telling him that his pariſhioners may pardon his ſilence to them for a while, ſince by it he hath preached to them and to their children's children, and to all our Engliſh pariſhes, for ever. Anthony Wood, although he deſcribes him as a man of ſenſe and parts, is unfavourable to his memory. He repreſents him as no better than "an atheiſtical buffoon, a banterer, and a perſon of over-free thoughts, yet valued by Charles II." With a ſarcaſm not unuſual to him, he informs his reader, that Dr. Walter Pope "leads an epicurean and heatheniſh life, much like to that of Dr. Donne, the ſon." Biſhop Kennet, in his "Regiſter," p. 318, calling him by miſtake, Dr. John Downe, names him as the editor of "A Collection of Letters made by Sir Toby Matthews, Knight," with a character of the moſt excellent Lady, Lucy Counteſs of Carliſle, by the ſame author; to which are added ſeveral letters of his own to ſeveral perſons of honour, who were contemporary with him, London, 1660, 8vo. I cannot but obſerve that he neither conſulted the reputation of his father, nor the public good, when he cauſed the "Biathanatos" to be printed. If he was determined, at all events, to diſregard the injunctions of parental authority, would it not have been more expedient to have committed the manuſcript to the flames, rather than to have encountered the hazard of diffuſing certain novel opinions, from which no good conſequences could poſsibly ariſe? For though thoſe effects did not actually follow, which are mentioned by an induſtrious foreign writer [l], who tells us that on the firſt publication of this work, many perſons laid violent hands on themſelves; yet the moſt remote probability of danger accruing from it ſhould have induced him entirely to have ſuppreſsed it. But to return from this digreſsion.

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k He died in 1682, and was buried in the Churchyard of St. Paul, in Covent-Garden.

l The following account of Dr. Donne is given in "Morhoff's Polyhiſtor," L. VI. C. IV. § xviii. "Inter quos numerandum puto JOHANNEM DONNE, "Eccleſiæ S. Pauli apud Londinenſes Decanum. Ingenioſiſsimum fuiſse *Poemata* "ejus *juvenilia* oſtendunt Londini A. 1633 in 4 edita, quæ anno ætatis 18 ſcripſit, "plena argutiſsimorum conceptuum: Quorum aliquot in Linguam Belgicam ver- "tit Conſtantius Huyonius à Carolo ſecundo Rege ſollicitatus, qui inimitabilem "Germanis et Belgis hujus viri ſtylum putabat. *Sermones* verò *ſacros* elegantiſ- "ſimos et multos, et in varios S. Scripturæ textus emiſit Londini, diverſis annis. "Scripſit et *Meditationes* ſuper morbo ſuo *ſacras*, quæ in Linguam Belgicum con- "verſæ et Amſtelodami 1655, in 12 editæ ſunt. Scripſit et Librum, quem à tali "Viro ſcribi potuiſſe planè mirere, quippe qui *αὐτοχείρια*, certis in caſibus, "licitam

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The narrative of the vision in this Life of Dr. Donne hath subjected the author to some severe animadversions. Let it however be remembered, that he probably related the matter with cautious and discreet fidelity, as it was really represented to him. The account is not inserted in the earlier editions of Dr. Donne's Life. Hence we may presume that the strictest and most severe inquiry was made before its introduction. Plutarch is not esteemed a credulous writer: Yet he has given a full and circumstantial history of the appearances that presented themselves to Dion and to Brutus. And in modern times, Dr. Doddridge, a most sedulous examiner of facts, and of all men the least liable to credulity and weakness of understanding, published a relation of an extraordinary vision. Let it be remarked that, according to the opinion of a medical writer of great eminence, a discriminating symptom of human insanity is "the rising up in the mind of images not distinguishable by the patient from impressions upon the senses."—To a momentary delusion originating from some bodily disorder we may safely attribute the visions or false perceptions, of which many authentic descriptions have been transmitted to us; and we may easily suppose that Dr. Donne, separated from his beloved wife and family, whom he had left in a very distressful situation, must have suffered the most poignant anxiety of mind, and of course much indisposition of body[m].

When the first years of man have been devoted to "the diligence of trades and noiseful gain," we have no reason to hope that his mind will be replenished by study, or enriched with literature. In the *lucrative*, as well as in the *political* life, men are tempted to assume some of those habits or dispositions, which are not entirely consistent with the principles of justice or honour. An eagerness to amass wealth, not seldom extinguishes every other affection. But it was not thus with Isaac Walton. Firm and uncorrupted in his integrity, he no sooner bade farewell to his commercial concerns, then he gave the most convincing proofs of his attention to the most laudable pursuits. He had already written the life of one friend. He now undertook to exhibit a testimony of respect to the memory of another. In 1651, he was the editor of "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of sundry Personages, and other incomparable Pieces of Language and Art, by the curious Pencil of the ever-memorable Sir Henry

"liciam quoque esse affirmaret: Titulus, Βιαθανατος: *That self-murder is not so* "*naturally a sin, that it may never be otherwise:* Editus verò liber demum post mor- "tem Auctoris est: Atque, ut aiunt, ipso etiam, dum viveret, ejus editionem "ferò deprecante prohibenteque, Londini 1648, in 4to. At mox, cùm prodiisset, "adeo se multis hominibus probavit, ut haud pauci ejus Lectione ad mortem vo- "luntariam adacti memorentur: Recusus certè iterum Londini est. 1644. Et "haud dubiè dedit occasionem scribendo alii Libro, nescio cujus Anonymi, qui "pernicioſissimam opinionem ex animis hominum evellere haud abs Re tentabat." *Pellicanicidium, or. the Christian Adviser against Self-murder: Together with a Guide, and the Pilgrim's Pass to the Land of the Living*, Lond. 1653, in 8vo.

m See "Plin. Epist." L. VII. Epist. 27. "Biographia Britannica" in the articles BEN JONSON, ANDREW MARVEL. See also "Lord Clarendon's Hist. of "the Rebellion," Vol. I. p. 42.

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Wotton, Knt. late Provoſt of Eaton College." This collection is dedicated "to Lady Mary Wotton, relict of the laſt Lord Wotton, and to her three noble daughters." Theſe ladies communicated to him many original letters, written by their illuſtrious relation. After the dedication follows "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton." In the ſucceeding editions, the volume is inſcribed to the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Stanhope of Shelford, and great nephew to Sir Henry Wotton[n]. This nobleman accompanying his mother, the Lady Catharine Stanhope, into Holland, where ſhe attended the Princeſs of Orange, daughter to Charles I. had his education along with William, Prince of Orange, afterwards advanced to the throne of England, and became very ſerviceable in promoting the reſtoration of the Royal Family. He loved the memory, and imitated the virtues of his generous uncle. By a life of ſtrict temperance he attained to a great age. He died, January 28, 1713[o]. It is proper to obſerve that a later edition of the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," namely that of 1685, is enriched with Sir Henry Wotton's Letters to Lord Zouch, who was eminent among his contemporaries as an able ſtateſman and an accompliſhed ſcholar.

"The Church Hiſtory of Great Britain," compiled by Dr. Thomas Fuller, whoſe writings, though far from being without blemiſh, are of inestimable value, was firſt publiſhed in 1655. A converſation ſeaſoned with much pleaſantneſs and innocent jocularity, is ſaid to have paſsed between the author and his ever cheerful and friendly acquaintance, Mr. Iſaac Walton, upon the general character of this Work. Walton having paid him a viſit, it was aſked by Fuller, who knew how intimate he was with ſeveral of the Biſhops and ancient Clergy, firſt, What he thought of the Hiſtory himſelf, and, then, what reception it had met with among them. Walton anſwered, that he thought "it ſhould be acceptable to all tempers; "becauſe there were *ſhades* in it for the warm, and *ſun-ſhine* for "thoſe of a cold conſtitution; that with *youthful readers* the facetious parts would be profitable to make the ſerious more palatable; while ſome reverend *old readers* might fancy themſelves "in his Hiſtory of the Church, as in a flower garden, or one full of "evergreens."—"And why not," ſaid Fuller, "the *Church History* "ſo decked as well as *the Church* itſelf at a moſt *holy ſeaſon*, or the "*tabernacle* of old at the *Feaſt of Boughs*?"—"That was but for a "ſeaſon," ſaid Walton; "in your *Feaſt of Boughs*, they may conceive, we are ſo overſhadow'd throughout, that the parſon is more

[n] The mother of this Lord Cheſterfield was Catharine the eldeſt daughter of Thomas Lord Wotton, and relict of Henry Lord Stanhope, who died before his father the Earl of Cheſterfield. She had been governeſs to Mary Princeſs of Orange, and after the Reſtoration was made Counteſs of Cheſterfield. See "Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting," Vol. II. p. 113.

[o] A contemporary writer has thus delineated the characters of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton——"To ſpeak it in a word, the Trojan Horſe was not "fuller of heroic Grecians, than King James's reign was full of men excellent in "all kinds of learning. And here I deſire the reader's leave to remember two of "my own old acquaintance: the one was Mr. John Donne, who, leaving Oxford, "lived at the Inns of Court, not diſſolute, but very neat, a great viſitor of ladies, "a great

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"seen than his congregation, and this sometimes invisible to its old "acquaintance, who may wander in the search, till they are lost in "the labyrinth." "Oh!" says Fuller, "the very *Children* of our *Israel* "may find their way out of this *wilderness*." "True," returned Walton, "as indeed they have here such a Moses to conduct them[p]."

His next work was "The Life of Mr. Richard Hooker[q]," which first appeared in 1662. It was composed at the earnest request of Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London; and with the express purpose of correcting some errors committed by Dr. Gauden, from mere inadvertency and haste, in his account of "*that immortal* "*man*," as he has been emphatically styled, "*who spoke no language* "*but that of truth dictated by conscience.*" Gauden seems to have been extremely deficient in his information, and, dying soon afterwards, had no opportunity of reviving and amending his very imperfect and inaccurate memoir. This was followed by "The Life of Mr. George Herbert," usually called "the Divine Herbert[r]," in 1670. In 1678, he concluded his biographical labours with "The Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson." Previous to the publication of this last work he received the following interesting letter from Dr. Thomas Barlow, then Bishop of Lincoln, who had been for many years the intimate friend of Dr.

"a great writer of conceited verses, until such time as King James, taking notice "of the pregnancy of his wit, was a means that he took him to the study of Di-"vinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor was made Dean of St. Paul's, and be-"came so rare a preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired "by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wotton (mine old acquaintance "also, as having been fellow pupils and chamber-fellows in Oxford divers years "together). This gentleman was employed by King James in embassage to "Venice; and indeed the kingdom afforded not a fitter man for matching the "capaciousness of the Italian wits: A man of so able dexterity with his pen, "that he hath done himself much wrong, and the kingdom more, in leaving no "more of his writings behind him."

(*Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England*, London, 1684.)

[p] See "Biogr. Brit." p. 2061. [P]

[q] Sir John Hawkins, in his "Life of Mr. Isaac Walton," inadvertently observes, that Mr. Hooker was personally known to his biographer. The former died in 1600; the latter was then only seven years of age, being born in 1593.

[r] The following letter is transcribed from a MS. in the library bequeathed to the Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Dr. Tomlinson, formerly Rector of Wickham, in the county of Durham.

"Sir,

"You see I have not forgot my promise to you: Here are your two books: If "you have never read the preface to your beloved 'A Kempis,' I fancy, it will "please you well; and, if it do, send up one tender thought for him; who con-"veys it to your hand. *The Life of good Mr. Herbert is full of discoveries of a* "*sweet composed, harmonious mind, that it will not be ungrateful neither:* One hour "with such entertainment is better than a life of long enjoyment of the pleasures "of the Louvre. It is Sunday morning, and I am hasting to prayers. So give "me leave to beg a share in your prayers for myself, for your servant my wife, "and for the babies,

"I am, with all fincerity,

Dr. d. 12 June "Sir, your affectionate servant,

81 "PERTH."

"For Mr. James Aird, from his affec. servant, PERTH."

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Sanderſon during his reſidence at Oxford, and after his retirement into the country.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. WALTON,

"I am heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the Life "of that excellent perſon, and, both for learning and piety, emi- "nent Prelate, Dr. Sanderſon, late Biſhop of Lincoln; becauſe I "know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: And "ſure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned Pre- "late will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the "imitation of poſterity. In order to the carrying on your intended "good work, you deſire my aſſiſtance, that I would communicate "to you ſuch particular paſſages of his life, as were certainly "known to me. I confeſs I had the happineſs to be particularly "known to him for about the ſpace of twenty years; and, in Oxon, "to enjoy his converſation, and his learned and pious inſtructions "while he was Regius Profeſſor of Divinity there. Afterwards, "when (in the time of our late unhappy confuſions) he left Oxon, "and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters; "wherein, with great candour and kindneſs, he anſwered thoſe "doubts I propoſed, and gave me that ſatisfaction, which I neither "had, nor expected from ſome others of greater confidence, but leſs "judgment and humility. Having in a letter named two or three "books writ *(ex profeſſo)* againſt the being of any original ſin; "and that Adam, by his fall, tranſmitted ſome calamity only, but "no crime to his poſterity; the good old man was exceedingly "troubled, and bewailed the miſery of thoſe licentious times, and "ſeemed to wonder (ſave that the times were ſuch) that any "ſhould write, or be permitted to publiſh any error ſo contradic- "tory to truth, and the doctrine of the Church of England, eſta- "bliſhed (as he truly ſaid) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the "juſt and ſupreme power of this nation, both ſacred and civil. I "name not the books, nor their authors, which are not unknown "to learned men (and I wiſh they had never been known), be- "cauſe both the doctrine, and the unadviſed abettors of it are, and "ſhall be, to me apocryphal[s].

"Another little ſtory I muſt not paſs in ſilence, being an argu- "ment of Dr. Sanderſon's piety, great ability, and judgment, as "a caſuiſt. Diſcourſing with an honourable perſon[t] (whoſe piety "I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be "great), about a caſe of conſcience concerning oaths and vows, "their nature and obligation; in which, for ſome particular rea- "ſons, he then deſired more fully to be informed; I commended to "him Dr. Sanderſon's book 'De Juramento;' which having read, "with great ſatisfaction, he aſked me,—'If I thought the Doctor

[s] The writer principally alluded to in this part of the Letter, was the excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor, appointed Biſhop of Down and Conner, in Ireland, in 1660, and of Dromore in 1661.

[t] ROBERT BOYLE, Eſq.

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" 'could be induced to write Cases of Conscience, if he might " 'have an honorary pension allowed him, to furnish him with " 'books for that purpose?' I told him, 'I believed he would:' " And, in a letter to the Doctor, told him what great satisfaction " that honourable person, and many more, had reaped by reading " his book 'De Juramento; and asked him, 'whether he would " 'be pleased, for the benefit of the Church, to write some tract " 'of Cases of Conscience?' He replied, 'That he was glad that " 'any had received any benefit by his books:' and added further, " 'That if any future tract of his could bring such benefit to any, " 'as we seemed to say his former had done, he would willingly, " 'though without any pension, set about that work.' Having re- " ceived this answer, that honourable person, before mentioned, " did, by my hands, return 50l. to the good Doctor, whose condi- " tion then (as most good men's at that time were) was but low; " and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent " book, 'De Conscientiâ:' A book little in bulk, but not so if we " consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it. For " there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, " the nature and obligation of it explained, and proved with such " firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he who reads, re- " members, and can with prudence pertinently apply them *hîc et* " *nunc* to particular cases, may, by their light and help, rationally " resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. " Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in pro- " moting, and the piety and industry of the good Doctor, in per- " forming that excellent work.

" And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious " Prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. " When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the schools " as Regius Professor of Divinity, and by the truth of his positions, " and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction " to all his hearers, especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult " cases which occurred in the explication of the subject matter of " his lectures; a person of quality (yet alive) privately asked him, " 'What course a young Divine should take in his studies to en- " 'able him to be a good casuist?' His answer was, 'That a conve- " 'nient understanding of the learned languages, at least of He- " 'brew, Greek, and Latin, and a sufficient knowledge of arts and " 'sciences pre-supposed: There were two things in human litera- " 'ture, a comprehension of which would be of very great use, to " 'enable a man to be a rational and able casuist, which otherwise " 'was very difficult, if not impossible: 1. A convenient know- " 'ledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of it which " 'treats of the nature of human actions: To know, *quid sit actus* " *'humanus (spontaneus, invitus, mixtus), unde habet bonitatem et ma-* " *'litiam moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?* " 'How the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil " 'of human actions? How far knowledge and ignorance may ag- " 'gravate or excuse, increase or diminish the goodness or evil of " 'our actions? For every case of conscience being only this—

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'*Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?*—He 'who, in these, knows not how and whence human actions be-'come morally good and evil, never can (in hypothesi) rationally 'and certainly determine, whether this or that particular action 'be so.——2. The second thing, which,' he said, 'would be a 'great help and advantage to a casuist, was a convenient know-'ledge of the nature and obligation of laws in general: to know 'what a law is; what a natural and positive law; what's re-'quired to the *latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis;* 'what promulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of 'any positive law; what ignorance takes off the obligation of a 'law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression: 'For every case of conscience being only this—*Is this lawful for 'me, or is it not?* and the law the only rule and measure by which 'I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action; it 'evidently follows, that he, who, in these, knows not the nature 'and obligation of laws, never can be a good casuist, or rationally 'assure himself, or others, of the lawfulness of actions in par-'ticular.'

"This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and "pious Prelate: And having, by long experience, found the truth "and benefit of it, I conceive, I could not without ingratitude to "him, and want of charity to others, conceal it.—Pray pardon this "rude, and, I fear, impertinent scribble, which, if nothing else, "may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, "and am indeed,

"Your affectionate friend,

"THOMAS LINCOLN."

LONDON, May 10, 1678.

Among the literary characters of the sixteenth century, none appears with more transcendent lustre than that of Sir Henry Savile, a magnificent patron of merit, and a complete gentleman. He seems to have traversed the whole range of science, being equally celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern learning. The life of this illustrious scholar would be a valuable acquisition to the Republic of Letters. That it was actually compiled by Mr. Isaac Walton, we have every reason to conclude. Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, in his letter to him, dated Nov. 17, 1664, tells him, that "he has done much for Sir Henry Savile, the contemporary and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker." It is seriously to be regretted, that the most diligent inquiry after this work has hitherto proved unsuccessful[u].

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[u] The following particulars, relative to Sir Henry Savile are collected from Mr. Aubrey's "Lives of Mathematical Writers." He was as learned a gentleman as any of his time. Mr. Hobbes informed Mr. Aubrey, that Sir Henry Savile

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Among those whom Sir Henry Savile honoured with his friendship was Mr. John Hales of Eton. Mr. Anthony Farringdon, an eminent preacher, and a man of extensive learning and exemplary piety, had collected materials with a view to write the life of this incomparable person. On his demise, his papers were consigned to the care of Mr. Isaac Walton, by Mr. William Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who had proposed to finish the work, and on that occasion had applied for the assistance of our biographer. The result of this application is not known. "Fulman's Collection of Manuscripts," written with his own hand, was deposited in the archives of the library of his College, and Wood laments that he was refused access to them. It is unnecessary to add, that "The Life of Mr. Hales," by Mr. Dez-maizeaux, was published in 1716.

Angling had been long a favourite diversion in England. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, was a lover of, and most experienced proficient in this delightful art. It was his custom, besides his fixed hours of private and public prayer, to spend a tenth part of his time in this amusement, and also to bestow a tenth part of his revenue, and usually all his fish among the poor, saying, that

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vile was ambitious of being thought as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger. But if in the attainments of classic literature he was inferior to Scaliger, in mathematical knowledge Dr. Wallis declared him to be exceeded by none of his contemporaries. He was a very handsome and beautiful man: No Lady had a fairer complexion. Queen Elizabeth, to whom he explained Greek authors and politics, favoured him much. He was preferred by her to be Master of Eton College, of which he was so severe a governor, that the scholars hated him for his austerity. To men of wit he gave no encouragement. When a young scholar was named to him as a good wit, he would reject him, and choose the plodding student. John Earle, afterwards Bishop of Sarum, being recommended to him, on that account, was the only one of that character, to whom he extended his patronage. He treated the Fellows of Eton College with asperity; and his influence with the Queen rendered all opposition vain. When Mr. Gunter came from London to be appointed his Professor in Geometry, he brought with him his sector and quadrant, with which he began to resolve triangles, and to perform several operations. This disgusted the grave knight, who considered the operations as so many tricks below the dignity of a mathematician, and he immediately conferred the professorship on another candidate, Mr. Briggs from Cambridge.—— Mr. Aubrey learned from Dr. Wallis, that Sir Henry Savile had sufficiently confuted Joseph Scaliger's Tract "De Quadraturâ Circuli," in his notes on the very margin of the book; And that, sometimes, when Scaliger says, "A B C D, ex "Constructione," Sir Henry adds with his pen; "et demonstratio vestra est "asinus ex constructione."

In his travels he had contracted a general acquaintance with learned men abroad; by which means he had access to several Greek MSS. in their libraries, and thus obtained correct copies by his amanuensis, who transcribed the Greek character with admirable skill. Fronto Ducæus, a French Jesuit of Bourdeaux, clandestinely engaged a person to supply him, every week, with the sheets of Sir Henry Savile's Greek edition of "The Works of Chrysostom," printed at Eton, of which he composed a Latin translation; and published "Chrysostom's Works," in Greek and Latin; thus superseding the sale of the English impression. Sir Henry Savile died Feb. 19, 1621, having been Provost of Eton College twenty-five years.

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"charity gave life to religion[v]" An elegant Latin poem[w], written by Dr. Simon Ford, was inscribed to Archbishop Sheldon, who, in his younger years, being fond of this diversion, is said to have acquired a superior skill in taking the Umber or Barbel, "a heavy and a dogged fish to be dealt withall." Dr. Donne is called "a great practitioner, master, and patron of angling[x]:" And we learn from good authority, that Mr. George Herbert loved angling; a circumstance that is rather to be believed, "because he had a spirit suitable to anglers, and to those primitive Christians who are so much loved and commended." Let not these remarks provoke the chastisement of censure: Let them not be condemned as nugatory and insignificant: Amidst our disquietudes and delusive cares, amidst the painful anxiety, the disgustful irksomeness, which are often the unwelcome attendants on business and on study, an harmless gratification is not merely excusable, it is in some degree necessary[y]. In the skilful management of the angle, Isaac Walton is acknowledged to bear away the prize from all his contemporaries. The river which he seems principally to have frequented, for the purpose of pursuing his inoffensive amusement, was the Lea, which, rising above the town of Ware in Hertfordshire, falls

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v See "Walton's Complete Angler," Part I. Ch. I.——At Brazen-Nose College, in Oxford, of which Dr. Nowell was Principal, is a portrait of him with a fishing-rod over his head, a paper of fishing-hooks in his hand, and this inscription:

ALEXANDER NOWELLUS, SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSOR,
S. PAULI DECANUS OBIIT 13 FEB. ANNO DOM. 1601, R. R. ELIZ. 44.
AN. DECANATUS 42. ÆTATIS SUÆ 95; CUM NEQUE OCULI
CALIGARENT, NEQUE AURES OBTUSIORES, NEQUE MEMORIA
INFIRMIOR, NEQUE ANIMI ULLÆ FACULTATES VIETÆ ESSENT.
PISCATOR HOMINUM.

(Gutch's Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, p. 370.)

Among other acts of beneficence, this venerable man founded the Free Grammar School of Middleton, in Lancashire, in 1572, and endowed it with a small stipend for two masters.

w "Musæ Anglicanæ," Vol. I. p. 97.—Gervase Markham, the author of "The Whole Art of Angling," 4to, 1656, rather proceeds too far, when he tells his reader, that an angler should be "a general scholar, and seen in all the liberal "sciences;" that he should be "a grammarian, a logician, and a philosopher."

x The Author of "The Angler's Sure Guide," 8vo. 1706, has attributed a book entitled "The Secrets of Angling, by J. D." to Dr. Donne.

y "The Experienced Angler," a little tract, written by Colonel Robert Venables, is now before me. The perusal of it calls to memory the days of youth, the guileless scenes of earlier life, spent with innocent companions, in "delightful "walks by pleasant rivers, in sweet pastures, and among odoriferous flowers." The concluding observation in this little book applies to all readers: "*Make not "a daily practice, which is nothing else but a profession, of any recreation; lest your "immoderate love and delight therein bring a cross with it, and blast all your content "and pleasure in the same.*" I mention this entertaining work, because Isaac Walton has prefixed to it not a preface, but an "Epistle to the Author," who was personally unknown to him. Having accidentally seen the discourse in manuscript, he held himself obliged, in point of gratitude, for the great advantage he had received thereby, to tender his particular acknowledgment. The testimony of so expert an angler could not fail of recommending the tract.

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into the Thames a little below Blackwall; "unless we will ſuppoſe that the vicinity of the New River to the place of his habitation might ſometimes tempt him out with his friends, honeſt Nat and R. Roe, whoſe loſs he ſo pathetically mentions, to ſpend an afternoon there[z]." In his tract of "The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation," he has compriſed the cleareſt and fulleſt inſtructions for the attainment of a thorough proficiency in the art. James Duport, the Greek Profeſsor at Cambridge, who was far from being a novice in the uſe of the rod[a], diſdained not, on this occaſion, to addreſs our author in a beautiful Latin Iambic Ode, of which the following claſsic verſion will not be unacceptable to the reader[b].

"Hail Walton! honoured friend of mine,
"Hail! mighty Maſter of the line!
"Whether down ſome valley's ſide
"You walk to watch the ſmooth ſtream glide,
"Or on the flow'ry margin ſtand
"To cheat the fiſh with cunning hand,
"Or on the green bank, ſeated ſtill,
"With quick eye guard the dancing quill.
"Thrice happy ſage! who, diſtant far
"From the wrangling forum's war,
"From the city's buſtling train,
"From the buſy hum of men,
"Haunt ſome gentle ſtream, and ply
"Your honeſt crafts, to lure the fry:
"And while the world around you ſet
"The baſe decoy and treacherous net,
"Man againſt man, th' inſidious wile,
"Or, the rich dotard to beguile,
"Bait high with gifts the ſmiling hook
"All gilt with Flattery's ſweeteſt look;
"Arm'd for the innocent deceit,
"You love the ſcaly brood to cheat,
"And tempt that water-wolf, the pike,
"With rav'ning tooth his prey to ſtrike,
"Or in the minnow's living head
"Or in the writhed brandling red
"Fix your well-charged hook, to gull
"The greedy perch, bold biting fool,
"Or with the tender moſs-worm tried
"Win the nice trout's ſpeckled pride,
"Or on the carp, whoſe wary eye
"Admits no vulgar tackle nigh,

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[z] "Biographical Dictionary," in the article WALTON ISAAC.

[a] He calls himſelf "Candidatum arundinis."

[b] For this verſion I am indebted to Mr. James Tate, M. A. late Fellow of Sidney Suſsex College, Cambridge, and now the very excellent maſter of the free grammar ſchool at Richmond, in Yorkſhire.

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"Eſsay your art's ſupreme addreſs,
"And beat the fox in ſheer fineſse:
"The tench, phyſician of the brook,
"Owns the magic of your hook,
"The little gudgeon's thoughtleſs haſte
"Yields a brief yet ſweet repaſt,
"And the whiſker'd barbel pays
"His coarſer bulk to ſwell your praiſe.
"Such the amuſement of your hours,
"While the ſeaſon aids your powers;
"Nor ſhall my friend a ſingle day
"Ere paſs without a line away.
"Nor, theſe alone your honours bound,
"The tricks experience has found;
"Sublimer theory lifts your name
"Above the fiſher's ſimple fame,
"And in the practice you excel
"Of what none elſe can teach as well,
"Wielding at once with equal ſkill
"The uſeful powers of either quill.
"With all that winning grace of ſtyle,
"What elſe were tedious, to beguile,
"A ſecond Oppian, you impart
"The ſecrets of the angling art,
"Each fiſh's nature, and how beſt
"To fit the bait to every taſte,
"Till in the ſcholar, that you train,
"The accompliſh'd maſter lives again.
"And yet your pen aſpires above
"The maxims of the art you love;
"Tho' virtues, faintly taught by rule,
"Are better learnt in angling's ſchool,
"Where Temperance, that drinks the rill,
"And Patience, ſovereign over ill,
"By many an active leſson bought,
"Refine the ſoul, and ſteel the thought.
"Far higher truths you love to ſtart,
"To train us to a nobler art,
"And in the lives of good men give
"That chiefeſt leſson, how to live;
"While Hooker, philoſophic ſage,
"Becomes the wonder of your page,
"Or while we ſee combin'd in one
"The Wit and the Divine in Donne,
"Or while the Poet and the Prieſt,
"In Herbert's ſainted form confeſt,
"Unfold the temple's holy maze
"That awes and yet invites our gaze:
"Worthies theſe of pious name
"From your pourtraying pencil claim
"A ſecond life, and ſtrike anew
"With fond delight the admiring view.

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" And thus at once the peopled brook
" Submits its captives to your hook,
" And we, the wiſer ſons of men,
" Yield to the magic of your pen,
" While angling on ſome ſtreamlet's brink
" The muſe and you combine to think."

In this volume of "The Complete Angler," which will be always read with avidity, even by thoſe who entertain no ſtrong reliſh for the art which it profeſſes to teach, we diſcover a copious vein of innocent pleaſantry and good humour. The ſcenes deſcriptive of rural life are inimitably beautiful. How artleſs and unadorned is the language! The dialogue is diverſified with all the characteriſtic beauties of colloquial compoſition. The ſongs and little poems, which are occaſionally inſerted, will abundantly gratify the reader, who has a taſte for the charms of paſtoral poeſy. And, above all, thoſe lovely leſſons of religious and moral inſtruction, which are ſo repeatedly inculcated throughout the whole work, will ever recommend this exquiſitely pleaſing performance[c]. It was firſt printed in 1653, with the figures of the fiſhes very elegantly engraved, probably by Lombart, on plates of ſteel; and was ſo generally read as to paſs through five editions during the life of the author. The ſecond edition is dated in 1655, the third in 1661; and in 1668, the fourth appeared with many valuable additions, and improvements. The lovers of angling, to whom this treatiſe is familiar, are appriſed, that the art of fiſhing with the fly is not diſcuſſed with ſufficient accuracy; the few directions that are given, having been principally communicated by Mr. Thomas Barker, who has written a very entertaining tract on the ſubject. To remedy this defect, and to give leſſons how to angle for a trout or grayling in a clear ſtream, a fifth and much improved edition was publiſhed in 1676, with a ſecond part by Charles Cotton[d], of Beresford, in Staffordſhire, Eſq. This gentle-

[c] I venture to quote the following beautiful paſſage. "Content will never "dwell but in a meek and quiet ſoul. And this may appear, if we read and con- "ſider what our Saviour ſays in St. Matthew's Goſpel: For there he ſays, 'Bleſſed "'are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy: Bleſſed be the pure in heart, "'for they ſhall ſee God: Bleſſed be the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom "'of God: And bleſſed be the meek, for they ſhall poſſeſs the earth.' Not that "the meek ſhall not alſo obtain mercy, and ſee God, and be comforted, and at "laſt come to the kingdom of heaven; but in the mean time he, and he only, "poſſeſſes the earth as he goes towards that kingdom of heaven, by being hum- "ble, and cheerful, and content with what his good God has allotted him. He "has no turbulent, repining, vexatious thoughts, that he deſerves better; nor is "vext, when he ſees others poſſeſt of more honour, or more riches than his wife "God has allotted for his ſhare: But he poſſeſſes what he has with a meek and "contented quietneſs, ſuch a quietneſs as makes his very dreams pleaſing both to "God and himſelf." (*Complete Angler, P. I. Ch.* xxi.)

[d] Dr. Plot, in "The Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire," p. 48, ſtyles Charles Cotton, of Beresford, Eſq. "his worthy, learned, and moſt ingenious friend." Beresford lies in the county of Stafford, on the banks of the river Dove; and not far from Dovedale; of the beauties of which, ſee "Aikin's Deſcription of the Country round Mancheſter," p. 501.

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man, who is repreſented as the moſt laborious trout-catcher, if not the moſt experienced angler for trout and grayling that England ever had, to teſtify his regard for Mr. Walton, had cauſed the words PISCATORIBUS SACRUM, with a cypher underneath, comprehending the initial letters of both their names, to be inſcribed on the front of his fiſhing-houſe. This little building was ſituated near the banks of the river Dove, which divides the two counties of Stafford and Derby. Here Mr. Walton uſually ſpent his vernal months, carrying with him the beſt and choiceſt of all earthly bleſſings, a contemplative mind, a cheerful diſpoſition, an active and an healthful body. So beauteous did the ſcenery of this delightful ſpot appear to him, that, to uſe his own words, "the pleaſantneſs of the river, mountains, and meadows about it, cannot "be deſcribed, unleſs Sir Philip Sidney, or Mr. Cotton's father "were again alive to do it."

In the latter years of the reign of Charles II. the violence of faction burſt forth with renovated fury. The diſcontents of the Nonconformiſts were daily increaſing; while Popery aſſumed freſh hopes of re-eſtabliſhing itſelf by fomenting and encouraging the diviſions, that unhappily ſubſiſted among Proteſtants. A tract, entitled "The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Church," was publiſhed in 1675, and attributed to Dr. Herbert Croft, Biſhop of Hereford. Eager to accompliſh an union of the Diſenters with the Church of England, and to include them within its pale, this Prelate heſitated not to ſuggeſt the expediency of propoſing ſeveral conceſſions to them, with reſpect to the rites and ceremonies then in uſe, and even to comply with their unreaſonable demand of aboliſhing Epiſcopacy. It may be eaſily preſumed, that theſe propoſals met with no very favourable reception: They were animadverted upon with much ſpirit and ability, in various publications[f]. In the mean time, animoſities prevailed without any proſpect of their termination. From fanaticiſm on one ſide, and from ſuperſtition on the other, real danger was apprehended. Thoſe, who

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e "Oh my beloved nymph, fair Dove!
"Princeſs of rivers! how I love
"Upon thy flow'ry banks to lie,
"And view thy ſilver ſtream
"When gilded by a ſummer's beam!
"And in it all thy wanton fry
"Playing at liberty:
"And, with my angle upon them,
"The all of treachery
"I ever learnt induſtriouſly to try."
(The Retirement, by Mr. Cotton, St. vi.)

f Three celebrated tracts on this ſubject were anonymous. 1. "Animadverſions on a pamphlet, entitled 'The Naked Truth,' *London*, 1676." This was written by Dr. Francis Turner, Maſter of St. John's College, Cambridge; and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter and Ely. 2. "Lex Talionis, or the Author of The Naked Truth ſtripped naked, 1676." This work is attributed to Mr. Philip Fell, one of the Fellows of Eton College. 3. "A Modeſt Survey of the moſt Conſiderable Things, in a Diſcourſe lately publiſhed, entitled 'Naked Truth.' In a Letter to a Friend, 1676." Dr. Burnet owned himſelf to be the author of this laſt tract.

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exerted themselves in maintaining the legal rights and liberties of the established Church, were denominated 'Whigs.' Most of them were persons eminent for their learning, and very cordially attached to the established Constitution: Others, who opposed the Dissenters, and were thought to be more in fear of a republic than a Popish successor, were distinguished by the name of 'Tories.' At this critical period, Isaac Walton expressed his solicitude for the real welfare of his country, not with a view to embarrass himself in disputation,—for his nature was totally abhorrent from controversy,—but to give an ingenuous and undissembled account of his own faith and practice, as a true son of the Church of England. His modesty precluded him from annexing his name to the treatise, which he composed at this time; and which appeared, first, in 1680, under the title of "Love and Truth[g], in two modest and peaceable Letters, concerning the Distempers of the present Times; written from a quiet and conformable Citizen of London, to two busie and factious Shopkeepers in Coventry, 'But let none of you suffer as a busie-body in other men's matters[h],' 1 *Pet.* iv. 15. 1680." The style, the sentiment, the argumentation, are such as might be expected from a plain man, actuated only by an honest zeal to promote the public peace. And if we consider that it was written by him in the 87th year of his age, a period of life when the faculties of the mind are usually on the decline, it will be scarce possible not to admire the clearness of his judgment, and the unimpaired vigour of his memory. The real purport of this work, which is not altogether unapplicable to more recent times, and which breathes the genuine spirit of benevolence and candour, is happily expressed in the author's own words to the person, whom he addresses in the second letter.

"This I beseech you to consider seriously: And, good cousin, "let me advise you to be one of the thankful and quiet party; for "it will bring peace at last[i]. Let neither your discourse nor prac- "tice be to encourage, or assist in making a schism in that church, "in which you were baptized and adopted a Christian; for you "may continue in it with safety to your soul; you may in it study "sanctification, and practice it to what degree God, by his grace, "shall enable you. You may fast as much as you will; be as "humble as you will; pray both publicly and privately "as much as you will; visit and comfort as many distressed and

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g The author, in the choice of the title affixed to his tract, might allude to *Ephes.* iv. 15. "Speaking the *Truth* in *Love.*"

h This tract is assigned to Mr. Isaac Walton, on the best authority, that of Archbishop Sancroft, who, in the volume of Miscellanies—(*Miscellanea* 14, 2, 34.) in the library of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, has, with his own hand, marked its title thus: "Is. Walton's 2 letters conc. ye Distemps of ye Times, 1680."

i Such kind advice accorded with his usual sentiments.

"VEN. This is my purpose, and so let every thing that hath breath praise "the Lord. Let the blessing of St. Peter's Master be with mine.

"PISC. And upon all that are lovers of virtue, and dare trust in his Provi- "dence, and be quiet, and go an angling. 'Study to be quiet,'" 1 *Thess.* iv. 11. (*Complete Angler, P. I. c. 2.*)

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" dejected families as you will; be as liberal and charitable to the " poor as you think fit and are able. Theſe, and all other of theſe " undoubted Chriſtian graces, that accompany ſalvation, you may " practiſe either publicly or privately, as much and as often as you " think fit; and yet keep in the communion of that church, of " which you were made a member by your baptiſm. Theſe graces " you may practiſe, and not be a buſie-body in promoting *schism* " and *faction*; as God knows your father's friends, *Hugh Peters* " and *John Lilbourn* did, to the ruine of themſelves, and many of " their diſciples. Their turbulent lives and uncomfortable deaths " are not, I hope, yet worn out of the memory of many. He that " compares them with the holy life and happy death of Mr. *George* " *Herbert*, as it is plainly, and, I hope, truly writ by Mr. *Isaac* " *Walton*, may in it find a perfect pattern for an humble and de- " vout Chriſtian to imitate: And he that conſiders the reſtleſs lives " and uncomfortable deaths of the other two (who always lived " like the ſalamander, in the fire of contention), and conſiders the " diſmal conſequences of ſchiſm and ſedition, will (if prejudice " and a malicious zeal have not ſo blinded him that he cannot ſee " reaſon) be ſo convinced, as to beg of God to give him a meek " and quiet ſpirit; and that he may, by his grace, be prevented " from being a buſie-body, in what concerns him not." An edition of " Love and Truth" was publiſhed in 1795.

Such admonitions as theſe could only proceed from a heart overflowing with goodneſs,—a heart, as was ſaid concerning that of Sir Henry Wotton, " in which Peace, Patience, and calm Content " did inhabit."

His intercourſe with learned men, and the frequent and familiar converſations which he held with them, afforded him many opportunities of obtaining ſeveral valuable anecdotes relative to the hiſtory of his contemporaries. The following literary curioſity is preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, at Oxford:

" ffor y^r^ ffriends q^ue^ this:

" I only knew Ben Johnſon: But my Lord of Winton knew " him very well[k]; and ſays, he was in the 6°, that is, the upper- " moſt fforme in Weſtminſter ſcole, at which time his father " dyed, and his mother married a brickelayer, who made him " (much againſt his will) help him in his trade; but in a ſhort " time, his ſcole-maiſter, Mr. Camden, got him a better im- " ployment, which was to atend or acompany a ſon of Sir " Walter Rauley's, in his travills. Within a ſhort time after their re- " turn, they parted (I think not in cole bloud) and with a loue " ſutable to what they had in their travilles (not to be commended). " And then Ben began to ſet up for himſelfe in the trade by which " he got his ſubſiſtance and fame, of which I need not give any ac- " count. He got in time to have a 100l. a yeare from the king, " alſo a penſion from the cittie, and the like from many of the no- " bilitie and ſome of the gentry, wch was well pay'd, for love or " fere of his railing in verſe, or proſe, or boeth. My lord told me,

k Dr. Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the early part of his life, was " one of " Ben Jonſon's ſons."

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" he told him he was (in his long retyrement and ſicknes, when he " ſaw him, which was often) much afflickted, that hee had profained " the ſcripture in his playes, and lamented it with horror: yet " that, at that time of his long retyrement, his penſion (ſo much " as came in) was giuen to a woman that gouern'd him (with " whome he liu'd and dyed nere the Abie in Weſtminſter); and " that nether he nor ſhe tooke much care for next weike: and " wood be ſure not to want wine: of wch he uſually tooke too " much before he went to bed, if not oftener and ſoner. My lord " tells me, he knowes not, but thinks he was born in Weſtminſter. " The queſtion may be put to Mr. Wood very eaſily upon what " grounds he is poſitive as to his being born their; he is a friendly " man, and will reſolve it. So much for braue Ben. You will not " think the reſt ſo tedyous as I doe this.

" ffor y^r 2 and 3 q^ue of Mr. Hill, and Bilingsley, I do neither " know nor can learn any thing worth teling you.

" for y^r two remaining q^ue of Mr. Warner[l], and Mr. Harriott this:

" Mr. Warner did long and conſtantly lodg nere the water ſtares, " or market, in Woolſtable. Woolſtable is a place not far from " Charing-Croſse, and nerer to Northumberland-houſe. My lord " of Winchefter tells me, he knew him, and that he ſayde, he firſt " found out the cerculation of the blood, and diſcouer'd it to Dr. " Haruie (who ſaid that 'twas he (himſelfe) that found it) for " which he is ſo memorally famoſe. Warner had a penſion of 40l. " a yeare from that Earle of Northumberland that lay ſo long a " priſner in the Towre, and ſom allowance from Sr. Tho. Ayles- " bury, and with whom he uſually ſpent his ſumer in Windſor Park, " and was welcom, for he was harmles and quet. His winter was " ſpent at the Woolſtable, where he dyed in the time of the par- " lement of 1640, of which or whome, he was no louer.

" Mr. Herriott[m], my lord tells me, he knew alſo: That he was " a more gentile man than Warner. That he had 120l. a yeare " penſion from the ſaid Earle (who was a louer of their ſtudyes), " and his lodgings in Syon-houſe, where he thinks, or believes, he " dyed.

" This is all I know or can learne for your friend; which I wiſh " may be worth the time and trouble of reading it.

I. W."

Nour. 22, 60.

" I forgot to tell, that I heard the ſermon preacht for the Lady " Danvers, and have it: but thanke your ffriend[n]."

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l Of this great mathematician, ſee " Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 461.

m Of Mr. THOMAS HARIOT, or HARRIOT, ſee " Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 459. The opinions which have been entertained concerning the infidel principles of Hariot, are ſufficiently confuted by the inſcription on his monument, erected by his executors, Sir Thomas Ayleſbury and Robert Sidney, Viſcount Liſle, in which he is expreſsly called, " Veritatis Indagator Audioſiſsimus, Dei trinitonius " Cultor piiſsimus."

n This was the ſermon preached by Dr. Donne, in the parish church of Chelſey, at the funeral of Lady Danvers, the mother of Mr. George Herbert. See " Walton's Life of Mr. Herbert," p. 331. Annexed to this extract, in Mr. Aubrey's MSS.

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A life of temperance, ſobriety, and cheerfulneſs, is not ſeldom rewarded with length of days, with an healthful, honourable, and happy old age*. Iſaac Walton retained to the laſt a conſtitution unbroken by diſeaſe, with the full poſſeſſion of his mental powers. In a letter to Mr. Cotton from London, April 29, 1676, he writes; "Though I be more than a hundred miles from you, and in the "eighty-third year of my age; yet I will forget both, and next "month begin a pilgrimage to beg your pardon." He had written "The Life of Dr. Sanderſon," when he was in his eighty-fifth year. We find him active with his pen, after this period, at a time when, "ſilvered o'er with age," he had a juſt claim to a writ of eaſe. On the ninetieth anniverſary of his birth-day, he declares himſelf in his will to be of perfect memory. In the very year in which he died, he prefixed a Preface to a work edited by him: "Thealma and Clearchus, a Paſtoral Hiſtory, in ſmooth and eaſy Verſe; written long ſince by John Chalkhill, Eſq. an Acquaintant and Friend of Edmund Spenſer." Flatman, who is known both as a poet and a painter, hath in ſuch true colours delineated the character of his much-esteemed friend, that it would be injurious not to tranſcribe the following lines:—

"TO MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. ISAAC WALTON, ON THE "PUBLICATION OF THIS POEM.

"Long had the bright Thealma lay obſcure:
"Her beauteous charms, that might the world allure,
"Lay, like rough diamonds in the mine, unknown,
"By all the ſons of folly trampled on,
"Till your kind hand unveil'd her lovely face,
"And gave her vigour to exert her rays.
"*Happy old man! whose worth all mankind knows,*
"*Except himself; who charitably ſhows,*
"*The ready road to virtue and to praiſe,*
"*The road to many long and happy days,*
"*The noble arts of generous piety,*
"*And how to compaſs true felicity;*
"*Hence did he learn the art of living well;*
"*The bright Thealma was his oracle;*
"*Inſpir'd by her he knows no anxious cares,*
"*Through near a century of pleaſant years:*
"*Eaſy he lives, and cheerful ſhall he die,*
"*Well ſpoken of by late poſterity,*
"As long as Spenſer's noble flames ſhall burn,
"And deep devotions throng about his urn;

MSS. in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, are theſe words: "This account I received "from Mr. Iſaac Walton (who wrote Dr. Donne's Life, &c.) Decemb. 2, 1680, "he being then eighty-ſeven years of age. This is his own hand-writing, J. A."

o "Eſt etiam quietè et purè et elegenter actæ Ætatis placida ac lenis Senec-"tus." *Cic. de Senectute.*—"Non cani, non rugæ, repentè auctoritatem arri-"pere poſſunt: Sed honeſtè acta ſuperior ætas fructus capit auctoritatis." *Ib.*

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" As long as Chalkhill's venerable name
" With noble emulation ſhall inflame
" Ages to come, and ſwell the rolls of fame.
" Your memory ſhall for ever be ſecure,
" And long beyond our ſhort-liv'd praiſe endure;
" As Phidias in Minerva's ſhield did live,
" And ſhar'd that immortality, he alone could give."

The claſsic reader, when he recollects the ſtory of Phidias, will eaſily acknowledge the propriety of the encomium paſsed on Mr. Walton, who ſecured immortal fame to himſelf, while he conferred it upon others. That divine artiſt, having finiſhed his famous ſtatue of Minerva, with the moſt conſummate exquiſiteneſs of ſkill, afterward impreſsed his own image ſo deeply on her buckler, that it could not be effaced without deſtroying the whole work.

The beauties of "Thealma and Clearchus," and the character of the author, are not unaptly deſcribed in the editor's own language. He intimates in the Preface, that "the reader will find "what the title declares, a Paſtoral Hiſtory, in ſmooth and eaſy "verſe; and will in it find many hopes and fears finely painted "and feelingly expreſsed. And he will find the firſt ſo often diſ-"appointed, when fulleſt of deſire and expectation; and the latter "ſo often, ſo ſtrangely, and ſo unexpectedly relieved by an unfore-"ſeen Providence, as may beget in him wonder and amazement." He adds, that "the reader muſt here alſo meet with paſsions "heightened by eaſy and fit deſcriptions of joy and ſorrow; and "find alſo ſuch various events and rewards of innocent truth and "undiſsembled honeſty, as is like to leave in him (if he be a good-"natured reader) more ſympathizing and virtuous impreſsions "than ten times ſo much time ſpent in impertinent, critical, and "needleſs diſputes about religion." Mr. Chalkhill died before he had perfected even the fable of his poem. He was a man generally known in his time, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour, a gentleman, a ſcholar, very innocent and prudent; and indeed his whole life was uſeful, quiet, and virtuous [P]. So amiable were the manners, ſo truly excellent the

P In a volume, entitled "The Muſes Library, London, 1737," are inſerted extracts from this poem, viz. "The Arcadian Golden Age," "A Deſcription of the Prieſteſses of Diana," "The Image of Jealouſy," "A Deſcription of the Power of the Witch Orandra, together with her Cave."

Dr. Johnſon has revived the celebrity of Mr. Chalkhill, by an elegant tranſlation of the following lines:

"Or we ſometimes paſs an hour
"Under a green willow,
"That defends us from a ſhower
"Making earth our pillow;
"Where we may
"Think or pray,
"Before death
"Stops our breath.
"Other joys
"Are but toys
"And to be lamented."

See WALTON'S COMPLETE ANGLER, P. I. Ch. 16.)

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character of all thoſe, whom Iſaac Walton honoured with his regard.

When Leoniceni, one of the moſt profound ſcholars in Italy, in the fifteenth century, was aſked by what art he had, through a period of ninety years, preſerved a ſound memory, perfect ſenſes, an upright body, and a vigorous health, he anſwered, "by innocence, "ſerenity of mind, and temperance." Iſaac Walton, having uniformly enjoyed that happy tranquillity, which is the natural concomitant of virtue, came to the grave in a full age, "like as a "ſhock of corn cometh in his ſeaſon."

"So would I live, ſuch gradual death to find,
"Like timely fruit, not ſhaken by the wind,
"But ripely dropping from the ſapleſs bough;
"And dying, nothing to myſelf would owe.
"Thus, daily changing, with a duller taſte
"Of leſs'ning joys, I by degrees would waſte;
"Still quitting ground by unperceiv'd decay,
"And ſteal myſelf from life and melt away." DRYDEN.

He died during the time of the great froſt, on the 15th day of December, 1683, at Wincheſter, in the Prebendal houſe of Dr. William Hawkins, his ſon-in-law, whom he loved as his own ſon. It was his expreſs deſire, that his burial might be near the place of his death, privately, and free from any oſtentation, or charge. On the ſtone which covers his remains within the Cathedral of that city theſe lines are yet extant.

"Here reſteth the body of
"MR. ISAAC WALTON,
"Who died the 15th of Decr. 1683.
"Alas! he's gone before,
"Gone to return no more,
"Our panting breaſts aſpire
"After their aged Sire,
"Whoſe well-ſpent life did laſt
"Full ninety years and paſt.
"But now he hath begun
"That which will ne'er be done,
"Crown'd with eternal bliſs,
"We wiſh our ſouls with his.
"VOTIS MODESTIS SIC FLERUNT LIBERI."

"Nunc per gramina fuſi
"Denſâ fronde ſalicti,
"Molles ducimus horas.
"Hîc, dum debita morti
"Paulum Vita moratur,
"Nunc reſcire priora,
"Nunc inſtare futuris,
"Nunc ſummi Prece ſanctâ
"Patris Numen adire eſt.
"Quicquid quæritur ultra
"Cæco ducit amore,
"Vel ſpe ludit inani
"Luctus mox pariturum."

(Dr. JOHNSON'S WORKS, Vol. I. p. 190.)

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He ſurvived his wife many years. She died in 1662, and was buried in our Lady's Chapel, in the Cathedral of Worceſter. In the north wall is placed a ſmall oval monument of white marble, on which is the following inſcription, written, no doubt, by her affectionate huſband.

"Ex — — — terris
"D. +
"S. +. M.
"Here lyeth buried ſo much as
"could dye of ANA the wife of
"IZAAC WALTON,
"who was
"a woman of remarkeable prudence,
"and of the primitive piety: her great
"and general knowledge being adorn'd
"with ſuch true humility, and bleſt
"with ſoe much Chriſtian meekneſse as
"made her worthy of a more memorable
"Monument.
"She died (alas that ſhe is dead)
"the 17th of April, 1662, aged 52.
"Study to be like her."

He had one ſon Iſaac, who never married, and a daughter Anne, the wife of Dr. William Hawkins, a Prebendary in the Church of Wincheſter, and Rector of Droxford in Hampſhire. Dr. William Hawkins left a son William, and a daughter Anne. The latter died unmarried. The ſon, who was a Serjeant at Law, and author of the well-known treatiſe of "The Pleas of the Crown," lived and died in the Cloſe of Sarum. He publiſhed a ſhort account of the life of his great uncle in 1713, and alſo his works in 1721, under the title of "The Works of the right reverend learned and pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, 4 vol." Theſe works include only Ken's Poetical Compoſitions, which do not merit any great encomium, though they are written in a ſtrain of real piety and devotion. This William Hawkins had a ſon and three daughters, the eldeſt of whom Mrs. Hawes, relict of the Rev. Mr. Hawes, Rector of Bemerton, is the only ſurviving perſon of that generation[q].

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q The following ſepulchral inſcriptions are in the Cathedral Church of Wincheſter.

H. S. E.
GULIELMUS HAWKINS
S. T. P.
HUJUS ECCLESIÆ PREBENDARIUS,
QUI OBIIT JUL. 17.
ANNO DOMINI 1691.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 58.

H. S. E.
ANNA ETIAM IZAAC WALTON FILIA
QUÆ OBIIT SUPER-MEMORATI GULIELMI VIDUA
AUG. 18, 1715.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 67.

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I have omitted to enumerate among the friends of our biographer Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester[r], and Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury[s]. To be esteemed, to be caressed by men of such comprehensive learning and extraordinary abilities is honourable indeed. They were his choicest and most confidential companions. After the Restoration, he and his daughter had apartments constantly reserved for them in the houses of these two Prelates. Here he spent his time in that mutual reciprocation of benevolent offices, which constitutes the blessedness of virtuous friendship. He experienced many marks of favour from the Bishop of Winchester, of whose kindness to him he has signified his remembrance in the ring bequeathed at his death with this expressive motto, "A MITE FOR "A MILLION." It was doubtless through his recommendation, that Ken obtained the patronage of Dr. Morley; who, having appointed him his Chaplain, presented him to the Rectory of Woodhay, in Hampshire; and then preferred him to the dignity of a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of Winton.

The worthy son of a worthy father had no cause to complain that his merit was unnoticed, or unrewarded. Mr. Isaac Walton, junior, was educated at Christ Church, in Oxford. Whilst he was Bachelor

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r Mr. Edward Powell, in commendatory Verses, prefixed to "The Complete Angler," has commemorated the friendship which subsisted between Bishop Morley and Mr. Isaac Walton.

"He that conversed with angels such as were
"*Oldsworth* and *Featly*, each a shining star
"Shewing the way to Bethlehem; each a saint
"Compar'd to whom our zealots do but paint:
"*He that our pious and learn'd Morley knew,*
"*And from him suck'd wit and devotion too.*"

A distinguished trait in the character of this Prelate, who was first known to the world as the friend of Lord Falkland, and to whom Mr. Waller owns himself indebted for his taste of the ancient classics, may be discovered from the following narrative. "Being consulted by the Mayor of a country Corporation, what "method he should take effectually to root out the fanatics in the year of his "Mayoralty; the Bishop, now growing old, first preached friendliness to him, by "ordering him a glass of Canary, as oft as he started the question in company; "and next admonished him, when alone, to let those people live quietly, in "many of whom, he was satisfied, there was the true fear of God, and who were "not likely to be gained by rigour and severity." See "Kennet's Register," p. 816.

s After the Restoration, many Divines, who had been educated among the Puritans, and had gone into the notions and scheme of Presbytery, upon mature thoughts, judged it lawful, and even eligible to *conform* for the honour and interest of the Christian religion, and for the peace and happiness of this church and nation. Among these was Dr. Seth Ward, celebrated for his mathematical studies. Having been appointed President of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1659, he was ejected in 1660: In which year he was admitted Precentor of Exeter, Dean in 1661, and Bishop in 1662. He was translated to the see of Salisbury in 1667, and upon his death, in 1688, was succeeded by Dr. Burnet, who has given a character of him in "The History of his own Times." A few years before his death, he suffered a fatal decay, not only in his body, but in his intellectual faculties. For, to the mortification of all human sufficiency and wisdom, this great master of reason so entirely lost the use of his understanding, as to become an object of compassion, and uneasiness to himself, and a burden to his friends and attendants. See "Dr. Walter Pope's Life of Seth, Bishop of Salisbury."

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of Arts, he attended his uncle, Mr. Kent, to Rome, where he was present at the jubilee appointed by Pope Clement X. in 1675. On this occasion Ken was wont to say, "That he had great reason to "give God thanks for his travels; since, if it were possible, he re- "turned rather more confirmed of the purity of the Protestant re- "ligion than he was before." During his residence in Italy, that country, which is justly called the great School of Music and Paint- ing, the rich Repository of the noblest productions of Statuary and Architecture, both ancient and modern, young Mr. Walton in- dulged and improved his taste for the fine arts[u]. On his return to England, he retired to the University of Oxford, to prosecute his studies. Having afterward accepted an invitation from Bishop Ward, to become his domestic chaplain, he was preferred to the Rectory of Polshot, near Devizes, in Wiltshire, and elected a Canon of Salisbury. He afforded much assistance to Dr. John Walker, when engaged in his "History of the Sufferings of the Clergy," communicating to him a variety of materials for that excellent work. He possessed all the amiable qualities that adorned the character of his father, a calm philanthropy, a genuine piety, an unaffected humility. It was at the house of this his nephew, that Dr. Ken was upon a visit when a stack of chimnies fell into his bed-chamber, Nov. 27, 1703, without doing him any harm; whilst Dr. Kidder, his immediate successor in the See of Bath and Wells, was unfortunately killed with his Lady by a similar accident, during the same storm, in his palace at Wells. Mr. Walton, junior, died in 1716. His remains lie interred at the feet of his friend and patron, Bishop Ward, in the Cathedral of Salisbury[v].

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[t] Ken was not admitted to the degree of D. D. till 1679.

[u] "VIATOR. But what have we got here? a rock springing up in the middle "of the river.—This is one of the oddest sights that ever I saw.

"PISC. Why, Sir, from that pike that you see standing up there distant from "the rock, this is called Pike Pool; and young Mr. Isaac Walton was so pleased "with it, as to draw it in landscape in black and white, in a black book I have "at home, as he has done several prospects of my house also, which I keep for a "memorial of his favour, and will shew you when we come up to dinner.

"VIAT. Has young Mr. Isaac Walton been here too?

"PISC. Yes marry has he, Sir, and that again and again too; and in France "since, and at Rome, and at Venice, and I can't tell where; but I intend to "ask him a great many hard questions, so soon as I can see him, which will be, "God willing, next month."—(*Complete Angler, P. II. Ch.* 6.)

[v] On a Plain flat stone is this inscription:

H. S. E.
ISAACUS WALTON, HUJUS ECCLESIÆ
CANONICUS RESIDENTIARIUS,
PIETATIS NON FUCATÆ,
DOCTRINÆ SANÆ,
MUNIFICENTIÆ, BENEVOLENTIÆ
EXEMPLAR DESIDERANDUM.
PASTORIS BONI ET FIDELIS FUNCTUS OFFICIO PER ANNOS
38 IN PAROCHIA DE POLSHOT WILTS.
OBIIT VICESIMO NONO DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOMINI 1716,
ÆTATIS 69.

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It would be highly improper to aſcribe to Mr. Iſaac Walton that extent of knowledge, which characterizes the ſcholar: Yet thoſe who are converſant in his writings will probably entertain no doubt of his acquaintance with books[x]. His frequent references to ancient and modern hiſtory, his ſeaſonable applications of ſeveral paſſages in the moſt approved writers, his alluſions to various branches of general ſcience, theſe and other circumſtances concur in confirming the aſſertion, that though he did not partake of the benefits of early erudition, yet in maturer age, he enlarged his intellectual acquiſitions, ſo as to render them fully proportionate to his opportunities and abilities. The fruits of his truly commendable induſtry he has generouſly conſecrated to poſterity. Deprived of the advantage of a learned education, he hath with great fidelity preſerved the memory of thoſe, who were "by their knowledge of "learning meet for the people, wiſe and eloquent in their inſtructions, "honoured in their generations; and the glory of their times," each of whom, in his edifying pages, "being dead yet ſpeaketh." He may be literally ſaid "to have laboured not for himſelf only, "but for all thoſe that ſeek wiſdom." How intereſting and affecting are many of his narratives and deſcriptions! The viſion of ghaſtly horror that preſented itſelf to Dr. Donne, at the time of his ſhort reſidence in Paris,—the pleaſant meſſages which Sir Henry Wotton and the good-natured prieſt exchanged with each other in a church at Rome, during the time of veſpers,—the domeſtic incidents which excited the tender commiſeration of Mr. Edwin Sandys and Mr. George Cranmer, while they viſited their venerable tutor at his country parſonage of Drayton Beauchamp[y],—the affectionate and patient condeſcenſion of Mr. George Herbert, compaſſionating the diſtreſſes of the poor woman of Bemerton,—the interview of Dr. Sanderſon and Mr. Iſaac Walton accidentally meeting each other in the ſtreets of London,—theſe and numberleſs other ſimilar paſſages will always be read with reiterated pleaſure.

We ſhall indeed be diſappointed, if we expect to find in the following volume the brilliancy of wit, the elaborate correctneſs of ſtyle, or the aſcititious graces and ornaments of fine compoſition.

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[x] Walton, in his "Complete Angler," frequently cites authors that have written only in Latin, as Geſner, Aldrovandus, Rondeletius, and others. The voluminous Hiſtory of Animals, compoſed by Geſner, is tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Edward Topſel. This tranſlation was publiſhed in 1658, and as it contained numberleſs particulars, extracted from the works of various writers concerning frogs, ſerpents, and caterpillars, it furniſhed our author with much intelligence. "Pliny's Natural Hiſtory" was tranſlated by Dr. Philemon Holland. Alſo there were verſions of the tract of Janus Dubravius "de Piſcinis et Piſcium Naturâ," and of "Lebault's Maiſon Ruſtique," ſo often referred to by him in the courſe of his Work. (See the "Biographical Dictionary, *London*, 1784.")—In "The Life of Dr. Sanderſon," Walton has quoted Thucydides. It muſt be remembered, that Hobbes printed his Engliſh tranſlation of "The Hiſtory of the Grecian War," in 1628.

[y] A circumſtance mentioned in this narrative, reminds me of the deſcription of a domeſtic picture, in "The Life of Melancthon," who was ſeen by one of his friends, "with one hand rocking the cradle of his child, with the other holding "a book."

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But that pleaſing ſimplicity of ſentiment, that plain and unaffected language, and, may I add, that natural eloquence[z], which pervades the whole, richly compenſates the want of elegance, and rhetorical embelliſhment[a]. Truth is never diſplayed to us in more grateful colours, than when ſhe appears, not in a gariſh attire, but in her own native garb, without artifice, without pomp. In that garb Iſaac Walton has arrayed her. Deeply impreſsed with the excellence of thoſe exemplary characters which he endeavours to portray, he ſpeaks no other language than that of the heart, and thus imparts to the reader his own undiſguiſed ſentiments, ſo friendly to piety and virtue. Aſsuredly, no pleaſure can be placed in competition with that, which reſults from the view of men ſedulouſly adjuſting their actions with integrity and honour. To accompany them, as it were, along the path of life, to join in their converſation, to obſerve their demeanour in various ſituations, to contemplate their acts of charity and beneficence, to attend them into their cloſets, to behold their ardour of piety and devotion; in ſhort, to eſtabliſh, as it were, a friendſhip and familiarity with them,—this, doubtleſs, muſt be pronounced an happy anticipation of that holy intercourſe, which will, I truſt, ſubſiſt between beatified ſpirits in another and a better ſtate.

Thoſe parts of this volume are more peculiarly adapted to afford ſatisfaction, improvement, and conſolation, in which is related the behaviour of theſe good men at the hour of death. Here we find ourſelves perſonally and intimately intereſted. "A battle or a triumph," ſays Mr. Addiſon, "are conjunctures, in which not one "man in a million is likely to be engaged; but when we ſee a "perſon at the point of death, we cannot forbear being attentive "to every thing he ſays or does; becauſe we are ſure, that ſome "time or other, we ſhall ourſelves be in the ſame melancholy "circumſtances. The general, the ſtateſman, or the philoſopher, "are perhaps characters which we may never act in; but the dying "man is one whom, ſooner or later, we ſhall certainly reſemble." Thus while theſe inſtructive pages teach us how to live, they impart a leſson equally uſeful and momentous—how to die[b]. When I con-

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[z] This quality is, I truſt, not improperly applied to Mr. Iſaac Walton's writings. "True eloquence," ſays Milton, "I find to be none but the ſerious and hearty "love of *truth*: And, that, whoſe mind ſoever is fully poſsеſsed with a fervent "deſire to know good *things*, and with the deareſt *charity* to infuſe the knowledge "of them into others; when ſuch a man would ſpeak, his words, like ſo many "nimble and airy ſervitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered "files, as he would wiſh, fall aptly into their own places."

[a] I indulge myſelf in quoting only one paſsage. Having deſcribed the poignancy of Dr. Donne's grief on the death of his wife, the author pathetically concludes. "Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the reſtleſs night, "and began the weary day in lamentations." The repetition is exquiſitely beautiful. It reminds me of Orpheus lamenting over Eurydice, in Virgil's Georgics:

"Te veniente Die, te decedente canebat."

[b] Dr. Thomas Townſon, the late Archdeacon of Richmond, read "Iſaac Walton's Lives" during his laſt illneſs, with a view, no doubt, to trim his lamp, and prepare for his Lord, by comparing his conduct with the examples of thoſe meek

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traſt the death-bed ſcenes, which our author has deſcribed, with that which is exhibited to us in the laſt illneſs of a modern philoſopher, who at that awful period had no ſource of conſolation but what he derived from reading Lucian and other books of amuſement, diſcourſing chiefly with his friends on the trifling topics of common converſation, playing at his favourite game of whiſt, and indulging his pleaſantry on the fabulous hiſtory of "Charon and "his Boat,"—without one ſingle act of devotion, without any expreſſion of penitential ſorrow, of hope, or confidence in the goodneſs of God, or in the merits of a Redeemer;—when this contraſt, I ſay, is preſented to my view, it is impoſſible not to adopt the language of the prophet, "Let me die the death of the righteous, "and let my laſt end be like his[c]."

Is it neceſſary to add, that we are here preſented with two pleaſing portraits of female excellence, in the mother and in the wife of Mr. George Herbert? In the firſt were united all the perſonal and mental accompliſhments of her ſex: The enlightened piety of the latter, her native humility, her truly Chriſtian charity, exhibit her as a perfect model of every thing good and praiſe-worthy, while her marriage with Mr. Herbert, though attended with ſome unuſual circumſtances, proves inconteſtably, that an union, originating from "good ſenſe, from inclination, and from an equality of age, of dig-"nity, and of fortune," can ſeldom fail of being attended with happineſs.

It is ſaid of Socrates, that all who knew him, loved him: And that if any did not love him, it was becauſe they did not know him. May we not affirm the ſame of that worthy perſon, who is the ſubject of this memoir? Such was the ſweetneſs of his temper, ſo affectionate was the regard which his friends profeſſed for him, that, in their epiſtolary correſpondence, though they were far ſuperior to him in rank and condition of life, they uſually addreſſed him in the language of tenderneſs and ſoothing endearment, ſtyling him, "Good Mr. Walton;" "Honeſt Iſaac;" "Worthy Friend;" "Dear Brother;" "Moſt Ingenious Friend." No one better deſerved theſe kind appellations. Let it always be recorded to his honour, that he *never retracted any promiſe, when made in favour even of his meaneſt friend*[d]. Neal, in his "Hiſtory of the Puritans," introduces an erroneous quotation from "Walton's Life of Mr. Hooker." Dr. Warburton, in his notes on that hiſtory (*Warburton's Works, Vol. VII. p.* 895,) commenting upon this quotation, ſpeaks of "the quaint traſh of a fantaſtical life-writer." Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe that an epithet, more adapted to the aſperity of faſtidious cenſure, than to the cool and deliberate judgment of candid and

meek and holy men, deſcribed by the pleaſing and faithful biographer. He alſo read, and, aſſuredly, with ſimilar intentions, Mr. Herbert's "Country Parſon."—Of this pious and learned man, the ornament of the eighteenth century, ſee "Churton's Memoirs of Dr. Townſon."

c See "The Life of David Hume, Eſq." p. 43, 46.

d See "Mr. Cotton's Epiſtle Dedicatory to his moſt worthy Father and Friend, Mr. Iſaac Walton the elder," prefixed to the Second Part of "The Complete Angler."

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equitable criticiſm, ſhould be juſtly applied to a man of real merit, who ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf in promoting the cauſe of religion, as well by his writings as by his exemplary conduct?

The corporation of Stafford have publicly pronounced him their worthy and generous benefactor. Of his ſingular munificence to the poor inhabitants of this his native town, we find ſeveral inſtances in his life-time: And, at his death, he conſigned ſome bequeſts of conſiderable value to be appropriated to their uſe[e].

In an ancient inſcription yet extant, it is ſaid of a Roman Citizen, that he knew not how to ſpeak injuriouſly—NESCIVIT MALEDICERE. We may obſerve of Iſaac Walton, that he was ignorant how to write of any man with acrimony and harſhneſs. This liberality of diſpoſition will ever recommend him to his readers. Whatever are the religious ſentiments of the perſons, whom he introduces to our notice, how widely ſoever they differ from his own; we diſcover not, in his remarks, the petulance of indiſcriminate reproach, or the malignancy of rude invective. The mild ſpirit of moderation breathes almoſt in every page. I can only lament one inſtance of ſeverity, for which however ſeveral pleas of extenuation might readily be admitted.

He is known to have acquired a reliſh for the fine arts. Of paintings and prints he had formed a ſmall, but valuable collection[f]. And we may preſume, that he had an attachment to and a knowledge of muſic. His affection for ſacred muſic[g] may be inferred from that animated, I had almoſt ſaid, that enraptured language which he adopts, whenever the ſubject occurs to him. It will be

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[e] It appears from a table fixed in the Church of St. Mary's, in the borough of Stafford, that Mr. Iſaac Walton gave, in his life-time, a garden of eight ſhillings a year, to buy coals for the poor yearly about Chriſtmas; and that he alſo gave twenty-two pounds, to build a ſtone-wall around St. Chad's Churchyard in the ſaid borough; and did alſo ſet forth nine boys apprentices, beſtowing five pounds on each.

At his death, he bequeathed one meſſuage or tenement, at Shalford in the county of Stafford, with all the land thereto belonging, of the clear yearly value of twenty pounds ten ſhillings and ſixpence; of which, ten pounds are appropriated, every year, to the putting out two boys, ſons of honeſt and poor parents, to be apprentices to tradeſmen, or handicraftſmen; and five pounds to ſome maid-ſervant, that hath attained the age of twenty-one years (not leſs), and dwelt long in one ſervice; or to ſome honeſt poor man's daughter, that hath attained to that age, to be paid her at, or on the day of her marriage. What money or rent ſhall remain undiſpoſed of, he directs to be employed in the purchaſe of coals, for ſome poor people, that ſhall need them: the ſaid coals to be diſtributed in *the laſt week of January, or every firſt week in February; becauſe he conſiders that time to be the hardeſt, and moſt pinching time.*

[f] In his laſt will, he leaves to his ſon "all his books, not yet given, at Farn-"ham Caſtell, and a *deske of prints and pictures*; alſo a cabinet, in which are ſome "little things, that he will value, though of no great worth."

[g] "He that at midnight, when the very labourer ſleeps ſecurely, ſhould hear, "as I have often done, the ſweet deſcants, the natural riſing and falling, the "doubling and redoubling of the nightingale's voice, might well be lifted above "earth, and ſay, Lord, what muſic haſt thou provided for the ſaints in heaven, "when thou affordeſt bad men ſuch muſic upon earth?"—(*Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. I.*)

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eaſily recollected, that Ken, his brother-in-law, whoſe morning, evening, and midnight hymns, endear his memory to the devout Chriſtian, began the duties of each day with ſacred melody. And that between men perfectly congenial in their ſentiments and habits of virtue, a ſimilarity of diſpoſition in this inſtance ſhould prevail, is far from being an unreaſonable ſuggeſtion. That he had an inclination to poetry, we may conclude from his early intimacy with Michael Drayton, "the golden-mouthed Poet;" a man of an amiable diſpoſition, of mild and modeſt manners, whoſe poems are much leſs read than they deſerve to be. It is needleſs to remark, that on the firſt publication of a work it was uſual for the friends of the author to prefix to it recommendatory verſes. Iſaac Walton, whoſe circle of friends was very extenſive indeed, often contributed his ſhare of encomium on theſe occaſions. To his productions of this kind no other commendations can be allowed, than that they were ſincere memorials of his grateful and tender regard. It muſt however be added, that he never debaſed his talents by offering the incenſe of Adulation, at the ſhrine of Infamy and Guilt. The perſons, whom he favoured with theſe marks of his attention, were not undeſerving of praiſe. Such, for inſtance, was William Cartwright, who, though he died in the thirtieth year of his age, was the boaſt and ornament of the Univerſity of Oxford, as a divine, a philoſopher, and a poet[h]. Dr. Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, declared him to be, "the "utmoſt man can come to;" and Ben Jonſon was wont to ſay of him, "My ſon Cartwright writes all like a man." And here an opportunity preſents itſelf of aſcertaining the author of "The Synagogue, or the Shadow of the Temple," a collection of ſacred poems uſually annexed to Mr. George Herbert's "Temple." Mr. Walton has addreſſed ſome encomiaſtic lines to him, as his friend; and in "The Complete Angler," having inſerted from that collection, a little poem, entitled "The Book of Common Prayer," he expreſsly aſsigns it, and of courſe the whole work, to a reverend and learned divine, Mr. Chriſtopher Harvie, *that profeſses to imitate Mr. Herbert, and hath indeed done so most excellently;* and of whom he adds pleaſantly, "you will like him the better, becauſe he is a "friend of mine, and I am ſure no enemy to angling[i]."

Faithfully attached to the Church of England, he entertained the higheſt veneration for her diſcipline and doctrines. He had not been an inattentive ſpectator of the rapid progreſs of the ſectaries, haſtening from one degree of injuſtice to another, until an univerſal

h See "Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with other Poems, by William Cartwright, late Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the Univerſity. *London*, 1651."

i See "The Complete Angler," P. LXVIII. and p. 123, edit of 1773. We find the name of Chriſtopher Harvie ſubſcribed to "Verſes addreſsed to the Reader of the Complete Angler." He is probably the ſame perſon, who was the author of "The Right Rebel. *London*, 1661," 8vo.—a treatiſe, diſcovering the true uſe of the name, by the nature of rebellion; with the properties and practices of rebels, applicable to all, both old and new fanaticks: by Chriſtopher Harvey, Vicar of Cliſton, in Warwickſhire. He was a miniſter's ſon, in Cheſhire, and was educated in Braze-noſe College, Oxford. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 268.

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anarchy conſummated the ruin of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. In his laſt Will he has announced an ingenuous and decided avowal of his religious principles, with a deſign, as it has been conjectured, to prevent any ſuſpicions that might ariſe of his inclination to Popery, from his very long and very true friendſhip with ſome of the Roman Communion[k]. But a full and explicit declaration of his Chriſtian faith, and the motives which enforced his ſerious and regular attendance upon the ſervice of that Church in which he was educated, are delivered, with great propriety and good ſenſe, in his own words. For thus he writes in a letter to one of his friends. "I go ſo conſtantly to the Church ſervice to adore and "worſhip my God, who hath made me of nothing, and pre-"ſerved me from being worſe than nothing. And this worſhip "and adoration I do pay him inwardly in my ſoul, and teſtifie it "outwardly by my behaviour; as namely, by my adoration, in "my forbearing to cover my head in that place dedicated to God, "and only to his ſervice; and alſo, by ſtanding up at profeſſion of "the Creed, which contains the ſeveral articles that I and all true "Chriſtians profeſs and believe; and alſo my ſtanding up at giving "glory *to the Father, to the Son,* and *to the Holy Ghost,* and con-"feſsing them to be three perſons, and but one God.

"And, ſecondly, I go to Church to praiſe my God for my creation "and redemption; and for his many deliverances of me from the "many dangers of my body, and more eſpecially of my ſoul, in "ſending me redemption by the death of his Son, my Saviour; "and for the conſtant aſſiſtance of his holy ſpirit: a part of which "praiſe I perform frequently in the Pſalms, which are daily read "in the public congregation.

"And, thirdly, I go to Church publicly to confeſs and bewail my "ſins, and to beg pardon for them, for his merits who died to re-"concile me and all mankind unto God, who is both his and my "Father; and, as for the words in which I beg this mercy, they "be the Letany and Collects of the Church, compoſed by thoſe "learned and devout men, whom you and I have truſted to tell us "which is and which is not the written word of God; and truſted "alſo to tranſlate thoſe Scriptures into Engliſh. And, in theſe Col-"lects, you may note, that I pray *abſolutely* for pardon of ſin, and "for grace to believe and ſerve God: But I pray for *health,* and "*peace,* and *plenty, conditionally;* even ſo far as may tend to his "glory, and the good of my ſoul, and not further. And this con-"feſsing my ſins, and begging mercy and pardon for them, I do "in my adoring my God, and by the humble poſture of kneeling "on my knees before him: And, in this manner, and by re-"verend ſitting to hear ſome choſen parts of God's word read in

[k] A ſteady friendſhip ſubſiſted between Mr. Walton and Mr. James Shirley, who, having been ordained a Clergyman of the eſtabliſhed Church, renounced his religion, for that of the Church of Rome. He is deſcribed by Phillips, in his "Theatrum Poetarum," printed at London, in 1675, as "a juſt pretender to "more than the meaneſt place among the Engliſh poets, but moſt eſpecially for "dramatic poeſy; in which he hath written both very much, and for the moſt "part, with that felicity, that by ſome he is accounted little inferior to Fletcher "himſelf." See "The Life of Mr. Herbert," p. 390.

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" the public aſsembly, I ſpend one hour of the Lord's day every " forenoon, and half ſo much time every evening. And ſince this " uniform and devout cuſtom of joining together in *public con-* " *feſſion*, and *praiſe*, and *adoration* of God, and in one manner, " hath been neglected; the power of Chriſtianity and humble " piety is ſo much decayed, that it ought not to be thought on but " with ſorrow and lamentation; and I think, eſpecially by the " Nonconformiſts."

The reaſons which he has aſsigned for his uninterrupted attention to the diſcharge of another duty will afford ſatisfaction to every candid reader. " Now for preaching, I praiſe God, I underſtand " my duty both to him and my neighbour the better, by hearing " of ſermons. And though I be defective in the performance of " both (for which I beſeech Almighty God to pardon me), yet I " had been a much worſe Chriſtian, if I had not frequented the " bleſsed ordinance of preaching; which has convinced me of my " many ſins paſt, and begot ſuch terrors of conſcience, as have be- " got in me holy reſolutions. This benefit, and many other like " benefits, I and other Chriſtians have had by preaching: And " God forbid that we ſhould ever uſe it ſo, or ſo provoke him by " our other ſins as to withdraw this bleſsed ordinance from us, or " turn it into a curſe, by preaching *hereſie* and *ſchism;* which too " many have done in the late time of rebellion, and indeed now do " in many conventicles; and their auditors think ſuch preaching is " ſerving God, when God knows it is contrary." Such were the rational grounds, on which he founded his faith and practice.

No excuſe is pleaded for again noticing the opportunities of improvement, which he experienced from his appropriated intimacy with the moſt eminent Divines of the Church of England. Genuine friendſhip exiſts but among the virtuous: A friend is emphatically ſtyled " the medicine of life;" the ſovereign remedy that ſoftens the pangs of ſorrow, and alleviates the anguiſh of the heart. We cannot therefore ſufficiently felicitate the condition of Iſaac Walton, who imbibed the very ſpirit of friendſhip; and that with men renowned for their wiſdom and learning; for the ſanctity of their manners, and the unſullied purity of their lives. " If," to uſe the words of one of his biographers, " we can entertain a doubt that " Walton was one of the happieſt of men, we ſhew ourſelves ig- " norant of the nature of that felicity, to which it is poſsible even " in this life for virtuous and good men, with the bleſsing of God, " to arrive[1]."

Yet it muſt not be concealed, that our venerable biographer has, from his love of angling, been denominated a cruel and hard-hearted man. He has been compared to Popiſh inquiſitors, and the moſt ſavage perſecutors.

Nothing certainly can be ſaid in vindication of any amuſement which is productive of pain and anguiſh to the loweſt of the brute creation. Every animal claims from man a mild and gentle treatment; and it is much to be wiſhed that diverſions, which tend to

[1] " Biographical Dictionary." Ed. 1784.

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prolong the miſery of any creature, were entirely laid aſide. Who does not applaud the humane ſentiment of Gay?

" Around the ſteel no tortur'd worm ſhall twine,
" No blood of living inſect ſtain my line:
" Let me, leſs cruel, caſt the feather'd hook
" With pliant rod athwart the pebbled brook,
" Silent along the mazy margin ſtray,
" And with the far-wrought fly delude the prey.

And it is hoped that the remark of the poet is not ſtrictly true that

———" the poor beetle, which we tread upon,
" In corporal ſufferance feels a pang as great
" As when a giant dies.—

An ingenious naturaliſt has adduced many arguments, which render it extremely probable that inſects are not in reality poſſeſſed of the degrees of feeling pain, which have been erroneouſly attributed to them.

The features of the countenance often enable us to form a judgment, not very fallible, of the diſpoſition of the mind. In few portraits can this diſcovery be more ſucceſsfully purſued than in that of Iſaac Walton. Lavater, the acute maſter of phyſiognomy, would, I think, inſtantly acknowledge in it the deciſive traits of the original:—Mild complacency, forbearance, mature conſideration, calm activity, peace, ſound underſtanding, power of thought, diſcerning attention, and ſecretly active friendſhip. Happy in his unblemiſhed integrity, happy in the approbation and eſteem of others, he inwraps himſelf in his own virtue. The exultation of a good conſcience eminently ſhines forth in the looks of this venerable perſon.

——————————" CANDIDA SEMPER
" GAUDIA, ET IN VULTU CURARUM IGNARA VOLUPTAS."

Hacket, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, uſed this motto, " SERVE GOD, AND BE CHEERFUL." Our Biographer ſeems to have adhered to this golden maxim, during the whole tenor of his life. His innocence, and the inoffenſive plainneſs of his manners, his love of truth, his piety, and the unbiaſsed rectitude of his conduct diffuſed over his mind a ſerenity and complacency, which never forſook him. Let no one, however elevated in rank or ſtation, however accompliſhed with learning, or exalted in genius, eſteem himſelf undervalued, when it ſhall be pronounced concerning him, that his religious and moral qualities are placed in the balance, or compared with thoſe of ISAAC WALTON.

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WALTON'S LIVES.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER[a].

MY LORD,

I DID ſome years paſt, preſent you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whoſe memory princes, and the moſt learned of this nation, have paid a reverence at the mention of his name. And now, with Mr. Hooker's, I preſent you alſo the life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert; and, with his, the life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted.—The two firſt were written under your roof; for which reaſon, if they were worth it, you might juſtly challenge a Dedication: And indeed, ſo you might of Dr. Donne's and Sir Henry Wotton's; becauſe, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or ſtudy, but by the advantage of forty years friendſhip, and thereby

[a] Dr. GEORGE MORLEY, diſtinguiſhed by his unſhaken loyalty and attachment to Charles I. was, at the Reſtoration, firſt made Dean of Chriſt-church, and then Biſhop of Worceſter. In 1662 he was tranſlated to the ſee of Wincheſter. Though nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines, he never did them the honour, nor himſelf the injury, to ſit among them. During his abſence from his native country, he endeared himſelf to ſeveral learned foreigners, particularly to Andrew Rivettus, Heinſius, Salmaſius, and Bochart. He conſtantly attended the young exiled King; but not being permitted to follow him into Scotland, he retired to Antwerp, where for about three or four years he read the ſervice of the Church of England twice every day, catechized once a week, and adminiſtered the communion once a month to all the Engliſh in the town who could come to it; regularly and ſtrictly obſerving all the parochial duties of a clergyman, as he did afterwards at Breda for four years together. Walker, in his Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Clergy, having quoted Anthony Wood's character of this prelate, concludes with this exclamation: "O that but a ſingle portion of his ſpirit might always reſt on the eſtabliſhed clergy!" He died in 1684.

(Le Neve, Fuller, and Wood.)

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with hearing and diſcourſing with your Lordſhip, that hath enabled me to make the relation of theſe lives paſsable (if they prove ſo) in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my Lord, though theſe relations be well-meant ſacrifices to the memory of theſe worthy men, yet I have ſo little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for ſuperſcribing your name to them, and deſire all that know your Lordſhip, to apprehend this not as a Dedication (at leaſt by which you receive any addition of honour), but rather as an humble, and a more public acknowledgment of your long-continued, and your now daily favours to,

My Lord,

Your moſt affectionate

And moſt humble ſervant,

IZAAK WALTON.

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TO THE READER.

THOUGH the ſeveral introductions to theſe ſeveral lives have partly declared the reaſons how, and why I undertook them, yet ſince they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted, and the four are now become one book[b], I deſire leave to inform you that ſhall become my reader, that when I ſometimes look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without ſome little wonder at myſelf, that I am come to be publicly in print[c]. And though I have in thoſe introductions declared ſome of the accidental reaſons that occaſioned me to be ſo, yet let me add this to what is there ſaid, that by my undertaking to collect ſome notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the Life of Dr. Donne[d], and by Sir Henry Wotton's dying before he performed it, I became like thoſe men that enter eaſily into a law-ſuit or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet, when they deſire it.—And really, after ſuch a manner, I became engaged into a neceſſity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my firſt intentions; and

[b] He had not then written the Life of Biſhop Sanderſon.

[c] In the preceding Epiſtle Dedicatory, our Author modeſtly reſigns all claim to "acquired learning or ſtudy."

[d] Sir Henry Wotton addreſſed the following letter to Mr. Iſaac Walton, who had requeſted him to perform his promiſe of writing the Life of Dr. Donne:

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"I am not able to yield any reaſon, no not ſo much as may ſatisfie "myſelf, why a moſt ingenuous letter of yours hath lain ſo long by me "(as it were in lavender) without an anſwer, ſave this only, the pleaſure "I have taken in your ſtyle and conceptions, together with a meditation "of the ſubject you propound, may ſeem to have caſt me into a gentle "ſlumber. But, being now awaked, I do herein return you moſt "hearty thanks for the kind proſecution of your firſt motion, touching "a juſt office due to the memory of our ever-memorable friend; to whoſe "good fame, though it be needleſs to add any thing (and, my age con-"ſidered, almoſt hopeleſs from my pen), yet I will endeavour to perform "my promiſe, if it were but even for this cauſe, that in ſaying ſomewhat "of the life of ſo deſerving a man, I may perchance over-live mine own.

"That which you add of Dr. King (now made Dean of Rocheſter, and "by that tranſlated into my native ſoil) is a great ſpur unto me; with "whom I hope ſhortly to confer about it in my paſſage towards Boughton

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that begot a like neceſſity of writing the Life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ theſe two lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myſelf or others, by any new engagement in this kind; for I thought I knew my unfitneſs. But, about that time, Dr. Gauden[e] (then Lord Biſhop of Exeter) publiſhed the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker (ſo he called it), with ſo many dangerous miſtakes, both of him and his books, that diſcourſing of them with his Grace Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine ſome circumſtances, and then rectify the Biſhop's miſtakes, by giving the world a fuller and truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books than that biſhop had done; and I know I have done ſo. And let me tell the reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitneſs in me to undertake it; but when he twice had

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" Malherb (which was my genial air), and invite him to a friendſhip " with that family, where his predeceſſor was familiarly acquainted. I " ſhall write to you at large by the next meſſenger (being at preſent " a little in buſineſs), and then I ſhall ſet down certain general heads, " wherein I deſire information by your loving diligence; hoping ſhortly " to have your own ever-welcome company in this approaching time of " the *fly* and the *cork*. And ſo I reſt your very hearty poor friend to " ſerve you." H. WOTTON."

(Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 360. *edit.* 3.)

[e] Dr. JOHN GAUDEN, born at Mayland in Eſſex, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was Dean of Bocking, and Maſter of the Temple, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. In 1660 he was made Biſhop of Exeter, and from thence promoted to Worceſter in 1662, in which year he died, aged 57 years. " When Archbiſhop Sheldon acquainted " the King that Biſhop Gauden was dead," his Majeſty replied, " that " he made no doubt, but it would be eaſy to find a more worthy perſon " to fill his place." *(Life of Dr. John Barwick, p.* 360.)

Whatever credit may be due to the animadverſions of ſeveral writers on the conduct of Dr. Gauden, which in ſome inſtances was certainly indefenſible, it will be only an act of juſtice to intimate, that the editor of the works of Mr. Richard Hooker, and the author of the Memoirs of the Life of Biſhop Brownrigg, and of many other valuable writings, deſerves much of poſterity. His way of preaching is ſaid to have been moſt admirable and edifying. Charles II. when he nominated him to the See of Exeter, bore this teſtimony to his merit, by obſerving, " That he, " upon all occaſions, had taken worthy pains in the pulpit and at the " preſs to reſcue his Majeſty and the church of England from all the " miſtakes and heterodox opinions of ſeveral and different factions; as " alſo from the ſacrilegious hands of thoſe falſe brethren, whoſe ſcandalous " converſation was conſummate in devouring church-lands, and then " with impudence to make ſacrilege lawful." *(Wood's Ath. Ox. vol.* ii. *col.* 208.)——It muſt be owned, that he was one of the Aſſembly of Divines in 1643, and that he took the covenant; to which, however, he made ſome ſcruples and objections, ſo that his name was ſoon ſtruck out of the liſt. He abandoned the cauſe of the Parliament as ſoon as they relinquiſhed their firſt avowed principles of reforming only, inſtead of extirpating Monarchy and Epiſcopacy.

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enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and truſted his, judgment, and ſubmitted to his commands; concluding, that if I did not, I could not forbear accuſing myſelf of diſobedience, and indeed of ingratitude, for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life.

For the life of that great example of holineſs, Mr. George Herbert, I profeſs it to be ſo far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to pleaſe myſelf, but yet not without ſome reſpect to poſterity: For though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or loſt, if I had not collected and preſented them to the imitation of thoſe that ſhall ſucceed us: For I humbly conceive writing to be both a ſafer and truer preſerver of men's virtuous actions than tradition; eſpecially as it is managed in this age. And I am alſo to tell the reader, that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haſte, yet I intended it a review before it ſhould be made public; but that was not allowed me, by reaſon of my abſence from London when it was printing: ſo that the reader may find in it ſome miſtakes, ſome double expreſſions, and ſome not very proper, and ſome that might have been contracted, and ſome faults that are not juſtly chargeable upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none ſo great, as may not, by this confeſsion, purchaſe pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now I wiſh, that as that learned Jew, Joſephus, and others, ſo theſe men had alſo writ their own lives; but ſince it is not the faſhion of theſe times, I wiſh their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I deſire this the more, becauſe it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to thoſe that ſhall live and ſucceed us, and would to them prove both a content and ſatisfaction. For when the next age ſhall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reaſon which that excellent caſuiſt Dr. Sanderſon (the late Biſhop of Lincoln) hath demonſtrated in his ſermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know, that this good man was as remarkable for the meekneſs and innocence of his life, as for his great and uſeful learning; and indeed as remarkable for his fortitude in his long and patient ſuffering (under them that then called themſelves the godly party) for that doctrine which he had preached and printed in the happy days of the nation's and the church's peace? And who would not be content to have the like account of Dr. Field[f], that great ſchoolman, and others of noted learning?

[f] Dr. RICHARD FIELD, Chaplain to James I. and Dean of Gloucester, died Nov. 21, 1616,—the friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and one of the moſt learned men of his age. He was the author of a work entitled, "Of the Church, fol. 1610."—James I. when he firſt heard him preach, ſaid, "This is a *Field* for God to dwell in."—With the ſame alluſion

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And though I cannot hope that my example or reaſon can perſuade to this undertaking, yet I pleaſe myſelf, that I ſhall conclude my preface with wiſhing that it were ſo.

I. W.

Fuller calls him that learned divine, "whoſe memory ſmelleth like a "*Field* that the Lord hath bleſsed."—Anthony Wood mentions a manuſcript, written by Nathaniel Field, Rector of Stourton, in Wiltshire, containing "ſome ſhort Memorials concerning the Life of that Rev. Divine, Dr. Richard Field, Prebendary of Windſor," &c. The feature which peculiarly marked his diſpoſition, was an averſion to thoſe diſputes on the Arminian points, which then began to diſturb the peace of the church, and from which he dreaded the moſt unhappy conſequences. It was his ambition to conciliate, not to irritate.

TO

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TO MY OLD AND MOST WORTHY FRIEND,

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

ON HIS

LIFE OF DOCTOR DONNE, &c.

WHEN, to a Nation's loſs, the virtuous die,
There's juſtly due from ev'ry hand and eye
That can, or write, or weep, an elegy.

Which though it be the pooreſt, cheapeſt way,
The debt we owe great merits, to defray,
Yet it is almoſt all that moſt men pay.

And theſe are monuments of ſo ſhort date,
That with their birth they oft receive their fate;
Dying with thoſe whom they would celebrate.

And though to verſe great reverence is due,
Yet what moſt poets write proves ſo untrue,
It renders truth in verſe ſuſpected too.

Something more ſacred then, and more entire
The memories of virtuous men require,
Than what may with their funeral-torch expire:

This hiſtory can give; to which alone
The privilege to mate oblivion
Is granted, when deny'd to braſs and ſtone.

Wherein, my friend, you have a hand ſo ſure,
Your truths ſo candid are, your ſtyle ſo pure,
That what you write may Envy's ſearch endure.

Your pen, diſdaining to be brib'd or preſt,
Flows without vanity, or intereſt;
A virtue with which few good pens are bleſt.

How happy was my father then[g]! to ſee
Thoſe men he lov'd, by him he lov'd, to be
Reſcu'd from frailties and mortality.

Wotton and Donne, to whom his ſoul was knit,
Thoſe twins of virtue, eloquence and wit,
He ſaw in Fame's eternal annals writ:

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g The character of Mr. Charles Cotton, the father of Charles Cotton the poet, is most beautifully delineated by the noble historian.

(Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, fol. 1759, p. 16.)

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Where one has fortunately found a place,
More faithful to him than his marble was[h],
Which eating age[i], nor fire ſhall e'er deface.

A monument that, as it has, ſhall laſt
And prove a monument to that defac'd;
Itſelf, but with the world, not to be raz'd.

And even in their flow'ry characters,
My father's grave, part of your friendſhip ſhares;
For you have honour'd his in firewing theirs.

Thus by an office, though particular,
Virtue's whole common-weal obliged are;
For in a virtuous act all good men ſhare.

And by this act, the world is taught to know,
That the true friendſhip we to merit owe,
Is not discharg'd by compliment and ſhow.

But yours is friendship of ſo pure a kind,
From all mean ends and intereſt ſo refin'd,
It ought to be a pattern to mankind:

For, whereas moſt men's friendships here beneath,
Do periſh with their friends' expiring breath,
Yours proves a friendſhip living after death;

By which the generous Wotton, reverend Donne,
Soft Herbert, and the church's champion,
Hooker, are reſcu'd from oblivion.

For though they each of them his time ſo ſpent,
As rais'd unto himſelf a monument,
With which Ambition might reſt well content;

Yet their great works, though they can never die,
And are in truth ſuperlatively high,
Are no juſt ſcale to take their virtues by:

Becauſe they ſhow not how th' Almighty's grace,
By various and more admirable ways,
Brought them to be the organs of his praiſe.

But what their humble modeſty would hide,
And was by any other means deny'd,
Is by your love and diligence ſupply'd.

Wotton,—a nobler ſoul was never bred!——
You, by your narrative's moſt even thread,
Through all his labyrinths of life have led;

Through his degrees of honour and of arts,
Brought him ſecure from Envy's venom'd darts,
Which are ſtill levell'd at the greateſt parts;

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[h] His monument in St. Paul's church before the late dreadful fire, 1665.

[i] Jamque opus exegi, quod, nec Jovis Ira, nec *Ignis*,
Nec poterit Ferrum, nec *edax* abolere *Vetuſtas*. OVID.

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Through all th' employments of his wit and ſpirit,
Whoſe great effects theſe kingdoms ſtill inherit,
The trials then, now trophies of his merit;

Nay, through diſgrace, which oft the worthieſt have,
Thro' all ſtate-tempeſts, thro' each wind and wave,
And laid him in an honourable grave.

And yours, and the whole world's beloved Donne,
When he a long and wild career had run,
To the meridian of his glorious ſun;

And being then an object of much ruth,
Led on by vanities, error, and youth,
Was long ere he did find the way to truth:

By the ſame clew, after his youthful ſwing,
To ſerve at his God's altar here you bring,
Where an once wanton muſe doth anthems ſing.

And though by God's moſt powerful grace alone
His heart was ſettled in Religion,
Yet 'tis by you we know how it was done;

And know, that having crucify'd vanities
And fixt his hope, he clos'd up his own eyes,
And then your friend a ſaint and preacher dies.

The meek and learned Hooker too, almoſt
I'the Church's ruins over-whelm'd and loſt,
Is by your pen recover'd from his duſt:

And Herbert;—he, whoſe education,
Manners, and parts, by high applauſes blown,
Was deeply tainted with Ambition,

And fitted for a court, made that his aim;
At laſt, without regard to birth or name,
For a poor country cure does all diſclaim;

Where, with a ſoul compos'd of harmonies,
Like a ſweet ſwan, he warbles as he dies
His Maker's praiſe, and his own obſequies.

All this you tell us, with ſo good ſucceſs,
That our oblig'd poſterity ſhall profeſs,
T'have been your friend, was a great happineſs.

And now! when many worthier would be proud
T'appear before you, if they were allow'd,
I take up room enough to ſerve a crowd:

Where to commend what you have choicely writ,
Both my poor teſtimony and my wit
Are equally invalid and unfit:

Yet this, and much more, is moſt juſtly due,
Were what I write as elegant as true,
To the beſt friend I now or ever knew.

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But, my dear friend, 'tis so, that you and I,
By a condition of mortality,
With all this great, and more proud world, muſt die;

In which eſtate I aſk no more of Fame,
Nor other monument of Honour claim,
Than that of your true friend, t'advance my name.

And if your many merits ſhall have bred
An abler pen to write your life when dead,
I think an honeſter cannot be read.

JAN. 17, 1672. CHARLES COTTON[k].

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[k] The author of "Scarronides, or Virgile Travestie," and of other poems. He composed the second part of "The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation;" being a continuation of Isaac Walton's tract on the same subject. In this work he thus speaks of our Biographer: "I have the happiness "to know his person, and to be intimately acquainted with him, and in him "to know the worthiest man, and to enjoy the best and truest friend any man "ever had: Nay, I shall yet acquaint you further, that he gives me leave to call "him Father, and I hope is not ashamed to own me for his adopted Son."

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COPY

OF A LETTER WRIT TO

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

BY DOCTOR KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER [1].

HONEST IZAAK,

THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years continuance, and the conſtant experience of your love, even in the worſt of the late ſad times, be ſufficient to endear our friendſhip; yet, I muſt confeſs my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private reſpect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonſtration of a public ſpirit, teſtified in a diligent, true, and uſeful collection of ſo many material paſſages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, ſince deſired by ſuch a friend as yourſelf, I ſhall not deny to give the teſtimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books; but ſhall firſt here take a fair occaſion to tell you, that you have been happy in chooſing to write the Lives of three ſuch perſons, as poſterity hath juſt cauſe to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen: of all which I ſhall give you my unfeigned cenſure.

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[1] Dr. HENRY KING, Biſhop of Chicheſter, ſon of Dr. John King, Biſhop of London, and great nephew of Robert King the firſt Biſhop of Oxford, and the laſt Abbot of Oſney, was the author of a new metrical tranſlation of the Pſalms, of which he has given a modeſt account in a letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, dated Oct. 30, 1651;—*(Uſher's Letters. p.* 567.)—and alſo of poems, elegies, paradoxes, ſonnets, divers Latin and Greek poems, with ſome ſermons and religious tracts. Whilſt he was Dean of Rocheſter, he was ſuſpected of favouring the Puritans: The king, deſirous of gratifying that party, made him Biſhop of Chicheſter: But during the time of Cromwell's uſurpation, he ſuffered with his brethren, and was compelled to go abroad. He returned at the Reſtoration, and ſurviving that event nine years, died Oct. 1, 1669. He was advanced to a biſhopric, when Epiſcopacy was in a ſinking ſtate; "It being conceived," ſays Jacob, "the moſt effectual method for the "reſtitution of that order, to prefer perſons not only of unblamable "lives, and eminent for their learning, but ſuch as were generally be-"loved by all diſintereſted people. The king's choice amongſt theſe "was very happy in this great divine, who lived a moſt religious life, "and did not die till after his order was reſtored."

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I ſhall begin with my moſt dear and incomparable friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's church, who not only truſted me as his executor, but three days before his death, delivered into my hands thoſe excellent Sermons of his, now made public; profeſsing before Dr. Winniff[m], Dr. Monford[n], and, I think, yourſelf then preſent at his bed-ſide, that it was by my reſtleſs importunity, that he had prepared them for the preſs; together with which (as his beſt legacy) he gave me all his ſermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How theſe were got out of my hands, you, who were the meſsenger for them, and how loſt both to me and yourſelf, is not now ſeaſonable to complain: But, ſince they did miſcarry, I am glad that the general demonſtration of his worth was ſo fairly preſerved, and repreſented to the world by your pen in the hiſtory of his life; indeed ſo well, that beſide others, the beſt critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales[o] of

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[m] Dr. THOMAS WINNIFF, ſucceſsively Dean of Glouceſter and of St. Paul's, was promoted to the biſhopric of Lincoln in 1641, on the tranſlation of Dr. Williams to York. His mildneſs, meekneſs, and humility, were equalled only by his learning, integrity, and eloquence. He experienced vexation and trouble in his promotion, and was under the neceſsity of retiring to a country pariſh, Lambourn in Eſsex, where he died in 1654. A monument was there erected to his memory, on which he is deſcribed as one, "Ex eorum numero Epiſcoporum, quibus "incumbebat nutantis Epiſcopatûs molem pietatis ac probitatis ſuæ Ful-"cimine ſuſtentare." He has been cenſured, along with Uſher, Prideaux, and others, for the moderation which he always diſplayed towards the Puritans, and indeed towards all thoſe who were not well affected to the church of England. But ſurely ſuch a moderation is more commendable than the harſhneſs and acrimony of intemperate zeal. Lord Clarendon naming four other divines, who were appointed biſhops at the ſame time with Dr. Winniff, characteriſes them as, "of great eminency in the "church, frequent preachers, and not a man to whom the faults of the "then governing clergy were imputed, or againſt whom the leaſt ob-"jection could be made."

[n] Dr. THOMAS MOUNTFORT, a Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, died Feb. 27, 1632. It appears from Strype's Life of Whitgift, that this perſon was ſuſpended for having clandeſtinely married Edward, Earl of Hertford, and Frances Pranel, widow of Henry Pranel, Eſq. without bans or licenſe. Upon his ſubmiſſion and earneſt deſire to be abſolved, he obtained abſolution from Archbiſhop Whitgift himſelf.

[o] The ever memorable JOHN HALES, Greek Profeſsor in the Univerſity of Oxford, and afterward Fellow of Eton College, from his vaſt erudition, called "The Walking Library," was eſteemed to be one of the greateſt ſcholars in Europe. Having attended the Ambaſsador of James I. to the Synod of Dort, he compoſed in a ſeries of letters, a regular and moſt faithful narrative of the proceedings of that aſsembly. His adherence to the royal cauſe, involved him in diſtreſs. Obliged to ſell his moſt valuable collection of books at a low price, he died in extreme poverty, May 19, 1656, aged 72 years. It is juſtly remarked, "it was none of the leaſt injuries of thoſe times, that ſo eminent a man as Hales ſhould live and die under ſuch neceſſities as he did, by which his life was ſhortened."

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Eton College) affirmed to me, he had not ſeen a life written with more advantage to the ſubject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne's [p].

After the performance of this taſk for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for your friend Sir Henry Wotton; betwixt which two there was a friendſhip begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendſhip of age: and doubtleſs this excellent perſon had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him; by which means his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy manage of your pen; a work which you would have declined, if imperious perſuaſions had not been ſtronger than your modeſt reſolutions againſt it. And I am thus far glad, that the firſt life was ſo impoſed upon you, becauſe it gave an unavoidable cauſe of writing the ſecond: if not; it is too probable, we had wanted both; which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry, without this teſtimony added to yours; that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours, which in that kind is a moſt excellent) age hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary obſervation of our two deceaſed friends, I proceed to ſatisfy your deſire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *Schiſmaticorum Malleus*, ſo great a champion for the Church of England's rights, againſt the factious torrent of Separatiſts, that then ran high againſt church-diſcipline; and in his unanſwerable books continues to be ſo againſt the unquiet diſciples of their ſchiſm, which now under other names ſtill carry on their deſign [q], and, who as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the ſcarce-cloſed wounds of a newly-bleeding ſtate and church.

And firſt, though I dare not ſay that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory reports to the honour of St. Ignatius [r], "that he lived in the time of St. John, and had ſeen him in his childhood," ſo I alſo joy, that in my minority I have

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[p] This was ſpoken of the firſt edition of Iſaac Walton's Life of Dr. Donne, which was printed in 1640; and not, as Wood affirms, in 1653.

[q] The Separatiſts from the Church of England, were originally called by a general term, "Puritans." Split into parties, they were ſoon diſcriminated by the various appellations of "Preſbyterians," "Independents," "Browniſts," "Familiſts," &c.

[r] IGNATIUS, Biſhop of Antioch, is in the liſt of *the Apoſtolic Fathers*, among whom were placed ſuch Chriſtian doctors as had converſed with the apoſtles themſelves, or their diſciples. This pious and venerable man, who being expoſed to wild beaſts by the order of Trajan, ſuffered martyrdom with the utmoſt conſtancy, was educated under the apoſtle and evangeliſt St. John, and intimately acquainted with St. Peter and St. Paul.

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often seen Mr. Hooker with my father, who was after Bishop of London; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the History of his Life; and from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that like jewels of invaluable price, they still cast such a lustre, as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys out-witted his accusers, and gained their confession: and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors[s].

I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker, was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer; who, after the death of Mr. Hooker, was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of "Ecclesiastical Polity," and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers; many of which were imperfect: for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles too like his. But these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer[t], who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father, after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot[u], then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham[x] to require, and bring

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[s] The writer of this letter experienced, in his own person, a pleasure equal to any, of which human nature is capable, that of vindicating the injured fame of a beloved parent. When Dr. John King, Bishop of London, a man of solid gravity and piety, and of such an excellent volubility of tongue as well as invention, that James I. denominated him "*the King* of Preachers," was traduced as having abjured that religion, which in the course of a long life he had uniformly defended and adorned, this his son detected the falsehood of the accusation, and in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, clearly exposed the artificers of an infamous, but at that time no unusual calumny.

[t] President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. After the death of Mr. Hooker he published the five books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, with an excellent preface, subscribed I. S. the initial letters of his name. (*See Wood's Ath. Ox. vol. I. p.* 393.)

[u] The character of this prelate, justly to be admired for his truly Christian moderation and mildness, has been most happily pourtrayed by the pen of the Right. Hon. Arthur Onslow, for many years the venerable Speaker of the British House of Commons, in "The Life of Dr. George Abbot, &c. reprinted with some additions, &c. Guildford, 1777."

[x] Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, as well as to his successor, Dr. Abbot, and Dean of Bocking in Essex: an able divine, and an amiable man. To his knowledge in divinity he added other literary accomplishments,

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them to him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put into the Bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud; and were then, by the brethren of that faction, given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters[y], as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Church's confusion: And though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand; yet there wanted

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merly, being an accurate historian, well skilled in coins and antiquities, and so great a proficient in heraldry, that he is generally supposed to have been the author of that celebrated work, which was published in the name of John Guillim. He was also the editor of Crakanthorpe's book against the Archbishop of Spalato, entitled "Defensio Ecclesiæ," &c. Speed, at the conclusion of his History of Great Britain, gratefully acknowledges "The most acceptable helps both of books and collections "(especially in matters remoter from our times) from that worthy di- "vine, Master John Barkeham, a gentleman composed of learning, ver- "tue, and courtesie, as being no lesse ingeniously willing, than learnedly "able, to advance and forward all vertuous endeavours." He bequeathed his valuable coins to Archbishop Laud, through whose munificence they were deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

[y] Hugh Peters, a man of loose morals, having been expelled in the earlier part of his life from the University of Cambridge, became afterward an itinerant preacher in New England, Holland, and other countries, and was at length appointed one of Oliver Cromwell's Chaplains, and a Colonel in the army. He and Dr. Burgess are classed among those precious-gifted teachers, to whom Butler alludes in the heroical epistle of Hudibras to his Lady, ver. 305, 306. He occasionally preached the lecture at Stepney, and from thence was called by William Greenhill, the noted Independant, "The Evening Star of Stepney." Many instances are recorded of the violence of his zeal against monarchy. When Oxford was surrendered in 1646, for the use of the Parliament, he was one of the chaplains who, by propagating the most seditious doctrines in the town and in the university, endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants and the young scholars from their allegiance.—In the pulpit he not unfrequently acted the part of a buffoon or merry-andrew. He used to say, that it would never be well till 150—"The three L's, the Lords, the Le- "vites, and the Lawyers," were put down. He preached divers sermons to persuade the army to destroy the King, whom he compared to Barabbas. It was given in evidence against him, that he was wont to call the King *tyrant* and *fool*; and that, on the Sunday after his Majesty was brought to his trial, in the course of his sermon, he uttered these words,—"Lord, "now letteſt thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen "thy salvation."

Such was the man who got possession, not only of the Archbishop's library at Lambeth, but also of the invaluable one which belonged to the King. A commission was granted by Charles II. dated Sept. 10, 1660, to Thomas Rois, tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, and Elias Ashmole, Esquires, empowering them to examine Hugh Peters concerning the books and medals which he was suspected of having embezzled. It was well known that he had ransacked the royal library and closet, and that their most valuable curiosities were taken out, and dispersed over Europe. In his examination (*Biogr. Brit. vol. II. p.* 230. *K.*) he declared, that he gave up the key and custody of them to Major General Ireton.—Of his behaviour, during his trial and at his execution, see *the State Trials.*

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not other endeavours to corrupt and make them ſpeak that language for which the faction then fought, which indeed was—*to ſubject the ſovereign power to the people.*

But I need not ſtrive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his prince, whilſt he lived, the ſorrow expreſſed by King James at his death, the value our late ſovereign (of ever-bleſſed memory) put upon his works, and now, the ſingular character of his worth by you, given in the paſſages of his Life, eſpecially in your Appendix to it, do ſufficiently clear him from that imputation. And I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the VIII. and other eminent men of the Romiſh perſuaſion, have put upon his books: Having been told the ſame in my youth by perſons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Laſtly, I muſt again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other perſon, by reaſon of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers (my old friends alſo), who have been men of noted wiſdom, eſpecially Mr. George Cranmer, whoſe prudence added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very uſeful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchleſs books: one of their letters I herewith ſend you, to make uſe of if you think fit. And let me ſay further; you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's beſt friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbiſhop Whitgift, of whoſe incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more ſhort and ſignificant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for the learned Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongſt the ſurviving monuments of whoſe learning (give me leave to tell you ſo) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid [z], but eſpecially his tranſlation of "King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance," into elegant Latin; which flying in that dreſs as far as Rome, was by the Pope and Conclave ſent to Salamanca unto Franciſcus Suarez [a] (then reſiding there as Preſident of that college) with a com-

[z] Or rather his works entitled "Prælectiones tredecim in Principium Elementorum Euclidis Oxoniæ habitæ. Oxon. 1621." 4to. Sir Henry Savile having read thirteen lectures upon the firſt eight propoſitions of Euclid, ſurrendered the chair to Mr. Briggs, taking leave of his audience in his laſt lecture with theſe words, "Trado lampadem ſucceſſori meo, doctiſſimo viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ myſteria perducet."
(*Ward's Profeſſors of Greſham College, p.* 121.)

[a] A celebrated Jeſuit, the author of many controverſial and other tracts. He was born in 1548, and died in 1617. His works are contained in 32 vol. folio. The treatiſe here alluded to, is entitled "Defenſio Fidei Catholicæ, contra Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores, unà cum Reſponſione ad Jac. Regis Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis. Mag. 1619." A copy of this book was burnt in England by public authority. It is related of him, that he met death with the moſt joyful tranquillity and compoſure of mind, uttering theſe words, "Non putabam tam

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mand to anſwer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work, which he calls "Defenſio Fidei Catholicæ," it was tranſmitted to Rome for a view of the inquiſitors; who, according to their cuſtom, blotted out what they pleaſed, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been uſed ſince his death) added whatſoever might advance the Pope's ſupremacy, or carry on their own intereſt; commonly coupling together *Deponere et Occidere*, the depoſing, and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchriſtian language, Mr. John Saltkel[b], the amanuenſis to Suarez, when he wrote that anſwer (but ſince a convert, and living long in my father's houſe), often profeſſed the good old man (whoſe piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only diſavowed, but deteſted. Not to trouble you further; your reader (if according to your deſire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find many juſt reaſons to thank you for it; and poſſibly for this circumſtance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wiſhes your happineſs, and is unfeignedly,

Sir, your ever-faithful and affectionate old friend,

CHICHESTER, Nov. 17, 1664. HENRY CHICHESTER.

"tam dulce; tam ſuave eſſe mori." (*Dictionnaire Historique, &c. à Paris*, 1777.)—Dr. Robert Abbot, Biſhop of Saliſbury, delivered a courſe of lectures againſt Suarez. They were publiſhed after his death by his ſon, with this title, "De Supremâ Poteſtate Regiâ Exercitationes habitæ in Academiâ Oxonienſi, contra Rob. Bellarmine et Franciſ. Suarez. Londini, 1619." 4to.—Pope Paul V. diſhonoured his title of Holineſs, and caſt an indelible ſtain on his infallibility, by an expreſs approbation of the doctrine advanced in the writings of Suarez in defence of the murder of Kings.

[b] Mr. JOHN SALTKEL or SALKIELD, a native of Cumberland, was for ſome years a member of the Church of Rome and a Jeſuit. He was profoundly read in theological and other authors: but being for the fame of his learning brought before King James, he was ſo far convinced by his Majeſty's arguments, as to come over to the Church of England, for for which he was wont to ſtyle himſelf "The Royal convert;" and the King honoured him ſo far, as to call him "The Learned Salkeld" in his works and writings.—(*Echard's History of England, vol. II. p.* 871.)—"Never had England more learned biſhops and doctors: Which of "them ever returned from his Majeſty's diſcourſe without admira-"tion? What king chriſtened, hath written ſo learned volumes? To "omit the reſt, his laſt of this kind, wherein he hath ſo held up Cardinal "Bellarmine and his maſter Pope Paulus, is ſuch, that Pleſſis and Mou-"line, the two great lights of France, profeſs to receive their light in "this diſcourſe from his beams, and the learned Jeſuit, Salkeild, could "not but be converted with the neceſſity of thoſe demonſtrations." (*Holy Panegyric, Biſhop Hall's Works, p.* 1142.)—Mr. Salkeild became Rector of Church Taunton in Devonſhire, in 1635, and was afterwards, for his loyalty, deprived of his preferment, and died at Ulculm, in Feb. 1659-60.

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Dr JOHN DONNE.

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THE LIFE

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE,

LATE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, LONDON.

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THE INTRODUCTION.

IF that great master of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Provost of Eton College had lived to see the publication of these sermons[c], he had presented the world with the Author's life exactly written; and it was pity he did not; for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it: betwixt whom, and the Author, there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And though their bodies were divided, their affections were not: for that learned knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave[d]; which he testified by entreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful: I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content, till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then, death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these sermons were to be printed, and want the Author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable; indignation or grief (indeed I know not which), transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the Author's life that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bondman was[e];—(the grateful wretch had been left alone on

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[c] It must be remembered that the life of Dr. Donne was originally prefixed to the first volume of his sermons, printed in 1640.

[d] The grave which causes forgetfulness. In this sense the epithet is used in Milton——

——"If the sleepy drench
"Of that *forgetful* lake benumb not still. PAR. LOST, B. II. ver. 73.

"Oblivioso lævia Massico
"Ciboria exple. HOR. L. II. Od. VII. ver. 21.

Ουτι πα ἱις Αιδαν γε τον ἐκλελαθοντα φυλαξεις. THEOCR. Eidυλλ. α. 63.

[e] Philip, the freed-man of Pompey, watched the dead body of his master, till the multitude had satisfied their curiosity; and then washing

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the ſea-ſhore, with the forſaken dead body of his once glorious lord and maſter: and, was then gathering the ſcattered pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the cuſtom of the Romans)—"Who art thou that alone "haſt the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great*?" ſo, who am I that do this officiouſly ſet the Author's memory on fire? I hope the queſtion will prove to have in it more of wonder than diſdain. But wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profeſs myſelf artleſs, ſhould preſume with my faint light to ſhow forth his life, whoſe very name makes it illuſtrious! but be this to the diſadvantage of the perſon repreſented: certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder; who ſhall here ſee the Author's picture in a natural dreſs which ought to beget faith in what is ſpoken: for he that wants ſkill to deceive, may ſafely be truſted.

And if the Author's glorious ſpirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leiſure to look down and ſee me, the pooreſt, the meaneſt of all his friends, in the midſt of his officious duty, confident I am, that he will not diſdain this well-meant ſacrifice to his memory: for, whilſt his converſation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleneſs were then eminent; and I have heard divines ſay, thoſe virtues that were but ſparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice, that when Dr. Donne's Sermons were firſt printed, this was then my excuſe for daring to write his life; and I dare not now appear without it.

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it with ſea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding ſome rotten planks of a little fiſherman's boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. Lucan has given a long deſcription of Pompey's unhappy deſtiny. According to his account, the body was thrown into the ſea, and Servius Codrus, once his quæſtor and his friend, brought it to ſhore, and paid the laſt honours to it.

E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus,
Quæſtor ab Idalio Cinyræ litore Cypri
Infauſtus Magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
Auſus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
Compulit, ut mediis quæſitum corpus in undis
Duceret ad terram, traheretque ad litora Magnum.

Lucan. L. VIII. ver. 715.

* Plutarch's Lives.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DONNE.

MASTER JOHN DONNE was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas Moor[f], sometime Lord Chancellor of England; as also from that worthy and laborious Judge Rastall[g], who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and in his eleventh year was sent to the University of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin Tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula[h]: of whom story says, that he was rather born, than made wise by study.

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[f] Fuller's Church History, B. x. p. 112.

[g] JOHN RASTALL, a celebrated printer, married Elizabeth the sister of Sir Thomas Moor. William, their son, was brought up to the bar, and was appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench in 1558. Upon the demise of Queen Mary, he steadily adhered to his religion, left England, and spent the remainder of his days at Louvain. He published the works of his uncle Sir Thomas Moor in one volume. He also formed a collection of and wrote a comment on the statutes, and a very useful book entituled "Les Termes de la Ley," or "An Explication of certain difficult and obscure Words and Terms of the common Laws and Statutes of this realm, now in use." The author of several tracts against Bishop Jewell was John Rastall, who left the Church of England, in which he had been ordained priest, went to Rome, and with this his kinsman was admitted into the society of Jesus.

[h] PICUS Prince of Mirandula, a duchy in Italy, was born in 1463, and having resigned his sovereignty in favour of his nephew, he died in 1494. He is said to have made so wonderful a progress in study, as to understand twenty-two languages at the age of eighteen years, and at the age of twenty-four years to dispute with great success, *de omni scibili*. "Picus Mirandula 32 ætatis anno quo obiit omni disciplinarum genere non modò tinctus, sed plane imbutus erat, ut Encyclopediam

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There he remained ſome years in Hart-Hall[i], having, for the advancement of his ſtudies, tutors of ſeveral ſciences to attend and inſtruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning, expreſsed in public exerciſes, declared him worthy to receive his firſt degree in the ſchools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romiſh perſuaſion, were conſcionably averſe to ſome parts of the oath that is always tendered at thoſe times, and not to be refuſed by thoſe that expect the titulary honour of their ſtudies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was tranſplanted from Oxford to Cambridge[k]; where, that he might receive nouriſhment from both ſoils, he ſtayed till his ſeventeenth year; all which time he was a moſt laborious ſtudent, often changing his ſtudies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reaſons formerly mentioned.

About the ſeventeenth year of his age, he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to ſtudy the law; where he gave great teſtimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profeſſion: which never ſerved him for other uſe than an ornament and ſelf-ſatisfaction.

His father died before his admiſſion into the ſociety; and being a merchant, left him his portion in money. (It was 3000l.) His mother and thoſe to whoſe care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematics, and in all the other liberal ſciences, to attend him. But with

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Scientiarum jure ſibi vindicare potuerit, longiore vitâ planè digniſſimus princeps." *(Scaligeriana.)*——He was honoured with this pompous Epitaph,

"Hîc ſitus eſt Picus Mirandula: cætera norunt
"Et Tagus et Ganges, forſan et Antipodes."

On which it has been juſtly remarked, that "his name, then celebrated "in the remoteſt corners of the earth, is now almoſt forgotten, and his "works then ſtudied, admired, and applauded, are now mouldering in "obſcurity." *(Dr. Johnson's Works, vol. 2. p. 273.)*—The life of this prodigy of learning, written with great elegance of language by John Francis Prince of Mirandula, is inſerted in *Bates's Vitæ ſelectorum, &c. p.* 90.

[i] "He continued for three years at Hart-Hall, which was ſo called "from Elias de Hertford, who lived in the tenth year of Edward the "Firſt, An. Dom. 1282. In 1312 it changed its name to Stapledon "Hall, but upon the ſettlement of Exeter College it returned to its "former appellation." *(Le Neve.)*——In 1740 it was by a royal charter erected into a college by the name of "Hertford College in the "Univerſity of Oxford," to conſiſt of a Principal, four ſenior, and eight junior Fellows.

[k] To Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was fellow pupil with Mr. Samuel Brook, who ſucceeded Dr. Leonard Maw in the maſterſhip of that college.—"And now, like a laborious bee, deſirous to gather "from more flowers than one, he was tranſlated from Oxford to Cam-"bridge, our other renowned nurſery of learning, where he much im-"proved his ſtudies." *(Winſtanley's English Worthies, p.* 398.)

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these arts they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish Church; of which those tutors profest (though secretly) themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion; and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his Pseudo-Martyr[l]; a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason, and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as Schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age; he being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore (though his youth and health, promised him a long life), to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and begun seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity[m], as it was then controverted betwixt the reformed and the Roman Church. And as God's blessed spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him (they be his own words in his preface to Pseudo-Martyr), so he calls the same holy spirit to

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[l] "I had a longer work to do than many other men: for I was first "to blot out certaine impressions of the Romane religion and to wrestle "both against the examples and against the reasons, by which some hold "was taken, and some anticipations early layde upon my conscience, both "by persons who by nature had a power and superiority over my will, and "others who by their learning and good life seemed to me justly to claime "an interest for the guiding and rectifying of mine understanding in these "matters." *(Preface to the Pseudo-Martyr;* which is pronounced by Mr. Granger in his Biographical History, vol. I. p. 357, to be the most valuable of Donne's prose writings.)

[m] The principal heads of this controversy have been discussed with great ability and candour by the most eminent divines of our church, and particularly by those of them, who lived in the reign of James II. Mr. Pope, in a letter to Bishop Atterbury, tells his Lordship, that when he was fourteen years old, he read the controversies between the two churches. He adds, "and the consequence was, I found myself a "Papist and a Protestant by turns, according to the last book I read." This, as the writer of his life observes, is an admirable description of every reader busied in religious controversy, without possessing the principles on which a right judgment of the points in question is to be regulated. If Mr. Pope had pursued this inquiry with the same preparatory knowledge, with the same humble diffidence that attended Dr. Donne, it is reasonable to think that the result of his researches would have been different from what he has represented it.

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witness this protestation; that, in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and, by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties: and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmine[a] to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty: and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience; he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age, did show the then Dean of Gloucester[o] (whose name my memory hath now lost) all the Cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel; and the Earl of Essex going first the Cales, and after the Island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye witness of those happy and unhappy employments[p]. But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many

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[a] ROBERT BELLARMINE, raised to the purple in 1599 by Pope Clement VIII. was born in 1542, and died at Rome in 1621. He was esteemed by the Jesuits as the brightest ornament of their order, and the Protestant writers have always considered him as the most learned advocate of the church of Rome. His great work has been called "Opus absolutissimum, quod controversiarum ferme omnium corpus dici queat." The following eulogium is prefixed to a print of him by Bolswert. "*Robertus Bellarminus* Politianus Societatis *Jesu* animi submissione "quàm purpurâ major: nec pio minùs quàm docto in hæreses contro- "versiarum calamo orbi notissimus: virtutum ut amator ita cultor om- "nium. Quam a Matre Virgine carnem acceperat, quam a sacro "lavacro innocentiam Deo reddidit: nullius sibi vitâ omni mendacii "conscius: cujus etiam medicam manum in vario morborum genere "experti non pauci. Vivere hic desiit, cœlo incepit anno MDCXXI. "ætatis fuæ LXXIX."

[o] Dr. ANTHONY RUDD, born in Yorkshire, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died Bishop of St. David's in 1614. Of his sermon preached in 1596 before Queen Elizabeth, from Ps. xc. 12, in which by personally alluding to her advanced years, and plainly telling her Majesty, that "age had furrowed her face, and besprinkled her "hair with its meal," he incurred her heavy displeasure."—*See Fuller's Ch. History, B. X. Cent.* XVII. *p.* 69.

[p] Of this expedition in 1596, in which Cadiz was taken from the Spaniards, a narrative written by the Earl of Essex is inserted in Camden's Annals of England, &c.

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useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling to the holy land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the Sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness; which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the Lord Ellesmere[q], then keeper of the great seal, the Lord Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief

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[q] Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight, a native of Cheshire, the founder of his branch of the house of Egerton. In consideration of his singular merits, he had the care of the Great Seal committed to him, May 6, 1596, under the title of Lord Keeper, and by King James I. he was created Baron of Ellesmere, and constituted Lord Chancellor of England. His literary character is pourtrayed in the following letter written by Sir Francis Bacon, when he presented him with a copy of "The Advancement of Learning."

"May it please your good Lordship,

"I humbly present your Lordship with a work, wherein as you have "much commandment over the author, so your Lordship hath great "interest in the argument: for, to speak without flattery, few have like "use of learning or like judgment in learning, as I have observed in "your Lordship. And again, your Lordship hath been a great planter "of learning, not only in those places in the church, which have been "in your own gift, but also in your commendatory vote no man hath "more constantly held "detur digniori;" and therefore both your Lord-"ship is beholden to learning, and learning beholden to you; which "maketh me presume, with good assurance, that your Lordship will "accept well of these my labours, the rather because your Lordship in "private speech hath often begun to me in expressing your admiration "of his Majesty's learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; and "whose virtue and perfection in that kind did chiefly move me to a "work of this nature. And so with signification of my most humble "duty and affection to your Lordship,

1605. I remain, &c."

(Bacon's Works, vol III. p. 229. Cabala, p. 64.)

This excellent person died at the age of seventy years, March 15, 1616-17, having on the third of that month resigned the Great Seal, which on the seventh was given to Sir Francis Bacon. "It was said of "him (the Attorney (General) that he exceeded Bacon in eloquence, "Chancellor Ellesmere in judgment, and William Noy in law."

(Lord Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 407.)

"TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

"Whilst thy weigh'd judgment, Egerton, I hear,
"And know thee then a judge not of one year,
"Whilst I behold thee live with purest hands,
"That no affection in thy voice commands,

"That

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Secretary; ſuppoſing and intending it to be an introduction to ſome more weighty employment in the State; for which, his Lordſhip did often proteſt, he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordſhip in this time of Maſter Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be ſo much his ſervant, as to forget he was his friend; and to teſtify it, did always uſe him with much courteſy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he eſteemed his company and diſcourſe to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the ſpace of five years, being daily uſeful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not ſay unhappily) fell into ſuch a liking, as (with her approbation) increaſed into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Elleſmere[r], and daughter to Sir George Moor[s], then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had ſome intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wiſdom, did therefore remove her with much haſte from that to his own houſe at Lotheſley, in the county of Surry; but too late, by reaſon of ſome faithful promiſes which were ſo interchangeably paſsed, as never to be violated by either party.

Theſe promiſes were only known to themſelves; and the friends of both parties uſed much diligence, and many arguments to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for love is a flattering miſchief, that hath denied aged and wiſe

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"That ſtill thou'rt preſent to the better cauſe,
"And no leſs wiſe than ſkilful in the laws,
"Whilſt thou art certain to thy words once gone,
"As is thy conſcience, which is always one:
"The virgin long ſince fled from earth I ſee
"T' our times return'd hath made her heaven in thee.

(Ben Jonson, Epigram 74th.)

Fuller in his *Worthies of England*, obſerves, that "Chriſtendom "afforded not a perſon which carried more gravity in his countenance "and behaviour, than Sir Thomas Egerton, inſomuch that many have "gone to the Chancery on purpoſe only to ſee his venerable garb (happy "they who had no other buſineſs), and were highly pleaſed at ſo "acceptable a ſpectacle."

[r] Or rather, Lady EGERTON, ſiſter to Sir George Moor of Loxly-Farm, in the county of Surry, Knight, and widow of Sir John Wooley, of Pirford in Surry, Knight, and mother of that Sir Francis Wooley, who kindly took Dr. Donne and his wife under his protection. She died in January 1599. In 1600, Sir Thomas Egerton married the Counteſs Dowager of Derby, who continued to be called Lady Derby. In 1603 he was made Baron Elleſmere.

[s] This gentleman was Treaſurer or Receiver General of the revenues of Henry Prince of Wales in 1604. In 1610, he was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and in 1615, Lieutenant of the Tower.

(See Wood's A. O. vol. I. p. 492.)

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men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father; a passion that carries us to commit errors with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how), and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so; and that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous, when it was known, it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George (doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour, Henry Earl of Northumberland[t]: But it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him, that as though his passion of anger and inconsideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister the Lady Ellesmere, to join with him to procure her Lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordship.—This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered, that errors might be overpunished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples, yet he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not at Mr. Donne's dismission give him such a commendation, as the great Emperor

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[t] Henry Percy, the ninth Earl of Northumberland of that name; "a learned man himself, and the generous favourer of all good learning," as he is called by Anthony Wood. This nobleman, upon the marriage of his youngest daughter Lady Lucy Percy, a lady of the most distinguished wit and beauty, with the Lord Haye, afterwards created Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle, discovered the same harshness of disposition, which he probably censured in the father-in-law of Dr. Donne. The treatment which he received from James I. to whom he always showed the most faithful attachment, affords one, among many instances, of the injustice of that monarch, who fined this nobleman 30,000l. and "imprisoned him in the Tower from 1605 to 1619, upon "a mere suspicion, without the least proof of his having had knowledge "of the powder-plot, as Cecyll himself confessed in a letter to Sir Tho"mas Edmunds, dated Dec. 2, 1605."

(Birch's View of the Negociations, &c. p. 245.)

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Charles the Fifth did of his Secretary Eraſo[u]; when he preſented him to his ſon and ſucceſſor Philip the Second, ſaying, "That in his Eraſo, he gave to him a greater gift than all his "eſtate, and all the kingdoms which he then reſigned to him;" yet the Lord Chancellor ſaid, "He parted with a friend and "ſuch a ſecretary as was fitter to ſerve a king than a ſubject."

Immediately after his diſmiſſion from his ſervice, he ſent a ſad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it; and after the ſubſcription of his name, writ,

JOHN DONNE, ANNE DONNE, UN-DONE;

and God knows it proved too true: For this bitter phyſic of Mr. Donne's diſmiſſion was not ſtrong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler; for he was not ſatisfied till Mr. Donne and his ſometime compupil in Cambridge that married him, namely, Samuel Brook[x] (who was after Doctor in Divinity, and Maſter of Trinity College), and his brother

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[u] On the 16th of January, 1556, his Majeſty paſſed the act "of the "Renunciation of the Crown of Spain and all its dominions to his ſon "Philip, in the preſence of Francis de Eraſo his Secretary, and all the "Spaniards then at Bruſſels." (*Steven's Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of Charles V. written in Spaniſh by D. F. Prudencio de Sandoval Biſhop of Pamplona, &c. p.* 453.) It was probably at this very time that the Emperor recommended this faithful ſecretary to his ſon.

[x] SAMUEL BROOK, deſcended from a reſpectable family at York, was the ſon of Robert Brook, an eminent merchant, and Lord Mayor of that city in 1592 and in 1595. He was admitted of Trinity College, in Cambridge, in 1596; and on September 26, 1612, being then Chaplain to Prince Henry, he was choſen Divinity Profeſſor in Greſham College, on the recommendation of that Prince, whoſe unhappy death followed, Nov. 6th enſuing. In 1613 he was elected one of the twelve preachers of the Univerſity, and the year following he wrote a Latin paſtoral, which was acted with applauſe before King James in Trinity College Hall, on Friday, March 10. Copies of this performance are yet extant, with this title, "Melanthe, Fabula paſtoralis, acta coram Jacobo, Magnæ Brit. "Franc. et Hiberniæ Rex, Cantabrigiam ſuam nuper inviſerat, ibidem-"que muſarum atque animi gratiâ dies quinque commoraretur. Egerunt "Alumni Coll. San. et individuæ Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ. Excudebat "Cantrellus Legge, Mart. 27, 1615." In 1630 he is ſaid to have compoſed an Arminian Treatiſe of Predeſtination, with which he acquainted Biſhop Laud, who encouraged him in the work, recommending it to the reviſal of Dr. Lindſey and Dr. Beale, two great Arminians, and promiſing to peruſe it himſelf, as appears by ſundry letters. (*Pryne's Canterbury's Doom. p.* 167.) Of this tract Mr. Horſey, in the funeral oration delivered in Trinity College Chapel, thus ſpeaks: "Nec illum "prætereo fœtum nuperrimè formatum "*de magno et ſecreto Prædeſtinationis Myſterio Diſputationes.*" Quanti nobis eſſet e tineis et "latebris redimere has pretioſas chartas, ut typis ædeliter exeuſæ in "manus omnium pervenirent!" In 1615 he was created D. D. and in 1618 was promoted to the Rectory of St. Margaret's Lothbury, in London.

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Mr. Christopher Brooke[y], sometime Mr. Donne's Chamberfellow in Lincoln's-Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty; but his days were still cloudy; and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him, for his wife was (to her extreme sorrow) detained from him; and though with Jacob he endured not an hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law, which proved troublesome and sadly chargeable to him, whose youth, travel, and needless bounty had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men: and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour (which when it would entice had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art), these and time had so dispassionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son; and this at last melted him into so much remorse (for love and anger are so like agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat), that he laboured his son's restoration to his place; using

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London. He resigned his Professorship of Gresham College in 1629, upon his appointment to the Mastership of Trinity College in Cambridge, vacated by the death of Dr. Leonard Maw, Bishop of Bath and Wells. In 1631 he was made Archdeacon of Wells, and in that year he died; and was buried in Trinity College Chapel, without either monument or epitaph. He is described as a man of wit and learning. And Mr. Horsey commends him for his "concionandi copia." Of his writings there is extant only one discourse, from the title of which we may form an idea of the nature of the questions, which were then usually discussed in the divinity schools. "De Auxilio Divinæ Gratiæ Exercitatio Theologica, nimirum, An possibile sit duos eandem habere gratiæ mensuram, et tamen unus convertatur et credat, alter non: è Johan. xi. 45, 46." *(Ward's Professors of Gresham College.)*

[y] A Bencher and Summer Reader at Lincoln's Inn, to the chapel of which he was a benefactor. He is much commended as a poet by Ben Jonson, Drayton, and others of his cotemporaries. He wrote an Elegy, consecrated to the never dying memory of Henry Prince of Wales, London 1613, 4to. He also published Eclogues dedicated to his much loved friend Mr. William Brown of the Inner Temple, London, 1614, 8vo. To this gentleman Dr. Donne hath inscribed two poems, "The Storme" and "The Calme."

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to that end, both his own and his ſiſter's power to her Lord, but with no ſucceſs, for his anſwer was, "That though he was "unfeignedly ſorry for what he had done, yet it was inconſiſt- "ent with his place and credit to diſcharge and readmit ſer- "vants at the requeſt of paſſionate petitioners."

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's readmiſsion was by all means to be kept ſecret:—(For men do more naturally reluct for errors, than ſubmit to put on thoſe blemiſhes that attend their viſible acknowledgment)—But however it was not long before Sir George appeared to be ſo far reconciled as to wiſh their happineſs, and not to deny them his paternal bleſſing, but yet refuſed to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donne's eſtate was the greateſt part ſpent in many chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience: he out of all employment that might yield a ſupport for himſelf and wife, who had been curiouſly and plentifully educated, both their natures generous, and accuſtomed to confer, and not to receive courteſies; theſe and other conſiderations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his ſufferings, ſurrounded him with many ſad thoughts, and ſome apparent apprehenſions of want.

But his ſorrows were leſsened and his wants prevented by the ſeaſonable courteſy of their noble kinſman, Sir Francis Wolly of Pirford in Surry [z], who intreated them to a cohabitation with him, where they remained with much freedom to themſelves, and equal content to him for ſome years; and, as their charge increaſed (ſhe had yearly a child), ſo did his love and bounty.

It hath been obſerved by wiſe and conſidering men, that wealth hath ſeldom been the portion, and never the mark to

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[z] The ſon of Sir John Wooley, Knight, Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, who, though a layman, was promoted to the Deanery of Carliſle on the death of Sir Thomas Smith. He was knighted ſome time after his advancement to that dignity. He cauſed a monument to be erected to himſelf and his parents in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. He is there repreſented as ſitting between his father and mother. The inſcription begins

"D. O. M.

"Joannes Wolleius, Eques Auratus, Reginæ Elizabethæ à Secretioribus "Conſiliis, Secretarius Linguæ Latinæ, Cancellarius Ordinis Periſceli- "dis, Doctrinâ, Pietate, Fide, Probitate, Gravitate clariſsimus

"Obiit anno 1595."

Then follow twenty-four Latin hexameter verſes, in which are contained the hiſtory and character of Sir John Wooley, Elizabeth his wife, afterwards Lady Egerton, and Sir Francis Wooley their ſon.

(Dugdale's History of St. Paul's.)

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discover good people [a]; but, that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it (he only knows why) to many whose minds he hath enriched with the greater blessings of knowledge and virtue [b], as the fairer testimonies of his love to mankind; and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments, whose necessary and daily expenses were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate; which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares, the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind; a disposition that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to him, who takes a pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times (anno 1648), he did bless with many such, some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham; one that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful heart at the age of 94 years (and is yet living [c]); one, that in his

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a "I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, "nor the battle to the strong; *neither yet bread to the wise*, nor yet "*riches to men of understanding*." Eccles. ix. 11.

b According to the Greek Poet,

Σοφια δε πλυτυ κτημα τιμιωτερον.

c "The learned, pious, and painful Bishop of Durham (MORTON) "hath fought in front against Roman superstition and idolatry." *(Sir Edward Deering's Speech against the Remonstrants.)*—This *learned and charitable* prelate, as Isaac Walton somewhere calls him, not more distinguished by the splendour of his parentage, than by his habitual temperance and diligence in study, died Sept. 22, 1659, in the 95th year of his age, after having received the most injurious treatment from the Parliament. No apology is necessary for the insertion of the following affecting story concerning him. "Having suffered imprisonment at dif-"ferent times, and undergone many hardships, he was expelled from Dur-"ham-house. Wandering from place to place, he at last went to Lon-"don with about sixty pounds—(which it seems was then his all); he was "overtaken on the road by Sir Christopher Yelverton, who being known "the Bishop was unknown to him: and in discourse asking the old "gentleman, 'What he was,' the good Bishop replied, 'I am that old "man, the Bishop of Durham, notwithstanding all your votes:' for "Sir Christopher was not free from the stain of the times. Whereupon "Sir Christopher demanded where he was going: 'To London,' re-"plied the old gentleman; 'to live a little while and then die.' On "this Sir Christopher entered into further discourse with him, took him "home with him into Northamptonshire, where he became tutor to that "son of his, which was afterwards the incomparably learned Sir Henry "Yelverton, and prefaced this most excellent Bishop's little piece of "Episcopacy." *(Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 18.)*—"He was," says

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"ing from a diſhonour[f]. And beſides, whereas it is deter-
"mined by the beſt of Caſuiſts, that *God's glory ſhould be the*
"*firſt end, and a maintenance the ſecond motive to embrace that*
"*calling*, and though each man may propoſe to himſelf both
"together, yet the firſt may not be put laſt without a vio-
"lation of conſcience, which he that ſearches the heart will
"judge. And truly my preſent condition is ſuch, that if I
"aſk my own conſcience whether it be reconcileable to that
"rule, it is at this time ſo perplexed about it, that I can neither
"give myſelf nor you an anſwer. You know, Sir, who ſays,
"*Happy is that man whoſe conſcience doth not accuſe him for that*
"*thing which he does*[g]. To theſe I might add other reaſons
"that diſſuade me; but I crave your favour that I may for-
"bear to expreſs them, and thankfully decline your offer."

This was his preſent reſolution; but the heart of man is not in his own keeping, and he was deſtined to this ſacred ſervice by a higher hand; a hand ſo powerful, as at laſt forced him to a compliance: of which I ſhall give the reader an account before I ſhall give a reſt to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death; a little before which time, Sir Francis was ſo happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forſaken ſon and daughter; Sir George conditioning by bond to pay to Mr. Donne 800 l. at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20 l. quarterly for their maintenance, as the intereſt for it till the ſaid portion was paid.

Moſt of thoſe years that he lived with Sir Francis, he ſtudied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired ſuch a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that ſtudy the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family diſſolved, Mr. Donne took for himſelf a houſe in Micham (near to Croydon in Surry), a place noted for good air, and choice company: there his wife and children remained; and for himſelf he took lodgings in London, near to White-hall, whither his friends and occaſions drew him very often, and where he was as often viſited by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who uſed him in their councils of greateſt conſideration, and with ſome rewards for his better ſubſiſtence. Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and

[f] There is not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that Mr. Donne ever diſgraced his character by any act of immorality. He probably mixed more in the world than he thought conſiſtent with the profeſſion of a clergyman: he had not given that valediction to the pleaſures and amuſements of life, which he deemed requiſite. When he devoted his time to the ſtudy of poetry, he choſe ſubjects for his pen, which at a later period of life appeared to him too trifling and ludicrous.

[g] "Happy is he that condemneth not himſelf in that which he doeth." *Rom.* xiv. 22.

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friendſhip was ſought for by moſt Ambaſſadors of foreign nations, and by many other ſtrangers whoſe learning or buſineſs occaſioned their ſtay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his conſtant reſidence in London, but he ſtill denied it, having ſettled his dear wife and children at Micham, and near ſome friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God knows, needed it: and that you may the better now judge of the then preſent condition of his mind and fortune, I ſhall preſent you with an extract collected out of ſome few of his many letters.

——"And the reaſon why I did not ſend an anſwer to your "laſt week's letter was, becauſe it then found me under too "great a ſadneſs, and at preſent it is thus with me. There "is not one perſon but myſelf well of my family; I have "already loſt half a child, and with that miſchance of hers, "my wife is fallen into ſuch a diſcompoſure, as would afflict "her too extremely, but that the ſickneſs of all her other "children ſtupifies her; of one of which, in good faith, I have "not much hope; and theſe meet with a fortune ſo ill pro-"vided for phyſic, and ſuch relief, that if God ſhould eaſe us "with burials, I know not how to perform even that; but I "flatter myſelf with this hope, that I am dying too, for I can-"not waſte faſter than by ſuch griefs. As for——

"From my hoſpital at Micham,

Aug. 10. "JOHN DONNE."

Thus did he bemoan himſelf: and thus in other letters.

——"For we hardly diſcover a ſin, when it is but an omiſ-"ſion of ſome good, and no accuſing act: with this or the "former, I have often ſuſpected myſelf to be overtaken; which "is, with an over-earneſt deſire of the next life. And though "I know it is not merely a wearineſs of this; becauſe I had "the ſame deſire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed "fairer hopes than I now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles "have increaſed it. It is now ſpring, and all the pleaſures of "it diſpleaſe me; every other tree bloſſoms, and I wither: I "grow older and not better; my ſtrength diminiſheth and my "load grows heavier, and yet I would fain be or do ſomething: "but that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this time of my "ſadneſs: for to chooſe is to do; but to be no part of any body "is as to be nothing; and ſo I am, and ſhall ſo judge myſelf, "unleſs I could be ſo incorporated into a part of the world, "as by buſineſs to contribute ſome ſuſtentation to the whole. "This I made account; I began early, when I underſtood the "ſtudy of our laws; but was diverted by leaving that and em-"bracing the worſt voluptuouſneſs, *an hydroptique immoderate "deſire of human learning and languages*[h]: beautiful ornaments

[h] Donne, in one of his poems, uſes the expreſſion of "The ſacred "hunger of Science."

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" indeed to men of great fortunes; but mine was grown so low " as to need an occupation, which I thought I entered well " into, when I subjected myself to such a service as I thought " might exercise my poor abilities; and there I stumbled and " fell too: and now I am become so little, or such a no- " thing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my " own letters.—Sir, I fear my present discontent does not pro- " ceed from a good root, that I am so well content to be no- " thing, that is, dead. But, Sir, though my fortune hath made " me such, as that I am rather a sickness or a disease of the " world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it nor " life; yet I would gladly live to become some such thing as " you should not repent loving me. Sir, your own soul can- " not be more zealous for your good than I am; and God, " who loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it. " You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my pain " hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it so, that my " eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my " prayers with mine own weary soul, and commend myself " to yours. I doubt not but next week will bring you good " news; for I have either mending or dying on my side: but " if I do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in this, " That my blessed Saviour, in exercising his justice upon my " two worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reserves all his " mercy for that which most needs it, my soul; which, is, I " doubt, too like a porter that is very often near the gate, and " yet goes not out.—Sir, I profess to you truly, that my loath- " ness to give over writing now, seems to myself a sign that I " shall write no more——

" Your poor friend, and God's poor patient[1],

SEPT. 7. " JOHN DONNE."

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind; and thus

[1] This letter most affectingly exhibits a gloomy picture of family distress; A good man struggling with poverty and sickness, almost sinking under the pressure of accumulated misery, but happily deriving consolation from this reflection, that while his body and his fortune only suffered, the tender mercy of God was reserved for his soul.——In another letter he thus describes his sad situation;—" I write from the " fire-side in my parlour, and in the noise of three gamesome children, " and by the side of her, whom because I have transplanted into a " wretched fortune, I must labour to disguise that from her by all such " honest devices, as giving her my company and discourse." The mournful history of this unfortunate marriage affords a most important lesson of instruction to young persons. In an affair of high consequence to their welfare in future life, the utmost caution, the most rigid circumspection are necessary. Connexions, formed without the express consent and approbation of parents and guardians, are so far from being productive of domestic bliss, that they are generally marked with disappointment, misfortune, and penitential sorrow.

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is continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained constantly at Micham, and to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church, and especially those of supremacy and allegiance. And to that place, and such studies, he could willingly have wedded himself during his life; but the earnest persuasion of friends, became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry [k], a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drewry-lane, and not only rent-free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathised with him and his in all their joy and sorrows [l].

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's house, the Lord Hay was, by King James, sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French King Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on a sudden resolution to accompany him to the French court, and to be present at his audience there [m]. And Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution, to subject Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, "Her divining soul boded her "some ill in his absence," and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty when he received

[k] Sir ROBERT DRURY was the patron of Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, who dedicates to him his First, as he does to Lady Drury "The Second Century of Meditations and Vows, Divine and Moral."

[l] The death of a young lady, the daughter of Sir Robert Drury, afforded to Dr. Donne a subject for the exercise of his muse, in two poems. "I. An Anatomie of the World, wherein by occasion of the untimely death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the frailty and decay of this whole world is represented. The First Anniversary.——II. Of the Progresse of the Soule. Wherein, by occasion of the religious death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the incommodities of the soule in this life, and her exaltation in the next, are contemplated. The Second Anniversary."

[m] The Authors of the Biographia Britannica observe, that Mr. Walton is mistaken in his information, when he writes, that Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embassy from King James to the French King; for that Lord was not sent Ambassador to France, until July 1616: whereas it is evident from the dates of some of Mr. Donne's letters, that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612.

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I forbear the reader's farther trouble, as to the relation and what concerns it, and will conclude mine with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her: and I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry, say, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

A VALEDICTION,

FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls to go,
Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
The breath goes now; and some say—No:

So let us melt and make no noise;
No wind-sighs or tear-floods us move:
'Twere profanation of our joys,
To tell the laity our love.

Movings of the earth cause harms and fears;
Men reckon what they did or meant:
But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers' love
(Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
Absence; because that doth remove
Those things that elemented it.

But we by a soul so much refin'd,
That our souls know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If we be two, we are two so
As stiff twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fix'd foot, makes no show
To move, but does if th' other do.

And

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And though thine in the centre sit,
Yet, when my other far does roam,
Thine leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect as mine comes home

Such thou must be to me, who must,
Like th' other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And me to end where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others, that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the King for some secular employment for him. The King had formerly both known and put a value upon his company; and had also given him some hopes of a state-employment, being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals[p], where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion betwixt his majesty and those divines whose places required their attendance on him at those times; particularly the Dean of the Chapel, who then was Bishop Montague[q] (the publisher of the learned and eloquent

[p] James I. took great pleasure in the conversation of those divines who attended his court. It was usual with him, particularly at his meals, to discourse with them, as well upon the controversial points of religion, as upon various topics of literature. In the dedication of "An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland, 1624," to the King, the celebrated author, having preferred him to the Emperor Theodosius the Younger, and to Alexius, thus addresses his Majesty. "It is acknowledged, even by such as differ from you "in the point of religion, as a matter that hath added more than "ordinary lustre to your royal estate, that *you doe not forbear so "much as at the time of your bodily repast to have, for the then like "feeding of your intellectual part, your Highnesse's table surrounded "with the attendance and conference of your grave and learned divines.* "What inward joy my heart conceived as oft as I have had the hap- "pinesse to be present at such seasons, I forbeare to utter, onely I will "say with Job, *the eare which heard you blessed you, and the eye which "saw you gave witnesse to you.*" Dr. Joseph Hall in his Holy Panegyric hath drawn a parallel between the Roman Emperor Constantine and King James. "Constantine sate in the midst of bishops, as if he "was one of them. King James, besides his solemn conferences, "vouchsafes not seldom to spend his meals in discourse with his bishops "and other worthy divines." *See Bishop Hall's Works, p.* 444.

[q] The fifth son to Sir Edward Montague, and brother to Edward the first Lord Montague of Broughton, eminent for his learning and liberality, and usually called "King James's ecclesiastical Favourite." He published his Majesty's works under this title: "King James's Works, published by James, Bishop of Winton, and Deane of his Majesty's Chappel Royal. 1 Reg. III. 12 v. *Loe I have given thee a wise and*

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works [r] of his Majeſty), and the moſt reverend Dr. Andrews [s], the late learned Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was then the King's Almoner.

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an understanding heart. London 1616." He afterward tranſlated them into Latin. He died in 1618, having been biſhop of Wincheſter only two years. He was buried in the Abbey church of Bath, which, while he filled the ſee of Bath and Wells, he repaired and beautified at a great expenſe, having been excited to this act of munificence in the following manner: When he held his primary viſitation in the church of Bath, the buſineſs being done and the benediction given, Sir John Harrington ſtood up in the midſt of the congregation and addreſsed his lordſhip in a Latin poem on the ruinous ſtate of the buildings of the church, and concluded with a prophecy of its future flouriſhing and beautiful condition under the auſpices of the Biſhop.

Te nempe ad decus hoc peperit Natura; replevit
Dotibus eximiis Deus: Ars perfecta polivit:
In gremio refovet ter magni gratia regis
Ditavitque bonis tanta ad molimina natis.
Huc tua te virtus, ſorte ancillante, propellit,
Euge; opus hoc miræ pietatis perfice.

The Biſhop, ſo far from being diſpleaſed at this bold and unuſual addreſs, anſwered it in a ſhort Latin ſpeech, and promiſed to reſtore the cathedral.

[r] How far the works of this Royal Author deſerve the epithets here beſtowed upon them, I venture not to decide. "The Dæmonologie" and "The Counterblaſt to Tobacco" do not excite very flattering ſentiments of his literary acquirements. Quotations, puns, ſcripture, witticiſms, ſuperſtition, oaths, vanity, prerogative, and pedantry are affirmed by the writer of The Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors to be the ingredients of all his Sacred Majeſty's performances. *(Vol. I. p. 41.)*——Yet the incenſe of praiſe and adulation was liberally offered to him, both in his life-time and after his death. Ben Jonſon, in an epigram, commends James as "beſt of kings and beſt of poets." One of the moſt learned divines of his time declares the King's Paraphraſe upon the Revelation of St. John, which he is ſaid to have written before he was twenty years of age, to be a memorable monument left to all poſterity, *which I can never look upon, but those verses of the poet runne alwaies in my minde.*

Cæſaribus virtus contigit ante diem:
Ingenium cœleſte ſuis velocius annis
Surgit, et ignavæ ſert mala damna moræ.

[s] Of this great divine Caſaubon thus ſpeaks, "De cujus altâ doctrinâ "in omni genere diſciplinarum quicquid dixero minus erit." In him were eminently united thoſe qualities, which ſeldom meet in one man, "Scientia magna, memoria major, judicium maximum, at induſtria "infinita." He is ſaid to have poſſeſsed a critical and accurate knowledge of at leaſt fifteen modern tongues. Hence, no one was better qualified to be one of the tranſlators of the Bible in the reign of King James. Lord Clarendon entertained ſo favourable an opinion of him, as to declare, That "if Andrews, who loved and underſtood the church, "had ſucceeded Bancroft in the ſee of Canterbury, that infection would "eaſily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily ex-"pelled." *(History of the Rebellion, B. I. p. 88. Edit. 1721.)* Amongſt Milton's

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About this time there grew many diſputes that concerned the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance[t], in which the King had appeared and engaged himſelf by his public writings now extant. And his Majeſty diſcourſing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reaſons which are uſually urged againſt the taking of thoſe oaths, apprehended ſuch a validity and

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Milton's juvenile poems is an elegy on the death of Biſhop Andrews. To his patronage the venerable Joſeph Mede owed his ſucceſs in being elected into a fellowſhip of Chriſt's College, Cambridge. And it ſhould be always mentioned to his honour, that it was uſual with him to ſend for men of note, that he thought wanted preferment, and to give them prebends and benefices under ſeal before they knew of it. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in the caſe of Mr. Bois, on whom he conferred a prebend of Ely unaſked for. He was ſent for to London by the Biſhop. When he had given him, as we commonly ſay, joy of it (which was his firſt ſalutation at his coming to him), he told him, "that "he did beſtow it freely on him, without any one moving him thereto; "though (ſaid he) ſome pick-thanks will be ſaying, they ſtood your "friends herein." Which prediction proved very true. *(Peck's Desiderata curiosa, B. VIII. p.* 50.)——Fuller obſerves of him, that "the "Fathers are not more faithfully cited in his book, than lively copied "out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing "King James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the pre-"ſence of this prelate, which otherwiſe he aſsumed to himſelf." Of his writings perhaps the moſt known and the moſt uſeful is the Manual of Devotions, compoſed in Greek and Latin for his own private uſe, and rendered into Engliſh by Dean Stanhope. For ſome time before his death the manuſcript was ſcarce ever out of his hands. It was found worn in pieces by his fingers, and wet with his tears. A late editor of theſe devotions thus concludes his advertiſement to the reader. "When "thou haſt bought this book, enter into thy cloſet and ſhut the door; "pray with Biſhop Andrews for one week, and he will be thy com-"panion for the reſidue of thy years; he will be pleaſant in thy life, "and at the hour of death he will not forſake thee."——"Who," ſaith Biſhop Gauden, "hath more ampleneſs and completeneſs for a good "Man, a good Biſhop, a good Chriſtian, a good Scholar, a good "Preacher, and a good Counſellor, than Biſhop Andrews, a man of an "aſtoniſhing excellency both at home and abroad?"—*See Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 1016.

[t] "Then I ſay did his Majeſty ſhow this Chriſtian courage of his more manifeſtly, when he ſent the profeſsion of his religion, "The Apology of the Oath of Allegiance," and his opinion of the Roman Antichriſt, in all languages to all Princes of Chriſtendom. By occaſion of which book, though there have riſen twenty Rabſhakes, who have railed againſt our God, in railing againſt our religion; and twenty Shemeis, who have railed againſt the perſon of his Sacred Majeſty—(for I may pronounce that the number of them who have barked and ſnarled at that book in writing is ſcarce leſs than forty);—yet ſcarce one of them all hath undertaken the arguments of that book, but either repeated, and perchance enlarged thoſe things, which their own authors had ſhovelled together of that ſubject (that is, the Pope's temporal power); or elſe they have bent themſelves maliciouſly, inſolently, ſacrilegiouſly againſt the perſon of his Majeſty; and the Pope may be Antichriſt ſtill, for any thing they have ſaid to the contrary."

(Dr. Donne's Sermon at Paul's Cross, March 24, 1616.)

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mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderneſs of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; ſo merciful to me, as to move the learnedeſt of kings to deſcend to move me to ſerve at the altar; ſo merciful to me, as at laſt to move my heart to embrace this holy motion:—Thy motions I will and do embrace:—And now I ſay with the bleſsed Virgin, "Be it with thy ſervant as ſeemeth "beſt in thy ſight;" and ſo, bleſsed Jeſus, I do take the cup of ſalvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy goſpel [b].

Such ſtrifes as theſe St. Auſtin [c] had, when St. Ambroſe [d] endeavoured his converſion to Chriſtianity, with which he confeſsed he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Biſhop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no ſtranger to Mr. Donne's abilities,—(for he had been chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne's being his Lordſhip's ſecretary);—that reverend man did receive the news with much gladneſs; and, after ſome expreſsions of joy, and a perſuaſion to be conſtant in his pious purpoſe, he proceeded with all convenient ſpeed, to ordain him firſt deacon, and then prieſt not long after [e].

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[b] Theſe juſt and exquiſitely beautiful reflections affix infinite credit equally to Dr. Donne and to his Biographer. Is it not devoutly to be wiſhed that they were deeply imprinted on the minds of every candidate for holy orders?

[c] AUGUSTIN, the famous Biſhop of Hippo, and uſually called "the "great Doctor of Africa," was born in 359, and died in 430. The careleſsneſs and levity of the earlier period of his life were in ſome meaſure compenſated by the unbounded charity, the piety and zeal which he diſplayed after his converſion to the true faith. This converſion is attributed partly to the affecting diſcourſes of St. Ambroſe, whoſe lectures he was induced to attend through mere curioſity, and partly to the tears and tender entreaties of his mother Monica. He hath ſo freely acknowledged and cenſured the impropriety of his former conduct, in his books of Confeſsions, that it is juſtly deemed "tyranny "to trample on him that proſtrates himſelf." Eraſmus, who hath written his life, exhibits him as the moſt finiſhed pattern of goodneſs—"quaſi Deus voluerit in Auguſtino tanquam in una tabula vividum "quoddam exemplar Epiſcopi repræſentare omnibus virtutum nume-"ris abſolutum."

[d] Biſhop of Milan, from the perſuaſive powers of his eloquence, and the charming ſweetneſs of his language, called "the Melliſluous Doctor." The effects which his diſcourſes produced on St. Auguſtin are deſcribed in *Confeſsionum, lib. v. cap.* 14.

[e] He had bid farewel to poetry the year before; his laſt poem being written upon the death of Lord Harrington, a nobleman of extraordinary piety and learning.

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Now the Engliſh Church had gained a ſecond St. Auſtin, for I think none was ſo like him before his converſion; none ſo like St. Ambroſe after it: And if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holineſs of both.

And now all his ſtudies, which had been occaſionally diffuſed, were all concentred in divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own ſoul were engaged in the converſion of others;—in preaching the glad tidings of remiſsion to repenting ſinners, and peace to each troubled ſoul. To theſe he applied himſelf with all care and diligence: And now ſuch a change was wrought in him that he could ſay with David, "O how amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of "Hoſts!" Now he declared openly, "That when he required "a temporal, God gave him a ſpiritual bleſsing." And that "He was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the houſe of God, "than he could be to enjoy the nobleſt of all temporal em-"ployments."

Preſently after he entered into his holy profeſsion, the King ſent for him, and made him his Chaplain in Ordinary, and promiſed to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with ſcholars and perſons of greateſt quality was ſuch as might have given ſome men boldneſs enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modeſty in this employment was ſuch that he could not be perſuaded to it, but went uſually accompanied with ſome one friend, to preach privately in ſome village not far from London; his firſt ſermon being preached at Paddington: This he did till his Majeſty ſent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and though much was expected from him, both by his Majeſty and others, yet he was ſo happy (which few are) as to ſatisfy and exceed their expectations; preaching the word ſo as ſhowed his own heart was poſſeſsed with thoſe very thoughts and joys that he laboured to diſtil into others: A preacher in earneſt, weeping ſometimes for his auditory, ſometimes with them; always preaching to himſelf like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying ſome, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a ſacred art and courtſhip to amend their lives: Here picturing a vice ſo as to make it ugly to thoſe that practiſed it, and a virtue ſo as to make it be beloved even by thoſe that loved it not, and all this with a moſt particular grace and an inexpreſsible addition of comelineſs.

There may be ſome that may incline to think (ſuch indeed as have not heard him), that my affection to my friend hath tranſported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching: If this meets with any ſuch, let me intreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witneſs for what I

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ſay, it being attested by a gentleman of worth (Mr. Chidley[f], a frequent hearer of his ſermons), in part of a funeral elegy wrote by him on Dr. Donne; and is a known truth though it be in verſe.

——————Each altar had his fire——————
He kept his love but not his object. Wit
He did not baniſh, but tranſplanted it;
Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
To PIETY, which it doth beſt become.
For ſay, had ever pleaſure ſuch a dreſs?
Have you ſeen crimes ſo ſhap'd, or lovelineſs
Such as his lips did clothe religion in?
Had not reproof a beauty paſsing ſin?
Corrupted Nature ſorrow'd that ſhe ſtood
So near the danger of becoming good.
And when he preach'd ſhe wiſh'd her ears exempt
From PIETY that had ſuch power to tempt.
How did his ſacred flattery beguile
Men to amend?——————

More of this, and more witneſses might be brought, but I forbear and return[g].

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[f] Rather Mr. Chudleigh:—JOHN CHUDLEIGH, M. A. of Wadham College in Oxford, and the eldeſt ſon of Sir George Chudleigh, Bart. of Alſton in Devonſhire.

[g] The character of Dr. Donne's Sermons is faithfully delineated by his ſon in the Dedication of them to Charles I. "They who have been "converſant in the works of the holieſt men of all times, cannot but "acknowledge in theſe the ſame ſpirit with which they writ; reaſon-"able demonſtrations every where in the ſubjects comprehenſible by "reaſon: As for thoſe things which cannot be comprehended by our "reaſon alone, they are no where made eaſier to faith than here; and "for the other part of our nature, which conſiſts in our paſsions and in "our affections, they are here raiſed and laid, and governed and diſ-"poſed, in a manner, according to the will of the author. The doc-"trine itſelf which is taught here is primitively Chriſtian; the Fathers "are every where conſulted with reverence, but apoſtolical writings only "appealed to as the laſt Rule of Faith. Laſtly, ſuch is the conjuncture "here of zeal and diſcretion, that whilſt it is the main ſcope of the "author in theſe Diſcourſes, that glory be given to God, this is accom-"panied every where with a ſcrupulous care and endeavour, that peace "be likewiſe ſettled amongſt men."

The two following extracts will enable the reader to form a judgment of Dr. Donne's ſtyle and mode of writing:

——"It is not enough not to truſt in fleſh, but thou muſt truſt in "that that is ſpirit. And when thou art to direct thy truſt upon him "who is ſpirit, the ſpirit of power and of conſolation, ſtop not, ſtray "not, divert not upon evill ſpirits to ſeeke advancement or to ſeeke "knowledge from them, nor upon good ſpirits, the glorious ſaints of "God in heaven, to ſeeke ſalvation from them, nor upon thine own "ſpirit, in an over-valuation of thy purity or thy merits. For there is a "peſtilent pride in an imaginary humility, and an infectious foulneſse

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That ſummer, in the very ſame month in which he entered into ſacred orders and was made the King's Chaplain, his Ma-

" in an imaginary purity; but turne onely to the onely invifible and im-
" mortall God, who turnes to thee in ſo many names and notions of
" power and conſolation in this one pſalme, *(Ps. lxii.)*. In laſt verſe
" but one of this pſalme David ſayes, *God hath ſpoken once, and twice*
" *have I heard him.* God hath ſaid enough, but twice in this pſalme
" hath he repeated this, in the ſecond and in the ſixth verſe, *He onely is*
" *my rocke, and my ſalvation, and my defence.* And, as it is inlarged in
" the ſeventh verſe, *my refuge and my glory.* If my *refuge*,—what
" enemy can purſue me? If my *defenſe*,—what tentation ſhall wound
" me? If my *rocke*,—what ſtorme ſhall ſhake me? If my *ſalvation*,—
" what melancholy ſhall deject me? If my *glory*,—what calumny ſhall
" defame me?

" I muſt not ſtay you now, to infuſe into you the ſeverall conſolations
" of theſe ſeverall names and notions of God towards you. But goe
" your ſeverall wayes home, and every ſoule take with him that name,
" which may miniſter moſt comfort unto him. Let him that is pur-
" ſued with any particular tentation, inveſt God, as God is a *refuge*,
" a ſanctuary. Let him that is buffeted with the meſſenger of Satan,
" battered with his own concupiſcence, receive God, as God is his *de-*
" *fence* and target. Let him that is ſhaked with perplexities in his
" underſtanding, or ſcruples in his conſcience, lay hold upon God, as
" God is his *rocke* and his anchor. Let him that hath any diffident jea-
" louſie or ſuſpition of the free and full mercy of God apprehend God,
" as God is his *ſalvation*. And him that walks in the inglorioufneſſe
" and contempt of this world contemplate God, as God is his *glory*.
" Any of theſe notions is enough to any man, but God is all theſe and
" all elſe that all ſoules can thinke, to every man. Wee ſhut up both
" theſe conſiderations (man ſhould not (that is not all), God ſhould be
" relied upon) with that of the Prophet, *Truſt ye not in a friend, put*
" *not your confidence in a guide, keepe the doores of thy mouth from her*
" *that lies in thy bosome* (there is the excluſion of truſt in man): And
" then he adds in the ſeventh verſe, becauſe it ſtands thus between man
" and man, *I will looke unto the Lord, I will looke unto the God of my*
" *ſalvation, my God will heare me.*" *(LXXX. Sermons*, 1640, *p.* 662.)

———" Now to make up a circle, by returning to our firſt word, re-
" member: As we remember God, ſo for his ſake let us remember one
" another. In my long abſence and far diſtance from hence remember
" me, as I ſhall do you in the ears of that God to whom the fartheſt
" eaſt and the fartheſt weſt are but as the right and the left ear in one of
" us; we hear with both at once, and he hears in both at once; remem-
" ber me, not my abilities, for when I conſider my Apoſtleſhip that I
" was ſent to you, I am in St. Paul's *quorum, quorum ego sum minimus*,
" the leaſt of them that have been ſent; and when I conſider my in-
" firmities, I am in his *quorum* in another commiſſion, another way,
" *quorum ego maximus*, the greateſt of them; but remember my labours
" and endeavours, at leaſt my deſire to make ſure your ſalvation. And
" I ſhall remember your religious cheerfulneſs in hearing the word, and
" your chriſtianly reſpect towards all them that bring that word unto
" you, and towards myſelf in particular far above my merit. And ſo as
" your eyes that ſtay here and mine that muſt be far off, for all that diſ-
" tance ſhall meet every morning in looking upon that ſame ſun, and meet
" every night in looking upon the ſame moon; ſo our hearts may meet
" morning and evening in that God which ſees and hears every where;

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jeſty then going his progreſs, was entreated to receive an entertainment in the Univerſity of Cambridge; and Mr. Donne attending his Majeſty at that time, his Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend him to the Univerſity to be made Doctor in Divinity: Dr. Harſnett[h] (after Archbiſhop of York) was then

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"that you may come thither to him with your prayers, that I (if "I may be of uſe for his glory and your edification in this place) may "be reſtored to you again; and may come to him with my prayer, "that what Paul ſoever plant amongſt you, or what Apollos ſoever "water, God himſelf will give the increaſe: That if I never meet you "again till we have all paſſed the gate of death, yet in the gates of "heaven I may meet you all, and there ſay to my Saviour and your "Saviour, that which he ſaid to his father, "*Of those whom thou hast "given me have I not lost one.*" Remember me thus, you that ſtay in "this kingdome of peace, where no ſword is drawn but the ſword of "juſtice, as I ſhall remember you in thoſe kingdomes, where ambition "on one ſide and a neceſſary defence from unjuſt perſecution on the "other ſide hath drawn many ſwords; and Chriſt Jeſus remember us all "in his kingdome; to which though we muſt ſail through a ſea, it is "the ſea of his blood, where no ſoul ſuffers ſhipwreck; though we muſt "be blown with ſtrange winds, with ſighs and groans for our ſins, yet it "is the ſpirit of God that blows all this wind, and ſhall blow away all "contrary winds of diffidence or diſtruſt in God's mercy; where we "ſhall be all ſouldiers of one army, the Lord of Hoſtes, and children of "one quire, the God of harmony and conſent: where all clients ſhall "retain but one counſellor, our advocate Chriſt Jeſus, nor preſent him "any other fee but his own blood, and yet every client have a judg-"ment on his ſide, not only in a not guilty, in the remiſſion of his ſins, "but in a *venite benedicti*, in being called to the participation of an im-"mortal crown of glory: where there ſhall be no difference in affection "nor in mind, but we ſhall agree as fully and perfectly in our *allelujah* "and *gloria in excelsis* as God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, "agreed in the *faciamus hominem* at firſt; where we ſhall end and yet "begin but then; where we ſhall have continuall reſt, and yet never "grow lazie; where we ſhall be ſtronger to reſiſt and yet have no enemy; "where we ſhall live and never die, where we ſhall meet and never part."

(A Sermon of Valediction at his going into Germany, at Lincoln's Inn, April 18, 1619. *Donne's Sermons, vol. III. p.* 280, 281.)

[h] Dr. SAMUEL HARSNETT, Maſter of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, was Vice-chancellor of that Univerſity in 1605 and in 1614, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Chicheſter and Norwich, and Archbiſhop of York. He died March 12, 1630. Strictneſs to hiſtoric truth precludes us from paſſing over in ſilence an unfortunate circumſtance of his life, viz. his expulſion from the Maſterſhip of Pembroke-Hall, for ſeveral practices exhibited againſt him in fifty-ſeven Articles; all of which are ſaid to have been ſo flagrant, that he choſe rather to reſign his Maſterſhip than to undergo an inquiry. But as the purport of theſe Articles is unknown, and the nature of the charge brought againſt him has never been aſcertained, we remain in doubt what degree of cenſure he deſerved. The inſcription on his tomb was evidently penned by himſelf. "Hic jacet Samuel Harſnett, "quondam Vicarius hujus Eccleſiæ, primò indignus Epiſcopus Cicef-"trienſis, dein indignior Norvicienſis, demum indigniſſimus Archiepiſ-"copus."

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Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the "Pſeudo-Martyr," required no other proof of his abilities, but propoſed it to the Univerſity, who preſently aſsented, and expreſsed a gladneſs that they had ſuch an occaſion to entitle him to be theirs[1].

His abilities and induſtry in his profeſsion were ſo eminent, and he ſo known and ſo beloved by perſons of quality, that within the firſt year of his entering into ſacred orders he had fourteen advowſons of ſeveral benefices preſented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London[k], to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendſhip with many, whoſe converſation multiplied the joys of his life: But an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died[l], leaving him a man of a narrow unſettled eſtate, and (having buried five) the careful father of ſeven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary aſsurance never to bring them under the ſubjection of a ſtep-mother; which promiſe he kept moſt faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his moſt

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[1] A different account of this matter is given in two letters of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton. In one dated March 16, 1614, he writes, "I had almoſt forgotten that almoſt all the Courtiers went forth "Maſters of Arts, at the King's being there; but few or no Doctors, "ſave only *Youngs*; which was done by a mandate, being ſon to Sir "*Peter*, the King's ſchoolmaſter. The Vice-Chancellor and Univerſity "were exceeding ſtrict in that point, and refuſed many importunities of "great men; among whom was Mr. Secretary, that made great means "for Mr. Weſtfield; but it would not be: neither the King's intreaty "for *John Dun* would prevail; yet they are threatened with a mandate, "which, if it is come, it is like they will obey; but they are reſolved "to give him ſuch a blow withal, that he were better be without it."

And in another letter of nearly the ſame date: "*John Donne* and one "*Cheke* went out Doctors at Cambridge with much ado, after our com-"ing away, by the King's expreſs mandate; though the Vice-Chancellor "and ſome of the Heads called them openly 'Filios noctis et tene-"briones,' that fought thus to come in at the window, when there was a "fair gate open. But the worſt is, that *Donne* had gotten a reverſion "of the Deanery of Canterbury, if ſuch grants could be lawful; whereby "he hath purchaſed himſelf a great deal of envy, that a man of his ſort "ſhould ſeek, *per saltum*, to intercept ſuch a place from ſo many more "worthy and antient Divines."

[k] When it is recollected how much Dr. Donne was attached to London, we are ſurpriſed to find that in one of his letters he ſpeaks of *plaguy* London. Let it be remarked, that this word had not at that time a burleſque ſenſe. Donne, in one of his elegies, has "Death's *plaguy* "jaws;" i. e. affected with the plague.

[l] Mrs. Donne died Auguſt 15, 1617, on the ſeventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the pariſh church of St. Clement's, near Temple Bar.

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dear and deſerving wife's grave[m], and betook himſelf to a moſt retired and ſolitary life.

In this retiredneſs, which was often from the ſight of his deareſt friends, he became crucified to the world, and all thoſe vanities, thoſe imaginary pleaſures that are daily acted on that reſtleſs ſtage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being paſſions may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes and the companion of his youth; her, with whom he had divided ſo many pleaſant ſorrows and contented fears, as common people are not capable of; not hard to think but that ſhe, being now removed by death, a commeaſurable grief took as full poſſeſſion of him as joy had done, and ſo indeed it did; for now his very ſoul was elemented of nothing but ſadneſs, now grief took ſo full a poſſeſſion of his heart, as to leave no place for joy; if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where like a *pelican in the wilderneſs*, he might bemoan himſelf without witneſs or reſtraint, and pour forth his paſſions like Job in the days of his affliction, "Oh that I might have the deſire of my "heart! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for!" For then, *as the grave is become her houſe*, ſo I would haſten to

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[m] It appears that Nicholas Stone, a noted ſtatuary in the reign of James I. made a tomb for Mrs. Donne, to be placed in the church of St. Clement Danes, for the which he had fifteen Pieces. (*Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c. vol. II. p.* 44.) The following is the inſcription on her tomb:

ANNÆ

GEORGII, ROBERTI, WILIELMI, CHRISTOPHERI } More de Lotheſley Equitum Aurator. } Filiæ, Sorori, Nepti, Pronepti

Fœminæ lectiſsimæ, dilectiſsimæque,
Conjugi chariſsimæ, caſtiſsimæque,
Matri piiſsimæ, indulgentiſsimæque,
XV annis in conjugio tranſactis,
VII poſt XII partum (quorum VII
Superſtant) dies
Immani febre correptæ
(Quod hoc ſaxum fari juſſit
Ipſe præ dolore infans)
Maritus (miſerrimum dictu) olim
Charæ charus
Cineribus cineres ſpondet ſuos
Novo matrimonio (annuat Deus) hoc
Loco ſociandos
JOANNES DONNE
Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſsor.
Seceſsit
Anno XXXIII Ætat. ſuæ et ſui Jeſu
CIↃ. DC. XVII.
Aug. XV.

(*Strype's Stow's Survey of London*, 1720, *vol. II. b.* 4, *p.* 113.)

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make it mine alſo, *that we two might there make our beds together in the dark*[n]. Thus as the Iſraelites ſat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion[o]; ſo he gave ſome eaſe to his oppreſsed heart by thus venting his ſorrows: Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the reſtleſs night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued till a conſideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's "Wo is me if I preach not the goſpel," diſperſed thoſe ſad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His firſt motion from his houſe was to preach, where his beloved wife lay buried (in St. Clement's Church, near Temple-Bar, London,) and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremiah's Lamentation: "Lo, I am the man that have ſeen af-"fliction[p]."

And indeed his very words and looks teſtified him to be truly ſuch a man; and they, with the addition of his ſighs and tears, expreſsed in his ſermon, did ſo work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable ſadneſs[q], and ſo they left the congregation; but then their houſes

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[n] This expreſsion of Donne's grief reminds us of the wretched Romeo's words:

"I will ſtay with thee;
"And never from this palace of dim night
"Depart again: here will I remain
"With worms, that are thy chamber-maids."
(Romeo and Juliet, Act V. Scene III.)

In ſimilar language Theſeus laments the death of Phædra:

Το κατα γας θελω, το κατα γας κνεφας,
Μετρικειν σκοτῳ θανων ὁ τλημων,
Της σης ϛερηθεις φιλτατης ὁμιλιας.
(Euripid. Hippolytus, v. 851.

[o] Pſalm cxxxvii. Dr. Donne tranſlated this pſalm into Engliſh verſe.

[p] LAMENTATIONS, iii. 1.

"I am the man which have affliction ſeene,
"Under the rod of God's wrath having beene;
"He hath led mee to darkneſse, not to light,
"And againſt mee all day his hand doth fight."
DONNE.

During this time of his diſtreſs he was probably engaged in his Poetic Verſion of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, following for the moſt part the tranſlation of Tremellius.

[q] His eloquence in the pulpit is thus deſcribed in Darnelly's Latin Poem:

"vidi,
"Audivi, et ſtupui, quoties orator in æde
"Paulinâ ſtetit, et mirâ gravitate levantes
"Corda oculosque viros tenuit: dum Neſtoris ille
"Fudit

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preſented them with objects of diverſion, and his preſented him with nothing but freſh objects of ſorrow, in beholding many helpleſs children, a narrow fortune, and a conſideration of the many cares and caſualties that attend their education.

In this time of ſadneſs he was importuned by the grave benchers of Lincoln's Inn (who were once the companions and friends of his youth), to accept of their lecture, which, by reaſon of Dr. Gataker's[r] removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being moſt glad to renew his intermitted friendſhip with thoſe whom he ſo much loved, and where he had been a Saul, though not to perſecute Chriſtianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the viſible practice of it; there to become a Paul, and preach ſalvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a *ſhining light* among his old friends, now he gave an ocular teſtimony of the ſtrictneſs and regularity of it; now he might ſay as St. Paul adviſeth his Corinthians, "Be ye followers of me, as I follow

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"Fudit verba (omni quantò magè dulcia melle?)
"Nunc habet attonitos, pandit myſteria plebi
"Non conceſsa priùs, nondum intellecta: revolvunt
"Mirantes, tacitique arrectis auribus aſtant.
"*Mutatis mox ille modo formâque loquendi*
"*Triſtia pertractat: Fatumque et flebile mortis*
"*Tempus, et in cineres redeunt quòd corpora primos,*
"*Tum gemitum cunctos dare, tunc lugere videres,*
"*Forsitan à Lachrymis aliquis non temperat, atque*
"*Ex oculis largum ſtillat rorem.*"

[r] Mr. Walton tells us, that Dr. Donne was choſen preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, upon the removal of Mr. Thomas Gataker. But this is a miſtake: for Mr. Gataker, who is improperly ſtyled Doctor, having never taken any degree but that of Bachelor of Divinity, left Lincoln's Inn for the rectory of Rotherhithe in Surrey, in 1611; ſix years before Dr. Donne was choſen there.—Mr. THOMAS GATAKER, a ſolid, judicious, and truly pious divine, highly eſteemed by Salmaſius and other learned foreigners, was the author of a treatiſe, once much read, "Of the Nature and Uſe of Lots, &c." and was juſtly celebrated for his critical knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. Being one of the Aſſembly of Divines appointed by Parliament in 1642, he conducted himſelf in that department with ſingular prudence and moderation. In the Aſſembly's Annotations on the Bible, he executed with uncommon ability that diviſion which included Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. His Explication of Jeremiah x. 12, ſubjected him to the ſevere caſtigations of the famous aſtrologer William Lily, againſt whom he wrote "A Diſcourſe Apologetical, wherein Lilie's lewd and loud lies in his Merlin or Paſquil for the year 1654, are clearly laid open, &c." His houſe bore the reſemblance of a college, where many young men, foreigners as well as natives, continually attended to receive inſtructions from his lectures. The moſt approved of his works are "A Diſſertation upon the Style of the New Teſtament." "A Tract de Nomine Tetragrammato—Adverſaria Miſcellanea." Prefixed to this laſt work, publiſhed by his ſon, is his own life, written by himſelf.

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"Christ, and walk as ye have me for an example." Not the example of a busy-body, but of a contemplative, a harmless, a humble, and a holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble Society was expressed to him many ways; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added; indeed so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits: And in this love-strife of desert and liberality, they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the Palsgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia; the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation [s].

King James, whose motto [t] *(Beati pacifici)* did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose the discords of that discomposed state; and amongst other his endeavours, did then send the Lord Hay [u], Earl of Doncaster, his Ambassador to those unsettled Princes; and by a special command from his Majesty, Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the Princes of the Union; for which the Earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: And his friends of Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wife's death, would, as Jacob said, "make his days few," and respecting his bodily health, "evil" too; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going [x] he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they

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[s] Upon the death of the Emperor Matthias, his nephew Ferdinand, who succeeded him in the imperial dignity, caused himself to be proclaimed King of Bohemia. The States of Bohemia considering their crown as elective, made a tender of it to Frederic, Elector Palatine, son-in-law to the King of England, who immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia in support of his new subjects.

[t] James was not aware of Queen Elizabeth's maxim, or at least he was not desirous of practising it, that "the people of England are more governable in times of war than in times of peace." Yet, notwithstanding his well-known pacific disposition, the adulation of a Scotch poet (Alexander Boyde) hath compared him to Minerva for his wisdom, and to "Mars for his warlike qualities."

Primus in orbe Deus, qui jungis Pallada Marti,
Et facis ut titulis cedat uterque tuis.

[u] Of whom see Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 61, 8vo edit. 1705.

[x] He thus mentions his journey in a Latin letter to Sir Henry Goodyere. "Eluceſcit mihi nova nec inopportuna nec inutilis (paulò quam "optaram

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him with many reluctations; for though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, "Behold you to whom I have "preached the kingdom of God shall from henceforth see my "face no more;" yet, he believing himself to be in a consumption questioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body: But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best; for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress, the Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation, and to be witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him: Who, having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching[y]. About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated and his health improved, and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey[z] was made Bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the Deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the King sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his

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"optâram fortasis magis inhonora) occasio extera visendi regna, liberos, "que perquam amantissimæ conjugis pignora cæteraque hujus auræ "oblectamenta aliquot ad annos relinquendi." Upon this occasion he preached a Sermon of valediction at Lincoln's Inn, April 18, 1619, from whence an extract is inserted in a preceding note.

[y] This unfortunate princess, from her amiable and engaging manners, was called "The Queen of Hearts."—"God hath now at last cast her "into an ocean of calamities, in which she still remains a floating ex- "ample to other princes of the instability of fortune, as she did in her "prosperity, of civility and goodness." *(Osborne.)*——In Dr. Donne's Poems is an epithalamium or marriage-song on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine being married on St. Valentine's Day: I quote the beginning of it as a specimen of Donne's Poetry.

"Hail Bishop Valentine, whose day is this,
"All the aire is thy diocis,
"And all the chirping choristers
"And other birds are thy parishioners,
"Thou marryest every yeare
"The lirique larke, and the grave whispering dove,
"The sparrow that neglects his life for love,
"The household bird, with the red stomacher."

[z] VALENTINE CAREY, Master of Christ's College, in Cambridge, and Dean of St. Paul's, is said to have been born in Northumberland. He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, Nov. 20, 1620, and having well governed this church about six years, he died June 10, 1626.

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Majeſty was ſat down, before he had eat any meat, he ſaid after his pleaſant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner, "and though you ſit not down with me, yet I will carve to "you of a diſh that I know you love well; for knowing you "love London, I do therefore make you Dean of Paul's; "and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved diſh "home to your ſtudy, ſay grace there to yourſelf, and much "good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his Deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel, ſuffering, as holy David once vowed, "His eyes and temples to take no reſt till "he had firſt beautified the houſe of God."

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George Moor (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay him the conditioned ſum of twenty pounds, he refuſed to receive it, and ſaid, as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved ſon Joſeph was alive, "*It is enough;* you "have been kind to me and mine; I know your preſent con-"dition is ſuch as not to abound, and I hope mine is or will "be ſuch as not to need it; I will therefore receive no more "from you upon that contract," and in teſtimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admiſsion into his Deanery, the Vicarage of St. Dunſtan in the Weſt[a], London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White[b], the advowſon of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend, Richard Earl of Dorſet[c], then the patron, and confirmed by his brother, the

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[a] ISAAC WALTON, our biographer, was an inhabitant of this pariſh, and thus became intimately acquainted with Dr. Donne.

[b] Dr. THOMAS WHITE, much admired as a preacher, died March 1, 1623, and was buried in his chancel of the church of St. Dunſtan in the Weſt. Having founded a lecture in moral philoſophy at Oxford, and being alſo diſtinguiſhed for many other charitable benefactions, the heads of the univerſity directed an oration to be publicly delivered, on occaſion of his death, by William Price, the firſt reader of that lecture. This oration, with ſeveral copies of verſes written upon the ſame ſubject, was printed under the title of "Schola Moralis Philoſophiæ Oxon. in funere Whiti pullata. Oxon. 1624," 4to. *(Wood's Ath. Ox.)*

[c] "Principibus placuiſſe viris non ultima laus eſt." HOR.

The character of this nobleman, RICHARD (SACKVILLE) Earl of Dorſet, the friend and patron of Dr. Donne, is thus delineated by the pen of his lady, Anne, daughter and heir of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the manuſcript which ſhe has left, containing the hiſtory of her life. "He was," ſays ſhe, "in his own nature of a juſt "mind, of a ſweet diſpoſition, and very valiant in his own perſon: He "had a great advantage in his breeding by the wisdom and diſcretion "of his grandfather, Thomas Earl of Dorſet, Lord High Treaſurer of "England, who was then held one of the wiſeſt men of that time; by "which means he was ſo good a ſcholar in all manner of learning, that "in

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late deceaſed Edward[d], both of them men of much honour.

By theſe, and another eccleſiaſtical endowment which fell to him about the ſame time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor and kind to his friends, and to make ſuch proviſion for his children, that they were not left ſcandalous, as relating to their or his profeſſion and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that preſent year, he was choſen Prolocutor[e] to the Convocation, and about that time was appointed by his Majeſty, his moſt gracious maſter, to preach very many occaſional ſermons, as at St. Paul's Croſs and other places; all which employments he performed to the admiration of the repreſentative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the King's diſpleaſure, and it was about this time; which was occaſioned by ſome malicious whiſperer, who told his Majeſty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become buſy in inſinuating a fear of the King's inclining to Popery, and a diſlike of his government, and particularly for the King's then turning the Evening Lectures into catechiſing, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief and Commandments. His Majeſty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that a perſon of nobility and great note, betwixt whom

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"in his youth when he lived in the Univerſity of Oxford, there was "none of the young nobility then ſtudents there, that excelled him. He "was alſo a good patriot to his country, and generally well beloved in "it, much eſteemed in all the parliaments that ſat in his time; and ſo "great a lover of ſcholars and ſoldiers, as that with an exceſsive bounty "towards them, or indeed any of worth that were in diſtreſs, he did "much diminiſh his eſtate: As alſo, with exceſsive prodigality in houſe-"keeping and other noble ways at court, as tilting, maſking, and the "like; Prince Henry being then alive, who was much addicted to "thoſe noble exerciſes, and of whom he was much beloved."

(Collins's Peerage, vol. II. p. 194, 195.)

[d] This nobleman, EDWARD (SACKVILLE) Earl of Dorſet, was entruſted with the command of the Engliſh forces which were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the King of Bohemia in 1620; and in the next year was appointed Ambaſsador to the court of France. Of the melancholy cataſtrophe of a duel with his intimate friend Lord Bruce, ſee *The Guardians, No.* 129. 133. During the civil wars he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his loyalty to Charles I. with whoſe death he was ſo deeply affected, that after that event he never went out of his own houſe. He died July 17, 1652.

[e] On this occaſion he ſpoke a Latin oration as his inauguration ſpeech, which is extant in his "Poems, &c. 8vo, London, 1719." Dr. Joſeph Hall preached the Latin ſermon on the opening of this Convocation, which was held in 1624, and in which large ſubſidies were granted by the clergy to the King.

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and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendſhip, was at this very time diſcarded the court (I ſhall forbear his name unleſs I had a fairer occaſion), and juſtly committed to priſon, which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wiſe unleſs they be buſy about what they underſtand not, and eſpecially about religion.

The King received this news with ſo much diſcontent and reſtleſsneſs, that he would not ſuffer the ſun to ſet and leave him under this doubt, but ſent for Dr. Donne, and required his anſwer to the accuſation, which was ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that the King ſaid "He was right glad he reſted no longer "under the ſuſpicion." When the King had ſaid this, Dr. Donne kneeled down and thanked his Majeſty, and proteſted his anſwer was faithful and free from all colluſion, and therefore "deſired that he might not riſe, till, as in like caſes he always had "from God, ſo he might have from his Majeſty ſome aſsurance "that he ſtood clear and fair in his opinion." At which the King raiſed him from his knees with his own hands, and "proteſted he believed him, and that he knew he was an honeſt "man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly." And having thus diſmiſsed him, he called ſome Lords of his Council into his chamber, and ſaid with much earneſtneſs "My Doctor is an "honeſt man; and, my Lords, I was never better ſatisfied with "an anſwer than he hath now made me; and I always rejoice "when I think that by my means he became a divine."

He was made Dean in the fiftieth year of his age, and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous ſickneſs ſeized him, which inclined him to a conſumption. But God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, *preſerved his ſpirit*, and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that ſickneſs firſt ſeized his body; but it continued long and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this diſtemper of body, his dear friend, Dr. Henry King (then chief Reſidentiary of that church, and late Biſhop of Chicheſter), a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, viſited him daily, and obſerving that his ſickneſs rendered his recovery doubtful, he choſe a ſeaſonable time to ſpeak to him to this purpoſe:

"Mr. Dean, I am by your favour no ſtranger to your tem-"poral eſtate, and you are no ſtranger to the offer lately made "us, for the renewing a leaſe of the beſt prebends corps belong-"ing to our church, and you know it was denied, for that our "tenant being very rich offered to fine at ſo low a rate as held "not proportion with his advantages; but I will either raiſe "him to an higher ſum, or procure that the other reſidentiaries "ſhall join to accept of what was offered: One of theſe I can "and will by your favour do without delay, and without any "trouble either to your body or mind; I beſeech you to "accept of my offer, for I know it will be a conſiderable addi-"tion to your preſent eſtate, which I know needs it."

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To this, after a ſhort pauſe, and raiſing himſelf upon his bed, he made this reply:

"My moſt dear friend, I moſt humbly thank you for your "many favours, and this in particular; but in my preſent con- "dition I ſhall not accept of your propoſal, for doubtleſs there "is ſuch a ſin as ſacrilege; if there were not, it could not have "a name in ſcripture: And the primitive clergy were watchful "againſt all appearances of that evil; and indeed then all Chriſt- "ians looked upon it with horror and deteſtation, judging it "to be even an *open defiance of the power and providence of Al- "mighty God, and a ſad preſage of declining religion.* But inſtead "of ſuch Chriſtians, who had ſelected times ſet apart to faſt and "pray to God for a pious clergy which they then did obey, "our times abound with men that are buſy and litigious about "trifles and church-ceremonies, and yet ſo far from ſcrupling "ſacrilege, that they make not ſo much as a query what it is: "But, I thank God I have; and, dare not now upon my ſick "bed, when Almighty God hath made me uſeleſs to the ſervice "of the church, make any advantages out of it. But if he "ſhall again reſtore me to ſuch a degree of health as again to "ſerve at his altar, I ſhall then gladly take the reward which "the bountiful benefactors of this church have deſigned me; "for God knows my children and relations will need it; in "which number my mother (whoſe credulity and charity has "contracted a very plentiful to a very narrow eſtate) muſt not "be forgotten: But, Doctor King, if I recover not, that little "worldly eſtate that I ſhall leave behind me (that very little "when divided into eight parts) muſt, if you deny me not ſo cha- "ritable a favour, fall into your hands as my moſt faithful friend "and executor, of whoſe care and juſtice I make no more "doubt than of God's bleſsing on that which I have conſcien- "tiouſly collected for them, but it ſhall not be augmented on "my ſick-bed; and this I declare to be my unalterable reſo- "lution."

The reply to this was only a promiſe to obſerve his requeſt.

Within a few days his diſtempers abated, and as his ſtrength increaſed, ſo did his thankfulneſs to Almighty God, teſtified in his moſt excellent Book of Devotions[f], which he publiſhed

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[f] This book is dedicated "To the moſt excellent Prince, Prince Charles." The two following extracts from this work will give a ſufficient ſpecimen of the manner in which it is written.

"THE PATIENT TAKES HIS BED.

"THIRD MEDITATION.

"We attribute but one priviledge and advantage to man's body above "other moving creatures, that he is not, as others, groveling, but of an "erect, of an upright form, naturally built and diſpoſed to the contem- "plation of *heaven.* Indeed it is a thankful form, and recompenſes that "*ſoule* which gives it, with carrying that *ſoule*, ſo many foot higher to- "wards

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at his recovery; in which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul paraphrased and made

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"wards *heaven;* other creatures look to the *earth;* and even that is no "unfit object, no unfit contemplation for *man;* for thither he must "come; but because *man* is not to stay there as other creatures are, *man* "in his natural form is carried to the contemplation of that place, which "is his home, *heaven.* This is man's prerogative; but what state hath he "in this dignity? A fever can fillip him downe; a fever can depose him; "a fever can bring that head, which yesterday carried a *crowne* of gold, "five foot towards a *crowne* of glory, as low as his own foot to-day. When "*God* came to breathe into *man* the breath of life, he found him flat upon "the ground; when he comes to withdraw that breath from him againe, "he prepares him to it by laying him flat upon his bed. Scarce any pri- "son so close, that affords not the prisoner two or three steps. The "*Anchorites* that barqu'd themselves up in hollow trees, and immured "themselves in hollow walls; that perverse man that bartell'd himself "in a tubbe, all could stand or sit, and enjoy some change of posture. "A sicke-bed is a grave, and all that the patient sayes there is but va- "rying his *epitaph.* Every night's bed is a *type* of the *grave:* At night "we tell our servants at what houre we will rise, here we cannot tell "ourselves at what day, what week, what month. There the head lies "as low as the foot; the head of the people as low as they whom those "feete trod upon: And that hand, that signed pardon, is too weake to "begge his own, if he might have it for lifting up that hand: Strange "fetters to the feete, strange manacles to the hands, when the feete and "hands are bound so much the faster, by how much the coardes are "slacker; soe much the lesse able to do their offices, by how much "more the sinewes and ligaments are the looser. In the *grave* I may "speak through the stones in the voice of my friends, and in the ac- "cents of those words which their love may afford my memory. Heere "I am mine own *ghost,* and rather affright my beholders than instruct "them: they conceive the worst of me now, and yet feare worse; they "give me for dead now and yet wonder how I do when wake at mid- "night, and aske how I doe to-morrow. Miserable and (though com- "mon to all) inhumane *posture,* where I must practise my lying in the "grave by lying still, and not practise my *resurrection* by rising any "more."

"EIGHTEENTH MEDITATION.

"The bell rings out and tells me in him that I am dead. This *soule,* "this *bell* tells mee, is *gone out:* Whither? who shall tell mee that? I "know not *who* it is; much lesse *what* he was; the condition of the "man, and the course of his life, which should tell mee *whither* he is "gone, I know not. I was not there in his *sicknesse,* nor at his *death;* "I saw not his *way,* nor his *end,* nor can aske them who did, thereby to "*conclude* or *argue* whither he is gone. But yet I have one nearer mee "than all these; mine own *charity:* I aske that; and that tells me '*He is* "*gone to everlasting rest, and joy, and glory.*' I owe him a good opinion; "it is but *thankful charity* in mee, because I received *benefit and in-* "*struction* from him when his *bell* tolled: And I, being made the fitter "to *pray* by that disposition wherein I was assisted by his occasion, did "*pray* for him; and I *pray* not without *faith;* so I doe *charitably,* so I "do faithfully beleeve that that *soule* is gone to everlasting *rest,* and "*joy,* and *glory.*"

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public; a book that may not unfitly be called a *Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstaſies*, occaſioned and appliable to the emergencies of that ſickneſs; which book, being a compoſition of meditations, diſquiſitions, and prayers, he writ on his ſick-bed; herein intimating the holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their bleſſings.

This ſickneſs brought him ſo near to the gates of death, and he ſaw the grave ſo ready to devour him, that he would often ſay his recovery was ſupernatural [g]: But that God that then reſtored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life, and then in Auguſt, 1630, being with his eldeſt daughter, Mrs. Harvy, at Abury Hatch in Eſsex, he there fell into a fever, which, with the help of his conſtant infirmity (vapours from the ſpleen), haſtened him into ſo viſible a conſumption, that his beholders might ſay, as St. Paul of himſelf, "He dies daily;" and he might ſay with Job, "My welfare "paſeth away as a cloud, the days of my affliction have taken "hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me."

Reader, this ſickneſs continued long, not only weakening but wearying him ſo much, that my deſire is he may now take ſome reſt; and that before I ſpeak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digreſsion to look back with me upon ſome obſervations of his life; which, whilſt a gentle ſlumber gives reſt to his ſpirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exerciſe thy conſideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error, which though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was very far from juſtifying it; and though his wife's competent years, and other reaſons might be juſtly urged to moderate ſevere cenſures, yet he would occaſionally condemn himſelf for it. And doubtleſs it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not bleſt them with ſo mutual and cordial affections, as in the midſt of their ſufferings made their bread of ſorrow taſte more pleaſantly than the banquets of dull and low-ſpirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry [h], in which he was ſo happy as if Nature and all her varieties had been made only

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[g] Dr. Donne, in 1626, was named in a commiſsion with Archbiſhop Abbot, ſeveral Biſhops, Doctors in Divinity, and Doctors in Civil Law, to hear the cauſe between Dr. Kineſley, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and the Rev. Mr. George Huntley, who had refuſed to preach a viſitation ſermon, at the command of the Archdeacon. "The Caſe of a Rector," &c. p. 10.

[h] Whatever praiſe may be due to the poems of Dr. Donne, they are certainly deficient in the beauties of verſification. To remedy this defect, his Satires have been *translated into English verse*, by Mr. Pope. His Latin Epigrams are tranſlated by Dr. Jaſper Mayne, who edited them

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to exercise his sharp wit and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age), it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both Nature and all the Arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short lived, that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals: But though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake that, no not in his declining age, witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious compositures; yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it.

AN HYMN

TO GOD THE FATHER[1].

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done thou hast not done,
For I have more.

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them in 1652, with the title of "A Sheaf of Miscellany Epigrams." Mr. Hume (*Hist. of England, vol. VI. p.* 132.) has observed, that in Donne's satires, and indeed in all his poetical compositions, there appear some flashes of wit and ingenuity, but that these are totally suffocated and buried by the harshest and most uncouth expression which is any where to be met with. On Donne and his poetry see some interesting remarks in "Dr. Warton's Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope," vol. II. p. 353. It has been humourously remarked, that verses ought to run like Ovid's, or walk like Virgil's, and not to stand still like Dr. Donne's. Yet Ben Jonson, in an epigram to Donne, calls him "The delight of Phœbus and each Muse:" and that he could make soft and smooth verses, appears from the following little poem:

"Come live with me, and be my love,
"And we will some new pleasures prove,
"Of golden sands, and crystal brooks,
"With silken lines and silver hooks.
"There will the river whisp'ring run," &c.

[1] This composition is not, surely, embellished with poetical beauties. The reader who is desirous of forming a just opinion of the merit of metaphysical poets, among whom Dr. Donne is to be ranked in the first class, will consult Dr. Johnson's remarks in his Life of Mr. Cowley. "We can have little inducement to peruse the works of men, who in-

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Wilt thou forgive that ſin, which I have won
Others to ſin, and made my ſin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that ſin which I did ſhun
A year or two, but wallow'd in a ſcore?
When thou haſt done thou haſt not done,
For I have more.

I have a ſin of fear, that when I've ſpun
My laſt thread, I ſhall periſh on the ſhore;
But ſwear by thyſelf, that at my death thy Son
Shall ſhine as he ſhines now and heretofore:
And having done that, thou haſt done,
I fear no more.

I have rather mentioned this hymn, for that he cauſed it to be ſet to a moſt grave and ſolemn tune, and to be often ſung to the organ by the choriſters of St. Paul's Church in his own hearing, eſpecially at the evening ſervice, and at his return from his cuſtomary devotions in that place, did occaſionally ſay to a friend, "The words of this hymn have reſtored to me "the ſame thoughts of joy that poſſeſſed my ſoul in my ſick-"neſs when I compoſed it. And, O the power of church-"muſic[k]! that harmony added to this hymn has raiſed the af-"fections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and "gratitude; and I obſerve that I always return from paying "this public duty of prayer and praiſe to God, with an unex-"preſſible tranquillity of mind, and a willingneſs to leave the "world."

After this manner did the diſciples of our Saviour, and the beſt of Chriſtians in thoſe ages of the church neareſt to his time, offer their praiſes to Almighty God; and the readers of St. Auguſtine's life may there find, that towards his diſſolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Chriſtianity[l] had broke

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"ſtead of writing poetry wrote only verſe, who cannot be ſaid to have "imitated any thing, as they neither copied Nature from life, neither "painted the forms of matter, nor repreſented the operations of intel-"lect. Deficient in the ſublime and the pathetic, they abounded in "hyperbole, in unnatural thoughts, violent fictions, fooliſh conceits, "expreſſions either groſsly abſurd, or indelicate and diſguſting."
(*Dr. Johnſon's Works, vol. IX. p. 24.*)

[k] On the antiquity, uſe, and excellence of church-muſic, ſee "Biſhop Horne's ſixteen Sermons on various Subjects and Occaſions," p. 265.

[l] St. AUGUSTIN died after the Goths and Vandals had with much barbarous cruelty and bloodſhedding over-run the greateſt part of his native country of Africa; only three cities of any note were preſerved from their fury, of which his own city, Hippo, was one, though beſieged by them fourteen months. According to his prayer he was delivered out of their hands by the mercy of God, who took him to himſelf during the time of the ſiege. See his Life written by Poſidonius, and uſually prefixed to his works.

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in upon them, and prophaned and ruined their ſanctuaries, and becauſe their public hymns and lauds were ioſt out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout ſouls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable ſacrifices unto Almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried. "But now, O Lord, how is that place become deſolate[m]."—— Anno 1656.

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he cauſed to be drawn a figure of the body of Chriſt, extended upon an anchor, like thoſe which painters draw when they would preſent us with the picture of Chriſt crucified on the croſs; his varying no otherwiſe than to affix him not to a croſs, but to an anchor (the emblem of hope); this he cauſed to be drawn in little, and then many of thoſe figures thus drawn to be engraven very ſmall in Heliotropium ſtones[n], and ſet in gold, and of thoſe he ſent to many of his deareſt friends, to be uſed as ſeals or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodier[o], and

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[m] By the votes of both Houſes, made in the Long Parliament, Sept. 10-11, anno 1642, for the aboliſhing of biſhops, deans, and chapters, the very foundation of this famous cathedral, ſays Sir William Dugdale, was utterly ſhaken in pieces. In the following year the famous croſs in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the moſt noted and ſolemn place in this nation for the greateſt divines and greateſt ſcholars to preach at, was pulled down to the ground; the ſtalls of the Quire were alſo taken away; as alſo part of the pavement torn up, and monuments utterly demoliſhed or defaced. The ſcaffolds erected for the repair of the church were given to the ſoldiers, and by them pits were dug for ſawing up the timber in ſeveral places thereof, even where ſome reverend biſhops and other perſons of quality lay interred; and afterwards the body of the church was frequently converted to a horſe-quarter for ſoldiers. *(See Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 549.)*

[n] The Heliotropium is a very beautiful ſpecies of jaſper, and has been long known to the world as a gem. Its colour is a fine and ſtrong green, ſometimes pure and ſimple, but more frequently with an admixture of blue in it. It is moderately tranſparent in thin pieces, and is always veined, clouded, and ſpotted with a blood red. From this, its moſt obvious character, it has obtained among our jewellers the name of the blood-ſtone. *(Lewis's Materia Medica.)*

[o] One of the gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy Chamber. To him Dr. Donne has addreſſed ſeveral of his letters in the Collection, which was printed in 1651.

"To the honour of Sir Henry Goodyer of Poleſworth, a Knight memorable for his virtues," ſaith Camden, "an affectionate friend of "his made this tetraſtick."

"An ill year of a Goodyer us bereft,
"Who gon to God much lack of him here left;
"Full of good gifts of body and of minde,
"Wiſe, comely, learned, eloquent, and kinde."

(Weever's Ancient Fun. Monuments, p. 302.)

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Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number, nor could the Lady Magdalen Herbert[p], the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken poſſeſſion of the grave before him; but Sir Henry Wotton and Dr. Hall[q], the then late deceaſed Biſhop of Norwich were; and ſo were Dr. Duppa, Biſhop of Saliſbury[r], and Dr. Henry King, Biſhop of Chicheſter (lately deceaſed); men, in whom there was ſuch a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Chriſtian humility, that they deſerve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many muſt be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not: I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations;" a book, in which, by declaring his own ſpiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raiſed many a dejected and diſcompoſed ſoul, and charmed them into ſweet and quiet thoughts; a book,

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p Of this excellent woman ſee "Walton's Life of Mr. George Herbert."

q Dr. JOSEPH HALL, Biſhop of Norwich. "The learned have given "him this character, that he was 'Our Engliſh Seneca,' dexterous at "controverſy, not unhappy at comments, very good at characters, "better in ſermons, beſt of all in meditations and contemplations, all "which have long ſince been put out in three volumes." (*Magna Britannia, vol. III. p.* 394.) Full of the ſpirit of Juvenal and Perſius, he is conſidered as the firſt of our ſatirical poets. He introduces his celebrated work, "Virgidemiarum" with theſe lines——

"I firſt adventure, follow me who liſt,
"And be the ſecond Engliſh Satiriſt."

His diſapprobation of burying the dead in churches is thus expreſsed in his laſt will: "I Joſeph Hall, D. D. not worthy to be called Biſhop of "Norwich, &c. Firſt, I bequeath my ſoul, &c. my body I leave to be "interred without any funeral pomp, at the direction of my executors, "with this only monition, that *I do not hold God's house a meet reposi*"*tory for the dead bodies of the greatest saints.*" Accordingly he himſelf was buried in the churchyard at Heigham near Norwich.—Compton, Biſhop of London, entertained the ſame ſentiments—"The church for "the living,—the churchyard for the dead."

r Dr. BRYAN DUPPA, tranſlated from the ſee of Chicheſter, to that of Saliſbury, was deprived of all his preferment on the breaking out of the rebellion. Having faithfully continued his attendance on the King, to the time of his ever-to-be-lamented death, he afterward retired to Richmond in Surrey, where he devoted himſelf to ſtudy and devotion. At the reſtoration he was promoted to Wincheſter; and died, March 26, 1662. On the day preceding his death, Charles II. to whom he had been preceptor, viſited him in his bed-chamber, and on his bended knees implored his benediction. "He died," ſays Wood, "as he lived, ho"noured and beloved of all that knew him; a perſon of ſo clear and "eminent candour, that he left not the leaſt ſpot upon his life or func"tion, maugre the buſy ſedition of thoſe who then, as before, blacked "the very ſurplice, and made the liturgy profane."

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by the frequent reading whereof, and the aſſiſtance of that ſpirit that ſeemed to inſpire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt and heaven, and may by ſtill reading, ſtill keep thoſe ſacred fires burning upon the altar of ſo pure a heart, as ſhall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendſhip, made up by ſuch a ſympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendſhip was ſtill maintained by many ſacred endearments, of which that which followeth may be ſome teſtimony.

TO Mr. GEORGE HERBERT,

SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of our poor family.

Qui priùs aſsuetus ſerpentum falce tabellas
Signare, hæc noſtræ ſymbola parva domûs
Adſcitus domui domini.——

Adopted in God's family, and ſo
My old coat loſt, into new arms I go.
The croſs my ſeal in baptiſm ſpread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Croſses grow anchors, bear as thou ſhould'ſt do
Thy croſs, and that croſs grows an anchor too.
But he that makes our croſses anchors thus,
Is Chriſt, who there is crucify'd for us.
Yet with this I may my firſt ſerpents hold;
(God gives new bleſsings, and yet leaves the old)
The ſerpent may, as wiſe, my pattern be,
My poiſon, as he feeds on duſt, that's me.
And, as he rounds the earth to murder, ſure
He is my death; but on the croſs my cure.
Crucify nature then; and then implore
All grace from him, crucify'd there before.
When all is croſs, and that croſs anchor grown,
This ſeal's a catechiſm, not a ſeal alone.
Under that little ſeal great gifts I ſend,
Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
Oh may that ſaint that rides on our great ſeal,
To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quòd Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
Tenere Chriſtum ſcilicet ne aſcenderet,
Tuive Chriſtum——

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Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
But only whil'st thou speak'st, this anchor will:
Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
This certain anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth, both unto thee
Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the Quire of St. Paul's Church, he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties, and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title:——

A HYMN TO GOD MY GOD.

IN MY SICKNESS, MARCH 23, 1630.

SINCE I am coming to that holy room,
Where, with thy quire of saints for evermore
I shall be made thy music, as I come
I tune my instrument here at the door,
And what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
Cosmographers; and I their map, who lie
Flat on this bed———

So, in his purple wrapt, receive me, Lord!
By these his thorns, give me his other crown:
And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
Be this my text, my sermon to mine own,
"That he may raise, therefore the Lord throws down."

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth, makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations, let him know that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius [s] to be most re-

[s] AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS, a Christian poet of the fourth century, was a native of Spain. He spent the earlier period of his life in more active scenes, distinguishing himself as an advocate at the bar, a soldier in the camp, and lastly as a courtier in the Imperial Court. He attempted not to write verses until he was advanced in years: "*Tandem verò in senectute repulsâ mundi vanitate ad sacras Scripturas* "*se contulit, et Carmine ac Prosâ multa utriusque Testamenti abstrusa* "*exposuit.*" (J. Trithemius.)——Gyraldus observes, that in his works there

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fined, when not many days before his death "he charged it to "preſent his God each morning and evening with a new and "ſpiritual ſong;" juſtified by the example of King David and the good King Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in theſe words, "The Lord was ready to "ſave, therefore I will ſing my ſongs to the ſtringed inſtru-"ments all the days of my life in the temple of my God."

The latter part of his life may be ſaid to be a continued ſtudy; for as he uſually preached once a-week, if not oftener, ſo after his ſermon he never gave his eyes reſt till he had choſen out a new text, and that night caſt his ſermon into a form, and his text into diviſions[t]; and the next day betook himſelf to conſult the fathers, and ſo commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he uſually gave himſelf and his mind a reſt from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and uſually ſpent that day in viſitation of friends or ſome other diverſions of his thoughts; and would ſay, "that he gave both his body and mind that refreſhment, "that he might be enabled to do the work of the day follow-"ing, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulneſs."

Nor was his age only ſo induſtrious, but in the moſt unſettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common buſineſs that drew him out of his chamber till paſt ten; all which time was employed in ſtudy, though he took great liberty after it. And if this ſeem ſtrange, it may gain a belief by the viſible fruits of his labours, ſome of which remain as teſtimonies of what is here written, for he left the reſultance of

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there is more of religious zeal, than of the beauties of poetry, *Melior omnino Chriſtianus eſt quàm Poeta.* In the proem to the hymns of the *Cathemerinon*, having deſcribed his conduct in the former part of his life, he declares his intention of celebrating God in daily hymns, and of exerciſing himſelf in diſcuſsing ſacred ſubjects.

"Hymnis continuet dies,
"Nec nox ulla vacet, quin Dominum canat;
"Pugnet contra hæreſes; catholicam diſcutiat fidem;
"Conculcet ſacra gentium;
"Labem, Roma, tuis inferat Idolis,
"Carmen Martyribus devoveat, laudet Apoſtolos.

[t] It was Dr. Hammond's method, and ſurely not unworthy of imitation, "After every ſermon to reſolve upon the enſuing ſubject; that "being done, to purſue the courſe of ſtudy which he was then in hand "with, reſerving the cloſe of the week for the proviſion for the next "Lord's Day; whereby not only a conſtant progreſs was made in "ſcience, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate fu-"ture work: For, he ſaid, be the ſubjects treated of never ſo diſtant, "ſomewhat will infallibly fall in, conducible to the preſent purpoſe." (*Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond, p.* 11.)

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1400 authors, moſt of them abridged and analyſed with his own hand; he left alſo ſix ſcore of his ſermons, all written with his own hand; alſo an exact and laborious treatiſe concerning ſelf-murther [u], called "Biathanatos," wherein all the

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[u] We have a full account of this tractate in the two following letters.

"TO THE NOBLEST KNIGHT,

"SIR EDWARD HERBERT.

"SIR,

"I make account that thys booke hath enough perform'd yt wch yt "undertooke, both by argument and example. Itt ſhall therefore the "leſse need to bee yttſelfe another example of ye doctrine. Itt ſhall not "therefore kyll yttſelfe; that ys, not bury yttſelfe; for if ytt ſhould do "ſo, thoſe reſons by wch that act ſhould bee defended or excus'd, were "alſo loſt with ytt. Since it is content to live, ytt cannot chuſe a "wholſomer ayre than yor library, where autors of all complexions are "preſerv'd. If any of them grudge thys booke a roome, and ſuſpect "ytt of new or dangerous doctrine, you, who know us all, can beſt "moderate. To thoſe reaſons wch I know your love to mee wyll make "in my faver and diſcharge, you may add thys, That though this doc- "trine hath not been tought nor defended by writers, yet they, moſt of "any ſorte of men in the world, have practiſ'd ytt.

"Yor very true and earneſt frinde, and ſervant and lover,

"J. DONNE."

This addreſs to Sir Edward Herbert, is prefixed to the original MS. of Dr. Donne's BIAΘANATOΣ, which is now preſerved in the Bodleian Library and was given to that place by Lord Herbert himſelf, in the year 1642, with the following inſcription in capitals:

HUNC LIBRUM AB AUTHORE CUM EPISTOLA QUÆ PRÆIT ΑΥΤΟΓΡΑΦΩ DONO SIBI DATUM DUM EQUESTRIS OLIM ESSET ORDINIS EDVARDUS HERBERT; JAM BARO DE CHERBURY IN ANGLIA, ET CASTRI INSULÆ DE KERRY IN HIBERNIA, E SUA BIBLIOTHECA IN BODLEIANAM TRANSTULIT MERITISS. IN ALMAM MATREM ACAD. OXON. PIETATIS ET OBSERVANTIÆ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ, M,DC,XLII.

"TO SIR ROBERT CARRE, NOW EARL OF ANKERAM,

"WITH MY BOOK BIAΘANATOΣ, AT MY GOING INTO GERMANY.

"SIR,

"I had need to do ſomewhat towards you above my promiſes; How "weak are my performances, when even my promiſes are defective? I "cannot promiſe, no not in mine own hopes, equally to your merit to- "wards me. But beſides the poems, of which you took a promiſe, I "ſend you another book, to which there belongs this hiſtory. It was "written by me many years ſince, and becauſe it is upon a miſinter- "pretable ſubject, I have always gone ſo near ſuppreſsing it, as that it "is onely not burnt: No hand hath paſsed upon it to copy it, nor "many eyes to read it; onely to ſome particular friends in both Uni- "verſities then when I writ it did I communicate it; and I remember I

2 "had

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laws violated by that act are diligently ſurveyed, and judiciouſly cenſured; a treatiſe written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and

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" had this anſwer, that certainly there was a falſe thread in it, but not " eaſily found. Keep it, I pray, with the ſame jealouſie; let any that " your diſcretion admits to the ſight of it know the date of it, and that " it is a book written by Jack Donne, and not by Dr. Donne. Re- " ſerve it for me if I live, and if I die I only forbid it the preſſe and the " fire: Publiſh it not, but yet burn it not; and between thoſe do what " you will with it. Love me ſtill thus far for your own ſake, that when " you withdraw your love from me, you will find ſo many unworthi- " neſſes in me, as you grow aſhamed of having had ſo long and ſo " much, ſuch a thing as

" Your poor ſervt. in Chr. Jeſ.
" J. DONNE."

It was firſt publiſhed by authority in 1644, and dedicated by his ſon, John Donne, to Lord Philip Herbert. In this dedication he aſſigns the reaſon of his diſobedience to his father's order. " It was writ long " ſince by my father, and by him forbid both the preſſe and the fire; " neither had I ſubjected it now to the publique view, but that I could " finde no certain way to defend it from the one, but by committing it " to the other; for ſince the beginning of this war my ſtudy having " been often ſearched, all my books (and al-moſt my braines, by their " continuall allarums) ſequeſtered for the uſe of the committee; two " dangers appeared more eminently to hover over this, being then a " manuſcript; a danger of being utterly loſt, and a danger of being ut- " terly found, and fathered by ſome of thoſe wild Atheiſts, who, as if " they came into the world by conqueſt, owne all other men's wits, and " are reſolved to be learned in deſpite of their ſtarres, that would fairely " have enclined them to a more modeſt and honeſt courſe of life." The ſyſtem advanced in this book has been accurately examined, and with great ſtrength of argument refuted by the Rev. Charles Moore, in his " Full Enquiry into the Subject of Suicide," vol. I. p. 83,—103, and vol. II. p. 1,—41. The learned author of that excellent work, in his letter, dated Jan. 27, 1794, informs me, that ſince its publication he has ſeen a ſmall tract, called " Life's Preſervative againſt Self-killing, &c. by John Syer, Miniſter of Leigh in Eſſex, London, 1637," which, though publiſhed after Dr. Donne's death, yet before the Biathanatos appeared, is in effect a very full and complete anſwer to it, written in its own method of ſcholaſtic diviſions and ſub-diviſions, *ad infinitum*.

The following extract, containing a ſhort criticiſm on this work of Donne, will not be unacceptable to the learned reader. " Donne, " docteur Anglois et ſçavant Theologien de ce ſiecle, eſt connu par un " livre en ſa langue, imprimé à Londres ſous ce titre: Βιαθανατος. C'eſt " une eſpece d'apologie du Suicide. Il cite, pour appuyer ſes danger- " euſes idées, l'example d'un grand nombre de heros paiens, enſuite " celui de quelques ſaints de l'ancien Teſtament, d'une foule de martyrs, " de confeſſeurs, de penitens, &c. Jeſus Chriſt même eſt amené en " preuve de ſon ſyſtéme. Un livre auſsi extraordinaire n'empêche pas " l'auteur de devenir Doyen de S. Paul, parce qu'il fut regardé comme " une ſorte de conſolation qu'il vouloit donner à ſes compatriots, que la " melancolie jette ſouvent dans cette fureur."—(*Nouveau. Dict. Hist. —Caen.* 1783.)

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Canon Law, but in many other ſuch ſtudies and arguments, as enter not into the conſideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were theſe only found in his ſtudy, but all buſineſſes that paſſed of any public conſequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for uſeful memorials: So he did the copies of divers letters and caſes of conſcience that had concerned his friends, with his obſervations and ſolutions of them, and divers other buſineſſes of importance, all particularly and methodically digeſted by himſelf.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him, making his will when no faculty of his ſoul was damped or made defective by pain or ſickneſs, or he ſurpriſed by a ſudden apprehenſion of death; but it was made with mature deliberation, expreſsing himſelf an impartial father by making his children's portions equal, and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and diſcreetly choſen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of ſome of them; for, methinks, they be perſons that ſeem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that ſtriking clock [x] which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor Dr. King (late Biſhop of Chicheſter), that model of gold of the Synod of Dort [y], with which the States preſented him at his laſt being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo [z],

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[x] CHARLES I. on the morning of his execution, preſented his attendant, Mr. Thomas Herbert, with his *ſilver clock*.

[y] The States General directed a gold medal to be ſtruck in commemoration of the Synod held at Dort. On one ſide is repreſented the Aſsembly of the Synod, with this inſcription, "ASSERTA RELIGIONE." On the reverſe, a mountain, on the ſummit of which is a temple, to which men are aſcending along a very ſteep path. The four winds are blowing with great violence againſt the mountain. Above the temple is written the word JEHOVAH, in Hebrew characters. The inſcription is "ERUNT UT MONS SION. CIↃDCXIX." Theſe winds are intended to repreſent thoſe who at that time much diſturbed the tranquillity of the church. *(Hiſtoire Metallique de la Republique de Hollande, par M. Bizot. tom. I. p.* 139)

[z] "Let me be bold to ſend you for a new-year's gift, a certain memorial not altogether unworthy of ſome entertainment under your roof, a true picture of Padre Paolo the Servita, which was firſt taken by a painter, whom I ſent unto him from my houſe then neighbouring his monaſtery. I have newly added thereunto a title of mine own conception. 'Concilii Tridentini Eviſcerator.' You will find a ſcar in his face, that was from a Roman aſsaſsinate that would have killed him as he was turned to a wall near his convent." *(Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to Dr. Samuel Collins, Provoſt of King's College, and Profeſsor Regius of Divinity, Jan.* 17, 1637.)

In this letter the character of Father Paul is drawn in ſuch pleaſing colours, that the reader cannot be diſpleaſed with a tranſcript of it.

"I am

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and Fulgentio [a], men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend, Dr. Brook (that married him) Maſter of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the bleſsed Virgin and Joſeph.—To Dr. Winniff (who ſucceeded him in his Deanery) he gave a picture called the "Skeleton."—To the ſucceeding Dean, who was not then known, he gave many neceſsaries of worth, and uſeful for his houſe; and alſo ſeveral pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a deſire that they might be regiſtered, and remain as a legacy to his ſucceſsors.—To the Earls of Dorſet and Carliſle, he gave ſeveral pictures, and ſo he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to expreſs his affection than to make any addition to their eſtates: But unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who, by his conſtant and long-continued bounty, might entitle themſelves to be his alms-people; for all theſe he made proviſion, and ſo largely, as, having then ſix children living, might to ſome appear more than proportionable to his eſtate. I forbear to mention any more, leſt the reader may think I treſpaſs upon his patience; but I will beg his favour to preſent him with the beginning and end of his will.

"I am deſirous of characteriſing a little unto you ſuch part of his na-
"ture, cuſtomes, and abilities, as I had occaſion to know by ſight or by
"inquiry. He was one of the humbleſt things that could be ſeen
"within the bounds of humanity; the very pattern of that precept
"'*Quantò doctior tantò ſubmiſſior*,' and enough alone to demonſtrate,
"that knowledge well digeſted *non inflat*. Excellent in poſitive, excel-
"lent in ſcholaſtical and polemical Divinity; a rare mathematician,
"even in the moſt abſtruſe parts thereof, as in Algebra and the Theo-
"riques; and yet withal ſo expert in the hiſtory of plants, as if he had
"never peruſed any book but Nature. Laſtly, a great Canoniſt, which
"was the title of his ordinary ſervice with the ſtate; and certainly in
"the time of the Pope's interdict they had their principal light from
"him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was
"to ſit fenced with a caſtle of paper about his chair and over head;
"for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's thinking, '*That all air is*
"*prædatory*,' and eſpecially hurtful when the ſpirits are moſt employed.
"He was of a quiet and ſettled temper, which made him prompt in
"his counſels and anſwers, and the ſame in conſultation which The-
"miſtocles was in action *αὐτοσχεδιάζων ἀκαιρότατος*."

[a] The friend and biographer of Father Paul, and celebrated for the dignity and freedom with which he preached the pure word of God. Of the real excellence of his diſcourſes, no better teſtimony can be adduced than the declaration of Pope Paul V. "He has indeed ſome "good ſermons, but bad ones withal: He ſtands too much upon Scrip-"ture, which is a book that if any man will keep cloſe to, he will quite "ruin the Catholic Faith." (*Father Paul's Letters, Let. XXVI.*) Induced by ſome ſpecious promiſes of the Pope's Nuncio to leave Venice, and under a ſafe conduct to go to Rome, he at firſt met with a kind reception, but was afterwards burnt in the Field of Flora. (*Fuller's Church Hiſt. Cent. XVII. B. X. p.* 93.)

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IN the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, Amen. I John Donne, *by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last Will and Testament, in the manner and form following:*

First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his Blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution which the same Spirit hath established in me to live and die in the religion now professed in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried in the most private manner that may be; in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now Residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c. ——And this my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ), and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors), written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed Decemb. 13, 1630.

Nor was this bleſsed ſacrifice of charity expreſsed only at his death, but in his life alſo, by a cheerful and frequent viſitation of any friend whoſe mind was dejected, or his fortune neceſsitous; he was inquiſitive after the wants of priſoners and redeemed many from priſon that lay for their fees or ſmall debts; he was a continual giver to poor ſcholars, both of this and foreign nations. Beſides what he gave with his own hand, he uſually ſent a ſervant, or a diſcreet and truſty friend, to diſtribute his charity to all the priſons in London, at all the feſtival times of the year, eſpecially at the birth and reſurrection of our Saviour. He gave a hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and careleſsneſs, became decayed in his eſtate; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman ſaying, "He wanted not;"—for the reader may note, that as there be ſome ſpirits ſo generous as to labour to conceal and endure a ſad poverty rather than expoſe themſelves to thoſe bluſhes that attend the confeſsion of it, ſo there be others to whom nature and grace have afforded ſuch ſweet and compaſsionate ſouls, as to pity and prevent the diſtreſses of mankind, which I have mentioned becauſe of Dr. Donne's reply, whoſe anſwer was, —"I know you want not what will ſuſtain nature, for a little "will do that; but my deſire is, that you, who in the days of

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"your plenty have cheered and raiſed the hearts of ſo many "of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, "and uſe it as a cordial for the cheering of your own:" And upon theſe terms it was received. He was a happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred (which he never undertook faintly, for ſuch undertakings have uſually faint effects), and they had ſuch a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never adviſed them to any thing in vain. He was, even to her death, a moſt dutiful ſon to his mother, careful to provide for her ſupportation, of which ſhe had been deſtitute, but that God raiſed him up to prevent her neceſsities, who having ſucked in the religion of the Roman Church with her mother's milk, ſpent her eſtate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his houſe but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how juſt a ſteward he was of his Lord and Maſter's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his Deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witneſses with him), computed firſt his revenue, then what was given to the poor and other pious uſes; and laſtly, what reſted for him and his; and, having done that, he then bleſsed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer: which, for that they diſcover a more than common devotion, the reader ſhall partake ſome of them in his own words:

"So all is that remains this year———

"Deo Opt. Max. benigno
"Largitori, à me, et ab iis
"Quibus hæc à me reſervantur,
"Gloria et gratia in æternum.
"Amen."

"So that this year God hath bleſsed me and mine with——

"Multiplicatæ ſunt ſuper
"Nos miſericordiæ tuæ,
"Domine.———

"Da, Domine, ut quæ ex immenſâ
"Bonitate tuâ nobis elargiri
"Dignatus fis, in quorumcunque
"Manus devenerint, in tuam
"Semper cedant gloriam.
"Amen."

"In fine horum ſex annorum manet——

"Quid habeo quod non accepi à Domino?
"Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus eſt
"Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum uſu; ut
"Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,

Nec

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" Nec loci in quo me posuit dignitati, nec
" Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni
" Curriculo mihi conscius sum me defuisse;
" Ita et liberi, quibus quæ superstunt,
" Superstunt, grato animo ea accipiant,
" Et beneficum authorem recognoscant.
" Amen."

But I return from my long digression.——We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place; and having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on his Majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him, nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent-preachers, and there being then (in January 1630) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead, that report gave him occasion to write the following letter to a dear friend:

" Sir,—This advantage you and my other friends have by " my frequent fevers, that I am so much the oftener at the gates " of heaven; and this advantage by the solitude and close im- " prisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much " the oftener at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out " your happiness, and I doubt not among his other blessings, " God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man would " almost be content to die, if there were no other benefit in " death, to hear of so much sorrow and so much good testimony " from good men as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the re- " port of my death; yet I perceive it went not through all, for " one writ to me that some (and he said of my friends) con- " ceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself " to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, " and, God knows, an ill-grounded interpretation; for I have " always been sorrier when I could not preach, than any could " be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God " may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in the pulpit; if " not that, yet that I might take my death in the pulpit; that " is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope " to see you presently after Candlemas, about which time will " fall my Lent-sermon at court, except my Lord Chamberlain " believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the roll; but " as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not wil- " lingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write " than you to read, yet I would not willingly oppress you with " too much letter. God so bless you and your son, as I " wish to

" Your poor friend,

" And servant in Christ Jesus,

" J. DONNE."

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Before that month ended he was appointed to preach upon his old conſtant day, the firſt Friday in Lent: he had notice of it, and had in his ſickneſs ſo prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirſted for it, ſo he reſolved his weakneſs ſhould not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London ſome few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with ſorrow ſaw his ſickneſs had left him but ſo much fleſh as did only cover his bones) doubted his ſtrength to perform that taſk, and did therefore diſſuade him from it, aſſuring him, however, it was likely to ſhorten his life; but he paſſionately denied their requeſts, ſaying, "He would not doubt that that God, who in ſo many "weakneſſes had aſſiſted him with an unexpected ſtrength, "would now withdraw it in his laſt employment, profeſſing "an holy ambition to perform that ſacred work." And when, to the amazement of ſome beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he preſented himſelf not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body and a dying face. And doubtleſs many did ſecretly aſk that queſtion in Ezekiel, (chap. xxxvii. 3.) "Do theſe bones "live? or, can that ſoul organize that tongue to ſpeak ſo long "time as the ſand in that glaſs[b] will move towards its centre,

[b] The reader will recollect the cuſtom which then prevailed, of regulating the time of preaching by the hour-glaſs, which was uſually placed at the right-hand of the preacher. In alluſion to this cuſtom, a preacher at Cambridge calls himſelf "A watchman for an hour in the "towre of the Univerſity." *(Fuller's Univ. of Cambridge, p.* 159.)——Dr. Donne thus begins his diſcourſe on 1 *Tim.* iii. 16.—"This is no "text for an hour-glaſs: If God would afford me Hezekiah's ſign, *ut* "*revertatur umbra,* that the ſhadow might go backward upon the dial, "or Joſhua's ſign, *ut ſistat Sol,* that the ſun might ſtand ſtill all the day, "this were text enough to employ all the day, and all the days of our "life." Again, on *Ps.* xxxii. 6.—"You would not be weary of read-"ing a long conveyance, in which the land were given to yourſelves; "nor of a long will, in which the body of the State were bequeathed to "you. Be not weary, if at any time your patience be exerciſed ſome "minutes *beyond the threescore,* ſome time *beyond the hour,* in theſe ex-"erciſes; for we exhibit conveyance, in which the land, the land of "promiſe is made yours, and the teſtament, in which the teſtator him-"ſelf is bequeathed to you."——"In the account of churchwardens "of St. Helen's, in Abington, Berks, 1Vd. was paid for an hour-glaſs for "the pulpit, 1591. *Archæolog. vol. I. p.* 22. There is ſcarcely perhaps "an earlier mention of this implement. It was uſed at Paul's Croſs in "1616; for in a painting of that and the church of that date, now in "the library of the Society of Antiquarians of London, I obſerved an "hour-glaſs near the preacher; and the cuſtom continued till after the "Reſtoration; for a very fine one which coſt XVIII ſhillings, was brought "from Holland to Lynn in Norfolk. *Bloomfield's History, vol. IV. p.* 131. "The iron frames in which they ſtood are ſometimes ſtill ſeen near pul-"pits."—*(Sir John Cullum's Hist and Antiq. of Hansted, p.* 34.)——It appears from the accounts of modern travellers, that in ſome of the Proteſtant churches in Switzerland the hour-glaſs is ſtill retained to direct the length of the preacher's diſcourſe. *See Gray's Letters during the Course of a Tour through Germany, p.* 131.

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" and meaſure out an hour of this dying man's unſpent life? " Doubtleſs it cannot:" And yet, after ſome faint pauſes in his zealous prayer, his ſtrong deſires enabled his weak body to diſcharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying; the text being, " To God the Lord belong the " iſsues from death." Many that then ſaw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, profeſsing they thought the text prophetically choſen, and that Dr. Donne *had preached his own funeral sermon* [c].

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this deſired duty, he haſtened to his houſe, out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, " he was carried by devout men " to his grave."

The next day after his ſermon, his ſtrength being much waſted, and his ſpirits ſo ſpent as indiſpoſed him to buſineſs or to talk, a friend that had often been a witneſs of his free and facetious diſcourſe, aſked, " Why are you ſad?" To whom he replied, with a countenance ſo full of cheerful gravity, as gave teſtimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a ſoul willing to take a farewell of this world; and ſaid——

" I am not ſad, but moſt of the night paſt I have entertained " myſelf with many thoughts of ſeveral friends that have left " me here, *and are gone to that place from which they shall not re-* " *turn;* and that within a few days *I shall go hence and be no* " *more seen.* And my preparation for this change is become " my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities " have now made reſtleſs to me: But at this preſent time I " was in a ſerious contemplation of the providence and good- " neſs of God to me; to me, *who am leſs than the least of his* " *mercies;* and looking back upon my life paſt, I now plainly " ſee it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal em- " ployment, and that it was his will I ſhould never ſettle or " thrive till I entered into the miniſtry; in which I have now " lived almoſt twenty years (I hope to his glory), and by which " I moſt humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite " moſt of thoſe friends who ſhowed me kindneſs when my for- " tune was very low, as God knows it was, and (as it hath oc- " caſioned the expreſsion of my gratitude) I thank God moſt of " them have ſtood in need of my requital. I have lived to be " uſeful and comfortable to my good father-in-law, Sir George " Moore, whoſe patience God hath been pleaſed to exerciſe " with many temporal croſses; I have maintained my own " mother, whom it hath pleaſed God, after a plentiful fortune

[c] This diſcourſe was printed at London in 1633, in 4to, under the quaint title of " Death's Duel, or a Conſolation to the Soule againſt the Dying Life and Living Death of the Body." The text is from *Ps.* lxviii. 20. It is the laſt diſcourſe in the third volume of Dr. Donne's Sermons.

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" in her younger days, to bring to a great decay in her very old " age. I have quieted the conſciences of many that have " groaned under the burthen of a wounded ſpirit, whoſe prayers " I hope are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of " life, eſpecially of my youth; but I am to be judged by a " merciful God, *who is not willing to see what I have done amiſs:* " And though of myſelf I have nothing to preſent to him but " ſins and miſery, yet I know he looks not upon me now as I " am of myſelf, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me " even at this preſent time ſome teſtimonies by his Holy Spirit, " that I am of the number of his elect: *I am therefore full of* " *inexpreſſible joy, and ſhall die in peace.*"

I muſt here look ſo far back as to tell the reader, that at his firſt return out of Eſſex, to preach his laſt ſermon, his old friend and phyſician, Dr. Fox, a man of great worth, came to him to conſult his health, and after a ſight of him, and ſome queries concerning his diſtempers, he told him, "That by cordials, " and drinking milk twenty days together, there was a proba- " bility of his reſtoration to health." But he paſſionately denied to drink it. Nevertheleſs, Dr. Fox, who loved him moſt entirely, wearied him with ſolicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days, at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, "He had drunk it more to ſatisfy him, than to recover his " health; and that he would not drink it ten days longer upon " the beſt moral aſſurance of having twenty years added to his " life, for he loved it not, and was ſo far from fearing death, " which to others was the King of Terrors, that he longed for " the day of his diſſolution[d]."

It is obſerved, that a deſire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that thoſe of the ſevereſt and moſt mortified lives, though they may become ſo humble

[d] Dr. Donne ſeems to have entertained an indifference to and an alienation from every ſecular purſuit. In the various ſcenes of his maturer life, he has his attention principally fixed upon another and a better ſtate. His deſires and affections being mortified and entirely ſubdued, he familiarizes to his thoughts the idea of death. Hence he expreſſes not merely an acquieſcence in the diſpenſations of God calling him away from this world, but even an unwillingneſs to live; and by that very extraordinary mode of repreſentation, which his biographer has recorded, he reconciles and endears to himſelf the approaching moment of his diſſolution. But ſuch a conduct will not be purſued by the generality of mankind. We are indeed influenced by every religious and moral principle to aſpire after length of days and an honourable old age; when we languiſh on the bed of ſickneſs, to bear the agonies of pain with the conſoling hopes of being reſtored to health, not to reject the probable remedies which medicinal ſkill propoſes for extinguiſhing diſeaſe and protracting life. This diſpoſition, joined with a cheerful and ready conſignment of our ſtate to the will of God, and a juſt ſenſe of the ſmall value of all earthly enjoyments, is ſurely not unworthy of the Chriſtian character.

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as to baniſh ſelf-flattery, and ſuch weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this deſire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die with us, and many think it ſhould do ſo; and we want not ſacred examples to juſtify the deſire of having our memory to out-live our lives, which I mention becauſe Dr. Donne, by the perſuaſion of Dr. Fox, eaſily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to perſuade him how or what monument it ſhould be; that was left to Dr. Donne himſelf.

A monument being reſolved upon, Dr. Donne ſent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compaſs and height of it; and to bring with it a board of the juſt height of his body. Theſe being got; then, without delay, a choice painter was got to be in readineſs to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.——Several charcoal-fires being firſt made in his large ſtudy, he brought with him into that place his winding-ſheet in his hand; and having put off all his clothes, had this ſheet put on him, and ſo tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands ſo placed as dead bodies are uſually fitted to be ſhrowded and put into their coffin or grave. Upon this urn he thus ſtood, with his eyes ſhut, and with ſo much of the ſheet turned aſide, as might ſhew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purpoſely turned toward the eaſt, from whence he expected the ſecond coming of his and our Saviour Jeſus. In this poſture he was drawn at his juſt height; and when the picture was fully finiſhed, he cauſed it to be ſet by his bed-ſide, where it continued, and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his deareſt friend and executor, Doctor Henry King, then chief Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, who cauſed him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble [e], as it now ſtands in that church;

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e "In 1631 I made a tombe for Dr. Donne, and ſette it up in St. "Paul's, London, for which I was paid by Dr. Mountford the ſum of "£120. I took £60 in plate, in part of payment." *(From a Copy of the Pocket-Book of Nicholas Stone.)*——"1631, Humphrey Mayor, a "workman employed under Stone, finiſht the ſtatue for Dr. Donne's "monument, £8:0:0." *(Ibid.)*

On the ſouth-ſide of the Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, ſtood a white marble monument, with the figure of Dr. Donne, in his ſhroud, ſtanding erect, his feet in an urn, and placed in a nich. Speed calls it "A White Marble Statue on an Urn." Above are the arms of the Deanery, impaled with his own, viz. a WOLF *saliant*. The concluding lines of the inſcription evidently allude to his poſture. "He was look-"ing toward the eaſt, from whence he expected his Saviour." The critical reader will remember, that in *Zech* vi. 12. the paſſage alluded to, ſhould be rendered "Behold the Man, whoſe name is the BRANCH," which the Seventy-Two tranſlate Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ,—and the Vulgate "Oriens nomen ejus."

Of

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W. Skelton Sculp.

JOHANNES DONNE.

Non omnis Moriar.

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and by Dr. Donne's own appointment, theſe words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph:——

JOHANNES DONNE,
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS TENERRIMIS
FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
ANNO SUI JESU, MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INDUTUS
XXVII NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII MDCXXXI.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a vatious life, even to the gates of death and the grave, my deſire is, he may reſt till I have told my reader, that I have ſeen many pictures of him, in ſeveral habits, and at ſeveral ages, and in ſeveral poſtures: And I now mention this, becauſe I have ſeen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen, with his ſword and what other adornments might then ſuit with the preſent faſhions of youth, and the giddy gayeties of that age; and his motto then was——

"How much ſhall I be chang'd,
"Before I am chang'd [f]!"

Of the portraiture of Sir William Weſton, Lord Prior of the Hoſpitallers, lying dead in his ſhroud, *the moſt* artificially cut in ſtone that ever man beheld, ſee *Fuller's Holy War*, p. 240.

[f] "Antes muerta que mudada." The words *antes muerta que mudada* are ſuppoſed by a Spaniſh author to have been originally written on the ſand by a lady promiſing fidelity to her lover. The following lines were compoſed by Mr. Iſaac Walton, and inſcribed under the print taken from this picture, and prefixed to an edition of Dr. Donne's Poems in 1639.

"This was for youth, ſtrength, mirth, and wit, that time
"Moſt count their golden age, but was not thine.
"Thine was thy later years, ſo much refin'd
"From youth's droſs, mirth and wit, as thy pure mind
"Thought (like the angels) nothing but the praiſe
"Of thy Creator, in thoſe laſt beſt days.
"Witneſs this book thy emblem, which begins
"With love, but ends with ſighs and tears for ſins."

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And if that young, and his now dying picture, were at this time set together, every beholder might say, "Lord! how "much is Dr. Donne already changed, before he is changed?" And the view of them might give my reader occasion to ask himself with some amazement, "Lord! how much may I also "that am now in health be changed, before I am changed; "before this vile, this changeable body shall put off mortality?" and therefore to prepare for it. But this is not writ so much for my reader's memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, "His great and most blessed change was from a "temporal to a spiritual employment;" in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost, and the beginning of it to be from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday, after the drawing this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study; and being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber, and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives, and then dismissed them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next: for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did;—but, as Job, so he "waited for the appointed day of his "dissolution."

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of no longer time; for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness (in his Book of Devotions written then) "He was that minute ready to deliver "his soul into his hands, if that minute God would determine "his dissolution." In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever: And his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident, that he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change, and in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the Beatifical Vision, he said, "I "were miserable if I might not die," and after those words closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, "Thy "kingdom come, thy will be done." His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the

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laſt minute of his life, and then forſook him, not to ſerve another maſter (for who ſpeaks like him?), but died before him, for that it was then become uſeleſs to him that now converſed with God on earth, as angels are ſaid to do in heaven, *only by thoughts and looks*. Being ſpeechleſs, and ſeeing heaven by that illumination by which he ſaw it, he did, as St. Stephen, "Look "ſteadfaſtly into it, till he ſaw the Son of Man, ſtanding at the "right-hand of God his father;" and being ſatisfied with this bleſsed ſight, as his ſoul aſcended, and his laſt breath departed from him, he cloſed his own eyes, and then diſpoſed his hands and body into ſuch a poſture as required not the leaſt alteration by thoſe that came to ſhroud him.

Thus VARIABLE, thus VIRTUOUS was the life; thus EXCELLENT, thus EXEMPLARY was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church, which he had appointed for that uſe ſome years before his death, and by which he paſsed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God (who was then ſerved twice a day by a public form of prayer and praiſes in that place); but he was not buried privately, though he deſired it; for, beſide an unnumbered number of others, many perſons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did ſhew it at his death, by a voluntary and ſad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was ſo remarkable as a public ſorrow.

To which place of his burial ſome mournful friend repaired, and, as Alexander the Great[g] did to the grave of the famous Achilles, ſo they ſtrewed his with an abundance of curious and coſtly flowers[h]; which courſe they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days, not ceaſing till the ſtones that were taken up in that church to give his body admiſsion into the cold earth (now his bed of reſt) were again by the maſons art ſo levelled and firmed, as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undiſtinguiſhable to common view.

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[g] When Alexander croſsed the Helleſpont, to viſit the ruins of Hium, he ſacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, eſpecially to Achilles. Hepheſtion, as a mark of his friendſhip to Alexander, crowned the tomb of Patroclus with flowers. (*Ant. Univ. Hist. Vol. VIII. p.* 507.)

[h] ——————— "With faireſt flowers
"Whilſt ſummer laſts, and I live here, Fidele,
"I'll ſweeten thy ſad grave. Thou ſhalt not lack
"The flower that's like thy face, pale primroſe, nor
"The azur'd hare-bell."

SHAKESP. *Cymbeline, A. IV. Sc.* 5.

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The next day after his burial, ſome unknown friend, ſome one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave:——

"Reader! I am to let thee know,
"Donne's body only lies below:
"For, could the grave his ſoul compriſe,
"Earth would be richer than the ſkies."

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend aſhes; for as there be ſome perſons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himſelf a debtor; perſons that dare truſt God with their charity, and without a witneſs; ſo there was by ſome grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks ſent to his two faithful friends and executors (Dr. King and Dr. Monfort) towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that ſent it: And he lived to ſee as lively a repreſentation of his dead friend, as marble can expreſs; a ſtatue indeed ſo like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend, Sir Henry Wotton, had expreſsed himſelf) "It ſeems "to breathe faintly, and poſterity ſhall look upon it as a kind "of artificial miracle."

He was of a ſtature moderately tall, of a ſtraight and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an unexpreſsible addition of comelineſs.

The melancholy and pleaſant humour were in him ſo contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made uſeful by a commanding judgment.

His aſpect was cheerful, and ſuch as gave a ſilent teſtimony of a clear knowing ſoul, and of a conſcience at peace with itſelf.

His melting eye ſhowed that he had a ſoft heart, full of compaſſion; of too brave a ſoul to offer injuries, and too much a Chriſtian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (eſpecially after he entered into his ſacred calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the ſoul, and the joys of heaven; and would often ſay, in a kind of ſacred ecſtacy, "Bleſsed be God that he is God, "only and divinely like himſelf."

He was by nature paſsionate, but more apt to reluct at the exceſses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of ſo merciful a ſpirit, that he never beheld the miſeries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earneſt and unwearied in the ſearch of knowledge; with which his vigorous ſoul is now ſatisfied, and employed in a continual praiſe of that God that firſt breathed it into his active body; that body which once was a temple of the Holy Ghoſt, and is now become a ſmall quantity of Chriſtian duſt: —But I ſhall ſee it reanimated.

I. WALTON.

FEBRUARY 15, 1639.

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VERSES

TO THE MEMORY OF

DR. J. DONNE.

AN EPITAPH

WRITTEN BY

DOCTOR CORBET[1], LATE BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON HIS FRIEND, DOCTOR DONNE.

HE that wou'd write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, muſt firſt begin to be
Such as thou wert; for none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath liv'd ſo.
He muſt have wit to ſpare, and to hurl down;
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He muſt have learning plenty; both the laws,
Civil and common, to judge any cauſe;

[1] Dr. RICHARD CORBET, in 1632, tranſlated from the See of Oxford, to that of Norwich, died in 1635. He was in his younger years one of the moſt celebrated wits in the Univerſity of Oxford, afterward admired for his quaint and eloquent preaching, and much commended for his great liberality and munificence, and particularly in promoting the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. The volume of his Poems, which have great merit, is not common; and therefore ſeveral extracts from it are publiſhed in the Biographia Britannica.

" If flowing wit, if verſes writ with eaſe,
" If learning, void of pedantry, can pleaſe;
" If much good humour, join'd to ſolid ſenſe,
" And mirth, accompanied with innocence,
" Can give a poet a juſt right to fame,
" Then CORBET may immortal honour claim:
" For he theſe virtues had, and in his lines
" Poetic and heroic ſpirit ſhines;
" Tho' bright, yet ſolid, pleaſant but not rude,
" With wit and wiſdom equally endu'd,
" Be ſilent, Muſe, thy praiſes are too faint,
" Thou want'ſt a power this prodigy to paint,
" At once a poet, prelate, and a ſaint. J. C.

(*Biog. Brit. in the Article* CORBET.)

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Divinity great ſtore above the reſt,
Not of the laſt edition, but the beſt.
He muſt have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to uſe, or elſe he wants thy parts.
He muſt have friends the higheſt, able to do,
Such as Mecœnas, and Auguſtus too.
He muſt have ſuch a ſickneſs, ſuch a death,
Or elſe his vain deſcriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee
Should firſt be dead; let it alone for me.

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY EVER DESIRED DOCTOR DONNE.

AN ELEGY,

BY H. KING, LATE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

TO have liv'd eminent, in a degree
Beyond our loftieſt thoughts, that is like thee;
Or t'have had too much merit is not ſafe,
For ſuch exceſſes find no epitaph.

At common graves we have poetic eyes,
Can melt themſelves in eaſy elegies;
Each quill can drop his tributary verſe,
And pin it, like the hatchments, to the hearſe:
But at thine, poem or inſcription
(Rich ſoul of wit and language) we have none.
Indeed a ſilence does that tomb befit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd Invention juſtly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there:
Late her great patron, whoſe prerogative
Maintain'd and cloth'd her ſo, as none alive
Muſt now preſume to keep her at thy rate,
Though he the Indies for her dower eſtate.
Or elſe that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.
Whoever writes of thee, and in a ſtyle
Unworthy ſuch a theme, does but revile
Thy precious duſt, and wakes a learned ſpirit,
Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit.
For all a low-pitch'd fancy can deviſe
Will prove at beſt but hallowed injuries.

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Thou, like the dying ſwan, didſt lately ſing
Thy mournful dirge in audience of the King;
When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath
Preſented ſo to life that piece of death,
That it was fear'd and propheſy'd by all
Thou thither cam'ſt to preach thy funeral.
Oh! hadſt thou in an elegiac knell
Rung out unto the world thine own farewell,
And in thy high victorious numbers beat
The ſolemn meaſures of thy griev'd retreat,
Thou might'ſt the poet's ſervice now have miſt,
As well as then thou didst prevent the prieſt:
And never to the world beholden be,
So much as for an epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office: nor is't fit
Thou, who did'ſt lend our age ſuch ſums of wit,
Shouldſt now reborrow from her bankrupt mine
That oar to bury thee which firſt was thine;
Rather ſtill leave us in thy debt:—and know,
Exalted ſoul! more glory 'tis to owe
Thy memory, what we can never pay,
Than with embaſed coin thoſe rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thyſelf, nor blame
Our drooping loves, that thus to thine own fame
Leave thee executor, ſince but thine own
No pen could do thee juſtice, nor bays crown
Thy vaſt deſerts; ſave that we nothing can
Depute to be thy aſhes' guardian.

So jewellers no art or metal truſt
To form the diamond, but the diamond's duſt. H. K.

AN ELEGY ON DOCTOR DONNE.

OUR Donne is dead! and we may ſighing ſay,
We had that man where Language choſe to ſtay
And ſhow her utmoſt power. I would not praiſe
That and his great wit, which in our vain days
Make others proud; but as theſe ſerv'd to unlock
That cabinet, his mind, where ſuch a ſtock
Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament
Our juſt and general cauſe of diſcontent.

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And I rejoice I am not ſo ſevere,
But as I write a line, to weep a tear
For his deceaſe: Such ſad extremities
Can make ſuch men as I write elegies.

And wonder not; for when ſo great a loſs
Falls on a nation, and they ſlight the croſs,
God hath rais'd prophets to awaken them
From their dull lethargy; witneſs my pen,
Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it muſt
Freely and boldly, for the cauſe is juſt.

Dull age! oh, I would ſpare thee, but thou'rt worſe:
Thou art not only dull, but haſt a curſe
Of black ingratitude: If not, couldſt thou
Part with this matchleſs man, and make no vow
For thee and thine ſucceſsively to pay
Some ſad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth ſcatter poetry, wherein
Lay love's philoſophy? Was every ſin
Pictur'd in his ſharp ſatires, made ſo foul
That ſome have fear'd Sin's ſhapes, and kept their ſoul
Safer by reading verſe? Did he give days,
Paſt marble monuments, to thoſe whoſe praiſe
He wou'd perpetuate? Did he (I fear
Envy will doubt) theſe at his twentieth year?

But, more matur'd; did his rich ſoul conceive,
And in harmonious holy numbers weave
A crown of ſacred ſonnets [k], fit t' adorn
A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
On that bleſs'd head of Mary Magdalen,
After ſhe wip'd Chriſt's feet, but not till then?
Did he (fit for ſuch penitents as ſhe
And he to uſe) leave us a Letanie [l]

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[k] "La Corona," a poem, written by Dr. Donne, and conſiſting of ſeven holy ſonnets, the firſt line of each ſonnet beginning with the laſt line of the preceding one, the poem beginning and ending with the ſame line—namely

"Deigne at my hands this crown of prayer and praiſe."

The ſubjects are—Annunciation—Nativitie—Temple-crucifying—Reſurrection—Aſcention.

[l] A poem ſo called, written by Donne, who, in a letter to his friend, Sir Henry Goodyere, gives this account of it. "Since my impriſon-"ment in my bed I have made a meditation in verſe, which I call a "Litany: The word, you know, imports no other than ſupplication; "but

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Which all devout men love, and doubtleſs ſhall,
As times grow better, grow more claſsical?
Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to thoſe great grave Prudentius writ?
Spake he all languages? Knew he all laws?
The grounds and uſe of phyſic—but, becauſe
'Twas mercenary, wav'd it? went to ſee
That happy place of Chriſt's nativity [m]?
Did he return and preach him? preach him ſo,
As, ſince St. Paul, none ever did? they know——
Thoſe happy ſouls that hear'd him know this truth.
Did he confirm thy ag'd, convert thy youth?
Did he theſe wonders? and is his dear loſs
Mourn'd by ſo few?—few for ſo great a croſs.

But ſure the ſilent are ambitious all
To be cloſe mourners at his funeral.
If not; in common pity they forbear,
By repetitions, to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd and hid, conſumes
Man's life inſenſibly (as poiſon's fumes
Corrupt the brain), take ſilence for the way
T'enlarge the ſoul from theſe walls, mud and clay,
(Materials of this body) to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiſcuous pain
Leſsens thoſe joys we have; for with him all
Are ſatisfy'd with joys eſsential.

Dwell on theſe joys, my thoughts!—Oh! do not call
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
Forget he lov'd me: Waſte not my ſwift years
Which haſte to David's ſeventy, fill'd with fears
And ſorrows for his death: Forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good men's hearts:
And, for my firſt is daily paid for ſin,
Forget to pay my ſecond ſigh for him:
Forget his powerful preaching; and forget
I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let

"but all churches have one form of ſupplication by that name. "Amongſt ancient annals, I mean ſome 800 years, I have met two "Letanies in Latin verſe, which gave me not the reaſon of my medi- "tations; for in good faith I thought not upon them, but they give "me a defence, if any man to a Layman and a Private impute it as a "fault to take ſuch divine and publique names to his own little "thoughts." *(Letters, &c. p. 32.)*

[m] But it appears from the preceding pages, that his intentions of viſiting the Holy Land were fruſtrated.

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My flesh be no more heard; it will obtrude
This lethargy: So should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should be so broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself: For which cause I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world; and, parting with it, grieve
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument as matchless as his worth.

IZ. WA.

APRIL 7, 1631.

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APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DOCTOR JOHN DONNE,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

I. "PSEUDO-MARTYR; wherein out of certaine Propopoſitions and Gradations this Concluſion is evicted, that thoſe which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegeance." *London*, 1610, quarto.

II. "DEVOTIONS upon EMERGENT OCCASIONS, and ſeveral STEPS in my SICKNESS; digeſted into—1. Meditations upon our humane Condition.—2. Expoſtulations and Debatements with God.—3. Prayers upon ſeveral Occaſions to him." *London*, 1624, 12mo.

This book is dedicated to Prince Charles. The ſubjects of the different devotions are expreſsed in twenty-two hexameter verſes prefixed to the work.

"Stationes ſive periodi in morbo, ad quas referuntur meditationes ſequentes.

1. Inſultus morbi primus. 2. Pòſt actio læſa.
3. Decubitus ſequitur tandem. 4. Medicusque vocatur.
5. Solus adeſt. 6. Metuit. 7. Socius ſibi jungier inſtat," &c.

A fourth edition of this work appeared in 1634.

III. "The ANTIENT HISTORY of the SEPTUAGINT; written in Greeke by Ariſteus 1900 Yeares ſince. Of his Voyage to Hieruſalem, as Ambaſsador from Ptolomeus Philadelphus unto Eleazer then Pontiffe of the Jews. Concerning the firſt Tranſlation of the Bible by the 72 Interpreters; with many other remarkable Circumſtances. Newly done into Engliſh by J. DONNE." *London*, 1633, 8vo, or 16mo.

"N. B. There are added Proofes concerning this Hiſtory, and a ſhort Diſcourſe of the Antiquity and Dignity of the Sacred Bookes, and Excellency of their Inſpired Writer the Prophet Moſes."

A new edition of this verſion, ſaid to be very much corrected from the original, was publiſhed in 1685, 12mo.

IV. "JUVENILIA, or certaine Paradoxes and Problems." *London*, 1633, quarto.

V. "POEMS by J. D. with ELEGIES on the AUTHOR's DEATH."—1633, quarto. The ſame in 1635, 8vo or 16mo; and again in 1654, 8vo or 16mo. The laſt edition contains a

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dedication to Lord Craven, by Dr. John Donne, the ſon, and a copy of verſes to Dr. Donne, by B. Jon. i. e. Ben Jonſon. Prefixed to the volume is a print of the Author in a ſuit of armour, with eight verſes under it, by Izaak Walton. There is another edition of the poems in 1669, 8vo.

VI. "LXXX SERMONS," 1640, folio, with a print of the Author, æt. 42, M. Merian, jun. ſc. With a Dedication to King Charles, and Izaak Walton's Life of Dr. Donne.

VII. "L SERMONS; the Second Volume," 1649, folio.—This volume contains two dedications; the firſt "To Baſil, Earl of Denby;" and the ſecond "To Bolſtred Whitlock, Richard Keeble, and John Leile, Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seale."

VIII. "XXVI SERMONS; the third Volume," 1661.—With a dedication "To King Charles II."

Many of the ſermons in the preceding volumes were printed ſeparately at different times.

IX. "LETTERS to ſeveral Perſons of Honour. Publiſhed by John Donne, Doctor of the Civill Law." *London*, 1654, 4to; and dedicated by him "To the moſt virtuous and excellent Lady Mris. Bridget Dunch."

X. "ESSAYS in DIVINITY, &c. being ſeveral Diſquiſitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers." 1651, 12mo. Written by him before he went into holy orders.

XI. "PARADOXES, PROBLEMS, ESSAYS, CHARACTERS, &c. To which is added, a Book of Epigrams, written in Latin by the ſame Author, tranſlated into Engliſh by J. Mayne, D. D. As alſo Ignatius his Conclave, a Satyr, tranſlated out of the original Copy written in Latin by the ſame Author; found lately amongſt his own Papers." *London*, 1653, 12mo.

Several parts of this volume were printed before under different titles.

Of the tract "Ignatius his Conclave," it muſt be obſerved, that it was originally written in Latin with this title; "Conclave Ignatii, ſive ejus in nuperis inferni comitiis Inthroniſatio: ubi varia de Jeſuitarum indole, de novo inferno creando, de eccleſiâ lunaticâ inſtituendâ per Satyram congeſta ſunt. Acceſſit et Apologia pro Jeſuitis."

This little volume is printed without the name of the author or printer, and without any intimation of time or place. It contains many ſevere and ironical invectives againſt Ignatius Loyola, who founded the order of the Jeſuits in 1540. The author deſcribes himſelf in a viſion. "Eram in extaſi, et

"Animula vagula blandula
"Comes hoſpesque corporis

"per omnia liberè vagata eſt, omnes cœlorum contignationes "numerabat et volumina: omnes inſularum natantium om-

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" niumque in firmamento hærentium ſitus, dimenſiones, naturas, " populos, etiam et politeias complexa eſt."—He proceeds; "Ictu " oculi etiam et inferos video in conſpectu meo poſitos."—" Ad " penitiora progreſsus vidi locum ſecretiorem ipſique Lucifero " ferè proprium, ad quem ineundum iis tantùm jus erat qui ita " aliquid novi in vitâ moliti fuerant, ut antiquitati barbam vel- " lerent, et dubia et anxietates ſcrupulosque injicerent, et poſt " invectam quidvis opinandi licentiam tandem prorſus contraria " iis quæ antè ſtatuta fuerant ſtatuerent."

Many candidates claim an admiſſion into the infernal regions, as Copernicus, Paracelſus, Machiavel, &c. To them Ignatius Loyola is preferred: Lucifer entertains him as a boſom friend and counſellor, and propoſes to him the acquiſition of a territory in the moon. "Illuc Jeſuitæ omnes transfretabunt, eccleſiam- " que lunaticam Romanæ conciliabunt."

In the mean time it is publicly announced that the Pope is prevailed upon to canonize Ignatius: "Iniquum enim eſse, cùm " omnes artifices laniique prophani peculiares quos invocarent " divos haberent, ſolis laniis ſpiritualibus et regicidis ſuus " deeſset."

Ignatius caſting his eyes on the throne next that of Lucifer, aſks by whom it is filled. When he hears the name of Boniface, he breaks out into a violent reproach againſt him, and drives him from his place, in which he ſeats himſelf with the approbation of Lucifer. And here the viſion ends.

The tract concludes with a pretended defence of the Jeſuits: " Tandem ad apologiam pro Jeſuitis accedendum, id eſt, de illis " ſilendum. Favet enim illis quiſquis de illis tacet. Nec certè " cuiquam diutiſsimè locuto (etſi ei Oceanus Clepſydra eſset) " unquam deerit quod de eorum flagitiis addere poſsit."

XII. " ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ. A Declaration of that Paradoxe or Theſis, that Self-homicide is not ſo naturally Sin, that it may never be otherwiſe. Wherein the Nature and Extent of all thoſe Lawes, which ſeem to be violated by this Act, are diligently ſurveyed." *London*, printed by John Dawſon.—4to.

This work was publiſhed by the author's ſon, with a dedication to the Lord Philip Herbert, dated from his houſe in Covent-Garden, 28; no mention is made of month or year here or in the title-page. At the end of the book we find " 20 Sept. 1644, imprimatur Jo. Ruſhworth."

In the Univerſity library at Cambridge are three copies of this book, in two of which are written letters by the editor. One copy, which contains the letter to Mr. Lee, was Biſhop Moore's; the other, containing the letter to Mr. Carter, belonged to Mr. Lucas, who founded the Lucaſian Profeſsorſhip at Cambridge.

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LETTER I.

" FOR HIS MUCH HONORED FRINDE MR. LEE, AT THE COCKPITT.

" SIR,

" I take the bouldneſse to preſent to your hands this booke, " hopinge that it may bee welcome to you, even for the pa- " trone's ſake who has receaved it ſoe nobly, that I cannot doubt " but that all his frinds will entertaine it as ſome thinge that " belongs to my Lorde Herbert, and has lyen ſtill theſe fivftie " laſt years to expect a patrone noble enough to entertaine a " peece that is an abſolute originall, and, I thincke, drawen by " noe very ill a hande.

" Sir, your moſt humble ſervant,

" JO. DONNE."

COVENT-GARDEN, Oct. 26.

LETTER II.

" FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL EDWARD CARTER, ESQ.

" SIR,

" I have here ſent you a booke that may peradventure give " you ſome entertainement out of the noveltie of the ſubject, " but that is not all my reaſon of preſentinge it to you at this " time; for, ſince I lived in this pariſh, I have publiſhed a vo- " lume of eighty ſermons preached by my father; and have pre- " pared ſixty more, which are licenſed and entered in the Prin- " ter's Halle; which is, as farr as I can drive them, untill the " times allter. I was encouradged to undertake this worke by the " learnedeſt men in the kingdome of all profeſsions, and was " often told that I ſhould deſerve better by doinge ſoe, then by " keepinge them to my owne uſe, for by this meanes I did not " only preach to the preſent adge, but to our children's children. " Sir, I write this to you that you may judg what a ſad con- " dition a ſcholler is in; when at a public veſtry in this pariſh, " I was told by a pittifull ignorant baker, I was an idle man, and " never preached.

" Your humble ſervant,

" JO. DONNE."

Another edition of the Biathanatos appeared in 1648.

A Satirical Poem, called " A Scourge for Paper Perſecutors, by I. D. 1625," 4to, has been attributed to Dr. Donne. It was written by John Davies of Hereford, and is printed in his " Scourge of Folly," 8vo. which is not inſerted by Wood among the works of Davies. See " Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 444.

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Dr. Donne is eſteemed the author of a Latin Epitaph, inſcribed on a monument erected in the church of Hanſted in Suffolk, to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury, eldeſt daughter of Sir Robert Drury, Knight, who died in 1610, in the 15th year of her age. She was the heireſs of an immenſe fortune, and is ſaid to have been deſtined for the conſort of Henry Prince of Wales. The Lines by Dr. Donne, inſerted in "The Spectator," No. 41, and affirmed to allude to his miſtreſs, were really written on this lady, the innocent and lovely daughter of his friend. Tradition reports, that ſhe died of a box on the ear, which her father gave her. This conceit roſe probably from her being repreſented on her monument as reclining her head on one hand; juſt as the ſtory of Lord Ruſsel's daughter dying of a prick of her finger, took its origin from her ſtatue in Weſtminſter Abbey, which repreſents her as holding down her finger, and pointing to a Death's head at her feet.

In the ſame church of Hanſted, is another monument, with an inſcription, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. Donne, commemorating both Sir William Drury, (who, in 1589, was killed in a duel, in France, by Sir John Borough, Knight,) and Sir Robert Drury, Knight, his ſon, who died in 1615. See "Hiſt. and Antiq. of Hanſted," p. 143.

"A Copy of Verſes, by Dr. Donne," is prefixed to "Captain Smith's Hiſtory of Virginia, 1626." Fol.

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W. Skelton Sculp.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

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THE LIFE

OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON,

LATE PROVOST OF EATON COLLEGE.

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THE LIFE OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON (whoſe life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption, 1568, in Boſton-Hall (commonly called Boſton, or Bougton-Place, or Palace) in the pariſh of Boſton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent: Boſton-hall being an ancient and goodly ſtructure, beautifying, and being beautified by the pariſh-church of Boſton Malherbe[a] adjoining unto it, and both ſeated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of ſuch a hill as gives the advantage of a large proſpect, and of equal pleaſure to all beholders.

But this houſe and church are not remarkable for any thing ſo much as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have ſo long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church[b]: the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers perſons eminent for wiſdom and valour, whoſe heroic acts and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themſelves and this nation, which they have ſerved abroad faithfully in the diſcharge of their great truſt, and prudently in their negociations with ſeveral princes; and alſo ſerved at home with much honour and juſtice, in their wiſe managing a great part of the public affairs thereof in the various times both of war and peace.

But leſt I ſhould be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have obſerved moderation in the commendation of this family; and alſo for that I believe the merits and memory of ſuch perſons ought to be thankfully recorded, I ſhall offer to the conſideration of every reader, out of the teſtimony of their pedigree and our chronicles, a part,

[a] Boſton Malherbe, alias Boughton Malherbe, lies in the middle of the county of Kent. Sir Nicholas Wotton, Lord Mayor of London in 1337, obtained the poſſeſſion of this place by marrying the only daughter of Richard Corby. It continued in the ancient family of the Wottons, until it came to Thomas Lord Wotton, whoſe eldeſt daughter the Lady Katharine Stanhope, by marrying Henry Lord Stanhope, ſon of Philip Earl of Cheſterfield, transferred it into another family. *See Harris's Hiſt. of Kent.*

[b] Of theſe monuments ſee "Haſted's Hiſtory of Kent," vol. II. p. 437; —"Harris's Hiſtory of Kent," p. 48.

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and but a part, of that juſt commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and ſhall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an exceſs or defect of commendations[c].

Sir Robert Wotton of Boćton Malherbe, Knight, was born about the year of Chriſt 1460: He, living in the reign of King Edward IV. was by him truſted to be Lieutenant of Guiſnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton of Boćton Malherbe, Knight (ſon and heir of the ſaid Sir Robert) was born in the year of Chriſt, 1489, in the reign of King Henry VII.; he was made Treaſurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry VIII. who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England; "But," ſaith Hollinſhed, in his Chronicle, "out of a virtuous modeſty he "refuſed it."

Thomas Wotton of Boćton Malherbe, Eſquire, ſon and heir of the ſaid Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry that occaſions this relation, was born in the year of Chriſt, 1521: He was a gentleman excellently educated, and ſtudious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfećtion; who, though he had (beſides thoſe abilities, a very noble and plentiful eſtate and the ancient intereſt of his predeceſsors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood (ſhe was then with him at Boćton-hall), and that to be but as an earneſt of ſome more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refuſed both, being a man of great modeſty, of a moſt plain and ſingle heart, of an ancient freedom and integrity of mind. A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occaſion often to remember with great gladneſs, and thankfully to boaſt himſelf the ſon of ſuch a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always praćtiſed by himſelf, and which he ever both commended and cheriſhed in others. This Thomas was alſo remarkable for hoſpitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may juſtly be added, that he was a cheriſher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary, Mr. William Lambert[d], in his Perambulation of Kent.

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[c] Hollingſhed informs us that the family of the Wottons was very ancient, and that "Some perſons of that ſurname for their ſingularities "of wit and learning, for their honour and government in and of the "realm, about the prince and elſewhere, at home and abroad, deſerve "ſuch commendations, that they merit *niveo signari lapillo.*" (*Chron. Vol. I. p.* 1402.)

[d] WILLIAM LAMBARD of Lincoln's Inn, gent. a pupil of Lawrence Nowell the learned Antiquary, and known to the country magiſtrate as the author of "Eirenarcha, or of the Office of the Juſtices of Peace, "1590," and of the "Duties of Conſtables, Borſholders, Tithing-Men, "and ſuch other Lowe and Lay Miniſters of the Peace, 1601." His "Perambulation

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This Thomas had four ſons[e], Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted[f] by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of her Majeſty's Houſehold. "He was," ſaith Camden, "a man remarkable for many and great employ-"ments in the ſtate during her reign, and ſeveral times Ambaſ-"ſador into foreign nations. After her death, he was by King "James made Comptroller of his Houſehold, and called to be "of his Privy Council, and by him advanced to be Lord Wot-"ton, Baron of Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of "that county."

Sir James, the ſecond ſon, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was in the thirty-eight of Queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert Earl of Suſsex, Count Lodowick of Naſsau, Don Chriſtophoro, ſon of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleneſs and valour) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, beſides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that town[g].

"Perambulation of Kent," much applauded by Camden, encouraged many more men of learning to endeavour the like ſervices for their country. His chief work is "The Archaionomia ſive de priſcis Anglorum Legibus, 1568," being a tranſlation of the Anglo-Saxon Laws.

[e] SIR HENRY WOTTON, in a letter to Lord Zouch, dated Florence, Aug. 14, 1592, mentions his brother Edward, as having loſt his wife, a gentlewoman, in his opinion, of moſt rare virtue; his brother James as gone to ſerve in the Low Countries; and his brother John as retired to a ſolitary life, and at ſome difference with his lady.

[f] "My brother Edward hath, either againſt his will, as ſome ſay, or "with it, as I ſay, been knighted." *(Letter to Lord Zouch, dated Sienna, Dec. 13, 1592.)*——Sir Edward Wotton was, in 1585, ſent Ambaſſador into Scotland, for the purpoſe of contracting a league offenſive and defenſive with the King, to counteract the *holy* league, which the Pope, the Spaniſh King, the Guiſes, and others had made to extirpate the reformed religion. *(Spotswood's Hiſt. p.* 339.)——His character, while he was engaged in that embaſsy, is thus drawn by Dr. Robertſon. "This man was gay, well-bred, and entertaining; he excelled in all the "exerciſes for which James had a paſsion, and amuſed the young King "by relating the adventures which he had met with, and the obſerva-"tions he had made during a long reſidence in foreign countries; but "under the veil of theſe ſuperficial qualities, he concealed a dangerous "and intriguing ſpirit. He ſoon grew into high favour with James, and "while he was ſeemingly attentive only to pleaſure and diverſions, he "acquired influence over the public councils, to a degree which was "indecent for a ſtranger to poſſeſs." *(Hiſtory of Scotland, B. VII.)*

[g] The Earl of Eſsex made knights to the number of ſixty. Some of them were perſons of little fortunes, nor was Queen Elizabeth pleaſed with him for making knighthood ſo common.

A knight of Cales, a gentleman of Wales, and a laird of the north countrie,
A yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent will buy them out all three.

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Sir John being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry, my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line; and most of them in their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton (who lived in the reign of King Richard II.) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury [h]; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments [i], having been sent nine times Ambassador [k] unto foreign princes; and by his being a Privy Councellor to King Henry VIII. to Edward VI. to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, and Scotland and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, "died," saith learned Camden, "full of commendations for wisdom and piety." He was also by the will of King Henry

[h] He was installed Dean of York, Dec. 4, 1544, as in 1542 he was constituted the first Dean of Canterbury by the Charter of Incorporation. He held both these preferments to the time of his death, Jan. 26, 1566-7. What Sir Henry Wotton said of Sir Philip Sidney, has been applied to Nicholas Wotton. "That he was the very measure of congruity." Henry VIII. thus addressed him on his appointment to a foreign embassy; "I "have sent a head by Cromwell, a purse by Wolsey, a sword by Bran- "don, and must now send the law by you." *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 107.)——He was considered as possessing the qualifications of a statesman in a very eminent degree. "Every younker speaks as politic as "Bishop Gardner or Dr. Wotton." *(Spenser's Letters to his friend Immerito.)*

[i] Camden, in his Britannica.

[k] It appears, from the inscription on his monument, that he was sent Ambassador twice to the Emperor Charles V. once to Philip King of Spain, once to Francis I. the French King, thrice to Henry II. his son, once to Mary Queen of Hungary, governor of the Low Countries, and twice to William Duke of Cleves: That he was also a Commissioner at the renewal of peace between the English, and French and Scots, at a place between Guisnes and Ardes, in 1546, and also at the castle of Cambray, in 1559, and lastly at Edinburgh, in 1560.—See his life in a very valuable work lately published, entitled, "Some account of the "Deans of Canterbury, from the new Foundation of that Church by "Henry VIII. to the present Time. By Henry John Todd, M. A."

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VIII. made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State to his ſon, that pious Prince Edward VI.—Concerning which Nicholas Wotton, I ſhall ſay but this little more; that he refuſed (being offered it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury[l]—and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the diſſolution of abbeys.

More might be added; but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of ſuch a kindred, as left a ſtock of reputation to their poſterity; ſuch reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in ſtrangers, and preſerve a noble ambition in thoſe of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their anceſtors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did ſo, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many ſurviving friends, ſome one of higher parts and employments had been pleaſed to have commended his to poſterity; but ſince ſome years are now paſsed, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it, my gratitude to my dead friend, and the renewed requeſt of ſome[m] that ſtill live ſolicitous to ſee this duty performed, theſe have had a power to perſuade me to undertake it; which truly, I have not done, but with ſome diſtruſt of mine own abilities; yet ſo far from deſpair, that I am modeſtly confident my humble language ſhall be accepted, becauſe I ſhall preſent all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premiſed, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; firſt to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudſtone, Knight; after whoſe death, though his inclination was averſe to all contentions, yet neceſsitated he was to ſeveral ſuits in law; in the proſecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occaſion of many diſcontents) he was by divers of his friends earneſtly perſuaded to a remarriage; to whom he has often anſwered, "That if ever he did put on a reſolution to marry, he was ſeriouſly reſolved to avoid three ſorts of perſons, namely,

"Thoſe that had children;
"Thoſe that had law-ſuits;
"And thoſe that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-ſuits, he met in Weſtminſter-hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton of Kent, Eſquire, who was alſo engaged in ſeveral ſuits in law; and he, obſerving her comportment at the time of hearing one of her cauſes before the Judges, could not but at the ſame time both compaſsionate her condition, and affect her perſon (for

[l] Hollingſhead.

[m] Sir Edward Biſh Clarentieux, King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, ſometime Sir Henry Wotton's ſervant, and one of the witneſses to his laſt will.

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the tears of lovers, or beauty dreſt in ſadneſs, are obſerved to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too ſtrong to be réſiſted), which I mention, becauſe it proved ſo with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all thoſe accidents, againſt which he had ſo ſeriouſly reſolved, yet his affection to her grew then ſo ſtrong, that he reſolved to ſolicit her for a wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch of Eaſtwell in Kent) he had only Henry his youngeſt ſon. His mother undertook to be tutoreſs unto him during much of his childhood; for whoſe care and pains he paid her each day with ſuch viſible ſigns of future perfection in learning, as turned her employment into a pleaſing trouble; which ſhe was content to continue, till his father took him into his own particular care, and diſpoſed of him to a tutor in his own houſe at Boſton.

And when time and diligent inſtruction had made him fit for a removal to a higher form (which was very early), he was ſent to Winchester-ſchool, a place of ſtrict diſcipline and order; that ſo he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wiſe father knew to be the moſt neceſſary way, to make the future part of his life both happy to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcharge of all buſineſs, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age[n] removed from that ſchool to be a Commoner of New-College in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickham Biſhop of Winchester.

There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his age; and was then tranſplanted into Queen's-College, where within that year he was by the chief of that college perſuaſively enjoined to write a play for their private uſe (it was the tragedy of Tancredo), which was ſo interwoven with ſentences, and for the method and exact perſonating thoſe humours, paſſions, and diſpoſitions, which he propoſed to repreſent, ſo performed, that the graveſt of that ſociety declared he had in a ſleight employment given an early and a ſolid teſtimony of his future abilities. And though there may be ſome four diſpoſitions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wiſe Knight, Baptiſt Guarini[o] (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments), thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I paſs to what will be thought more ſerious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Maſter of Arts[p], and at that time read in Latin three Lectures *de Oculo*;

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[n] He was admitted of New College in 1584.

[o] The famous author of the "Ill Paſtor Fido."

[p] According to Anthony Wood, Mr. Henry Wotton ſupplicated in June 1588 for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. But it did not appear

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wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye, and demonstrated how of those very many every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this, in an instant, apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others, to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred.

After he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this optique question:——

"Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, "or reception of the species from without[q]?"

And after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the conclusion of his lectures, took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of "Seeing:—By which, we do not only discover Nature's "secrets, but with a continued content (for the eye is never "weary of seeing) behold the great light of the world, and by "it discover the fabric of the heavens, and both the order and "motion of the cœlestial orbs; nay, that if the eye look but "downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosom of the earth, "our common mother, embroidered and adorned with number-"less and various flowers, which man sees daily grow up to "perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who "in a short time (like those very flowers) decays, withers, and "quickly returns again to that earth from which both had their "first being[r]."

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from the Records of the University that he was ever admitted to this Degree, or to that of Master of Arts. Now the Records of the University must have been irregularly kept. These Lectures *de Oculo* could not have been read by Sir Henry Wotton, unless he had taken the Degree of B. A. for these Lectures are a Part of the Exercises to be performed for the Degree of M. A. "Singuli incepturi sex solennes Lectiones, tres "in Naturali Philosophiâ, tres in Morali, pro Formâ habere teneantur "in Scholis publicis, &c." *(Statut. Oxon.)*

[q] See an accurate History of the Causes of Vision in Dr. Smith's Optics, volume II. p. 23.

[r] The classic reader, and indeed every reader, will be highly gratified with this beautiful passage from Mr. Wotton's Lecture.

Γαια θεα, μητερ μακαρων θνητων τ' ἀνθρωπων,
Παντροφε, παιδωτειρα, τελεσφορε. ORPHEI. HYMN.

"——————alma liquentes
"Humorum guttas Mater cùm Terra recepit,
"Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque læta,
"Et genus humanum, et parit omnia fœcla ferarum,
"Pabula cùm præbet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt,
"Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant,
"Quapropter meritò maternum nomen adepta est."
LUCRET. Lib. II. v. 992.

"Quasi

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These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him "*Henrice mi Ocelle*[a];" which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father—(whom Sir Henry did never mention without this or some such like reverential expression; as, "That good man my father," or "My father the best of men.")—About that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a-year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation, which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose, they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

IN the year of our redemption, 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned), being then Ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased; yet, doubtless, he could not but consider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aside, than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations), and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously

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"Quasi Solstitialis Herba, paulisper fui:
"Repente exortus sum, repentinò occidi."

PLAUT. PSEUDOL.

In all languages the life of man has been compared to the flower that is soon withered, and passeth away.

[a] "Volo placere Philolachi, *meo ocello*, meo patrono." (*Plaut. Most. A. I. Sc.* 3,—11.

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conſider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleaſed in a dream to reveal and to aſsure Monica the mother of St. Auſtin, "That he, her ſon, for whom ſhe wept ſo bitterly, and "prayed ſo much, ſhould at laſt become a Chriſtian[t]." This, I believe, the good Dean conſidered; and conſidering alſo that Almighty God (though the cauſes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in theſe latter times alſo, by a certain illumination of the ſoul in ſleep, diſcovered many things that human wiſdom could not foreſee: Upon theſe conſiderations he reſolved to uſe ſo prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himſelf or to his nephew. And to that end, he wrote to the Queen (it was Queen Mary), and beſought her, "That ſhe would cauſe his nephew, Thomas "Wotton, to be ſent for out of Kent; and that the Lords of "her Council might interrogate him in ſome ſuch feigned "queſtions, as might give a colour for his commitment into a "favourable priſon; declaring that he would acquaint her "Majeſty with the true reaſon of his requeſt, when he ſhould "next become ſo happy as to ſee and ſpeak to her Majeſty[u]."

It was done as the Dean deſired. And in priſon I muſt leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip King of Spain. And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the perſuaſion, of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation; yet divers perſons of a contrary perſuaſion did not only declare againſt it, but alſo raiſed forces to oppoſe it; believing (as they ſaid) it would be a means to bring England to be under a ſubjection to Spain[x], and make thoſe of this nation ſlaves to ſtrangers.

And of this number Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-Abbey in Kent (betwixt whoſe family, and the family of the Wottons, there

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[t] This dream is related by St. Auguſtin *in Confessionum Lib. III. c.* ii.

[u] This account ſeems to be confirmed by Speed. "Among many "diſlikers of the Queen's marriage, it chanced *one for some other offence "to be committed to the Fleet, by the Councel, who, being an inward ac- "quaintance of Sir Thomas Wyatt's, was supposed by him to have revealed "the conspiracie, whereupon he put himself in action, before the enter- "prize was altogether ripe.*" (*Speed's Hist. of Great Britain. p.* 1112.) ——The author of the "Account of the Deans of Canterbury," has ingeniouſly conjectured that this dream of the good Dean was a mere political contrivance, the reſult of deep deliberation, to preſerve the life of his nephew, whoſe intimacy with Sir Thomas Wyat would probably have induced him to engage in the conſpiracy.——See alſo *Biogr. Brit. in the Article* WOTTON [E].

[x] It was generally ſuppoſed at this time, that, under the ſemblance of introducing the Romiſh religion into England, the ſecret deſign of Philip was to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown of England, and to make the Engliſh vaſsals to the power of Spain. (*Kennet's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p.* 339.)

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had been an ancient and entire friendſhip), was the principal actor; who having perſuaded many of the nobility and gentry (eſpecially of Kent) to ſide with him, and he being defeated, and taken priſoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and loſt his life: So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others; eſpecially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in ſeveral places executed as Wyat's aſſiſtants[y].

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined. For, though he could not be ignorant that "Another man's treaſon makes it mine by concealing "it," yet he durſt confeſs to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to viſit him in priſon, "That he had "more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions," and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not ſo happily dreamed him into a priſon; out of which place, when he was delivered by the ſame hand that cauſed his commitment, they both conſidered the dream more ſeriouſly, and both then joined in praiſing God for it; "That God, who ties himſelf to "no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in ſhowing of mercy "to thoſe whom of good pleaſure he hath choſen to love[z]."

And this dream was the more conſiderable, becauſe that God, who in the days of old did uſe to ſpeak to his people in viſions, did ſeem to ſpeak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will alſo give the reader one ſhort particular of this Thomas Wotton, whoſe dreams did uſually prove true, both in foretell-

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[y] Of this Rebellion ſee "Kennet's complete Hiſtory of England," vol. II. p. 340. The following anecdote affords an example of loyalty and zeal at this time:

"Ralph Rokeby, Serjeant at the Common Law, and of the antient "family of Rokeby, of Rokeby, near Greta-bridge, Yorkſhire, was ſo "eminent in his profeſsion, that he refuſed the office of Lord Chief "Juſtice, when offered to him on the ceſsion of Juſtice Morgan. Sir "Tho. Wiatt the rebell of Kent, againſt King Philip, Q. Mary, and the "Spaniards, being noiſed to be coming towards London, this Ralph "Rokeby went to Weſtminſter in his Serjeant's robes to plead, and "under them a good court-armour, and hearing att Charing-Croſs, the "near approach of the rebells, he haſtened him to the Queen's Court at "White-hall, ſtrung and fetled an Archer of the Livery Guards' bow, "that ſtood there unſtrung, threw down the Serjeant's robes for that "time, and went to the Gate-houſe to ſerve there with a bow and a "ſheaf of arrows, and there tarried till the enemy yielded, and thus in "the time of need he was ready to fight with his body for his Prince "againſt rebells, on whom he had juriſdiction in time of peace in the "circuit of Northampton, Warwick, Coventre, Leceiſter, Derby, Not-"tingham, Lincoln, and Rutland, to adjudge of their lives, lands, and "goods, for there he was Juſtice of Aſsiſe and Goale Delivery." *(MS. Memoirs of the Rokebys, in the poſſeſsion of Francis Smyth, Eſq. of Newbuildings, Yorkſhire.)*

[z] This ſentiment happily illuſtrates the beneficence of Providence accompliſhing its gracious purpoſes in a manner beſt ſuited to its own diſpenſations, in promoting the happineſs of good men.

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ing things to come, and discovering things past: And the particular is this. This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University Treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars[a]; and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a postscript in his letter, to make a slight inquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and university were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton shew his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the university to so much trouble as the casting of a figure[b].

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretel the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health[c]. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age; who, being then in London (where he died), and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Boston; and, though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral.

This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

BUT it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis[d] (whom I formerly named), that, if it had been

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[a] Of the robbery here mentioned, no account whatever is recorded in the annals of the University.

[b] Judicial Astrology was much in use long after this time. Its predictions were received with reverential awe; and men, even of the most enlightened understandings, were inclined to believe that the conjunctions and oppositions of the planets had no little influence in the affairs of the world. Even the excellent Joseph Mede disdained not to apply himself to the study of Astrology.

[c] This is intimated in the inscription on his monument, erected in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. "Hæc ille ante mortem et ante "morbum, quasi fatalem diem præsentiens et cygneam cantionem pro- "phetice canens, sua manu in Musæo scripta reliquit."

[d] This noted Civilian having left Italy along with his father Matthew Gentilis, who had embraced the Reformed religion, came into England

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poſsible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the Mathematics and Law [e], into the breaſt of his dear Harry; for ſo Gentilis uſed to call him: And though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry ſuch a propenſity and connaturalneſs to the Italian language and thoſe ſtudies whereof Gentilis was a great maſter, that his friendſhip between them did daily increaſe, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in ſeveral ſciences, during his ſtay in the univerſity:

From which place, before I ſhall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I muſt omit to mention divers perſons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton, yet I muſt not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne [f], ſometime Dean of St. Paul's, a man of whoſe abilities I ſhall forbear to ſay any thing; becauſe he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deſerves not to know him. The friendſhip of theſe two

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and died at London in 1608, aged 58 years. He publiſhed three books, "De Jure Belli;" which proved very uſeful to Grotius, in his great work, "De Jure Belli et Pacis," and alſo a tractate "De Latinitate veteris Bibliorum Verſionis," with other works. *(Dictionnaire Historique, &c.)*

The following high encomium is given of him by Mr. Thomas Savile, in a letter to Mr. Camden. "Albericum primarium olim in Italiâ "Judicem, Chriſtianæ Religionis ergô nunc in Angliâ exulem, Oxonii "Profeſsorem publicum, et tuo et meo nomine dignum, Virum reperies "non unum è Tricaſsinis, ſed ipſam Humanitatem, merum Candorem, "alterum denique Camdenum." *(Camdeni Epist. p. 8.)*

Bayle mentions with much diſapprobation a method obſerved by Albericus Gentilis, whoſe eagerneſs in the acquiſition of knowledge impelled him to ſeek inſtruction not leſs from converſation than from reading. This circumſtance is noticed by himſelf. "Quid de Oxonienſibus meis? Vel "repertoria mea teſtantur ſatis quantum ego capiam fructûs ex eorum "virorum et juvenum colloquiis, nam in illis ego deſcripſi non pauca "quæ, dum minùs id ipſi cogitant, diſco tamen et aſſervo ex ſermoni-"bus familiaribus." *(Dial. III. de Juris Interp. p. 36.)*

[e] Civil Law. In ſeveral parts of his writings he has frequent alluſions to the proceſses and practices obſerved in the eccleſiaſtical courts. "A "libel, whoſe ſubſtance cannot be changed after it is once given into a "civil or eccleſiaſtical court, may in ſome ſort be declared or amended "before a replication be made thereunto. A witneſs, &c." *(Preface to his Supplement to the History of Christendom.)*

[f] In Dr. DONNE's letters, publiſhed in 1651, are ſeveral addreſſed "To the beſt Knight, Sir H. Wotton." Dr. Donne has thus expreſſed his great regard for this his friend.

"Whom free from German ſchiſmes, and lightneſse
"Of France and faire Italie's faithleſsneſse,
"Having from theſe ſuck'd all they had of worth,
"And brought home that faith you carried forth
"I thoroughly love. *(Donne's Poems, 1633. p. 63.)*

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I muſt not omit to mention, being ſuch a friendſhip as was generouſly elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an Univerſity, and there maintained by correſpondent inclinations and ſtudies, ſo it laſted till age and death forced a ſeparation.

In Oxford he ſtayed till about two years after his father's death, at which time he was about the twenty-ſecond year of his age: And having to his great wit added the ballaſt of learning and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aſide his books, and betook himſelf to the uſeful library of travel, and a more general converſation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his induſtry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchaſe the rich treaſure of foreign knowledge: Of which, both for the ſecrets of Nature, the diſpoſitions of many nations, their ſeveral laws and languages, he was the poſſeſſor in a very large meaſure, as I ſhall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almoſt nine years[g] before his return into England, he ſtayed but one year in France, and moſt of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza[h] (then very aged) and with Iſaac Caſaubon[i], in whoſe

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[g] Or rather, ſix years. The writers of the Biographia Britannica explain the miſtake by ſuppoſing that the tail of the 9 ſhould be turned upwards to make it 6. It appears from a letter to Lord Zouch, dated July 10, 1592, that he had been abroad three years. He probably returned in 1595, as he was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Eſſex, after his return, in 1596, when he was in the 27th or 28th year of his age. In his letters to the above nobleman he has given an entertaining account of his travels, under the diſguiſe of a Dutchman, and particularly of his journey to Rome, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by wearing a large blue feather in a black hat. At Sienna he learned of Scipio Alberti the maxim which he recommended to Milton, "*I penſieri ſtretti et il viſo ſciolto.*"

[h] THEODORE BEZA died at Geneva, Oct. 13, 1605, aged 86 years. This learned foreigner encouraged the Puritans in England, and in 1566 wrote with much confidence to Biſhop Grindal in their behalf. Yet however attached he might be to the diſcipline of his own church at Geneva, and he was very zealous for a Preſbyterian government, and by no means ſo moderate as Calvin in that reſpect, it appears from ſeveral of his letters to Archbiſhop Whitgift, that he retained the higheſt regard and veneration for the Church of England. His Biographer, Melchior Adam, has given this character of him. "Ingenio ſummo, judicio accurato, memoriâ tenaciſsimâ, facundiâ ſingulari, affabilitate et comitate nulli ſecundus, adeo ut, propter commemoratas dotes, adjunctâ illis vitæ longævitate (quæ tamen omnia erant inferiora ſummâ doctrinâ et pietate) quidam vocarent Bezam *ætatis ſuæ Phœnicem.*"

[i] "Here I am placed to my very great contentment in the houſe of Mr. Iſaac Caſaubon, a perſon of ſober condition among the French, and this is all I can ſignifie of myſelf, my little affairs not allowing me much to ſpeak of." *(Letter to my Lord Zouch, Aug. 22, 1593, Geneva.)*

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houſe (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a moſt worthy friendſhip with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were ſpent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the ſtage on which God appointed he ſhould act a great part of his life); where both in Rome[k], Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the moſt eminent men for learning, and all manner of arts; as Picture, Sculpture, Chymiſtry, Architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a moſt dear lover, and a moſt excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his perſon and comportment: For indeed he was of a choice ſhape, tall of ſtature, and of a moſt perſuaſive behaviour; which was ſo

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This illuſtrious ſcholar, pronounced by Joſeph Scaliger to be the beſt Grecian of his time, was born at Geneva in 1559. He read lectures on the Belles Lettres, firſt at his native place, and afterwards at Paris. Henry IV. of France appointed him his Librarian, and in vain attempted to withdraw him from his profeſſion of the Reformed religion. After the untimely death of that Monarch, having obtained permiſſion from the Queen Regent of France to leave the kingdom for a limited time, he came in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton into England, where he was received by James I. with marks of peculiar kindneſs, rewarded with an annual penſion of three hundred pounds, and with valuable church-preferment. He was eſteemed not more for his learned works than for his ſingular affability and moderation. He approved Epiſcopacy. In his works he calls himſelf "Hortibonus," a good garden: *Casau*, in the language of Dauphiné, ſignifying a garden, and *bon* good. It is well known that Iſaac Caſaubon and Grotius, extremely anxious to form an union between the Popiſh and Proteſtant churches, had communicated their ſentiments to each other upon this matter with great freedom.

Morton, Biſhop of Durham, cauſed a monument at his own expenſe to be erected to the memory of this learned man.

"Qui noſce vult Caſaubonum
"Non ſaxa ſed chartas legat
"Superfuturas marmori
"Et profuturas poſteris."

When Lord Herbert of Cherbury went to Paris in the earlier period of his life, he was, by the recommendation of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, received into the houſe of that incomparable ſcholar, Iſaac Caſaubon, by whoſe learned converſation he much benefited himſelf. *(Life of Lord Herbert, printed at Strawberry Hill, p. 69.)*

k "The very ſeat and ſink of all corruption, to which," as he writes in a letter to King James, "my wandering curioſity carried me no leſs "than four times in my younger years, where I fixed my ſtudies moſt "upon the hiſtorical part in the politic management of religion; which "I found plainly converted from a rule of conſcience to an inſtrument "of ſtate, and from the miſtreſs of all ſciences into the very handmaid "of Ambition."

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mixed with ſweet diſcourſe and civilities, as gained him much love from all perſons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a ſharp wit, and apt to jeſt; that, by time, travel, and converſation, was ſo poliſhed, and made ſo uſeful, that his company ſeemed to be one of the delights of mankind; inſomuch as Robert Earl of Eſſex[1] (then one of the darlings of Fortune, and in greateſt favour with Queen Elizebeth) invited him firſt into a friendſhip, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries, the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe[m], ſometime of Merton College in Oxford (and there alſo the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth); Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the Univerſity for his learning, nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalneſs of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a ſerviceable friendſhip with the Earl of Eſſex, did perſonally attend his councils and employments in two voyages at ſea againſt the Spaniards, and alſo in that (which was the Earl's laſt) into Ireland: That voyage wherein he then did ſo much provoke the Queen to anger, and worſe at his return into England; upon whoſe immoveable favour the Earl had built ſuch ſandy hopes, as encouraged him to thoſe undertakings; which, with the help of a contrary faction, ſuddenly cauſed his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton obſerving this, though he was not of that faction (for the Earl's followers were alſo divided into their ſeveral intereſts) which encouraged the Earl to thoſe undertakings which proved ſo fatal to him and divers of his confederation; yet knowing treaſon to be ſo comprehenſive, as to take in even circumſtances, and out of them to make ſuch poſitive concluſions

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[1] See Sir Henry Wotton's "Parallel betwixt Robert Earl of Eſſex and George Duke of Buckingham." (*Reliq. Wotton, p.* 161.)——This parallel was animadverted upon by Lord Clarendon.

[m] The unfortunate Secretary of Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex. He is generally ſuppoſed to have adviſed thoſe violent meaſures which ended in the deſtruction of his noble patron. His character as a ſcholar was eſtabliſhed by the tract, "De rebus geſtis in ſancto Concilio Nicæno," a tranſlation from Greek into Latin. He ſuffered for the ſame offence with his maſter. Sir Henry Wotton deſcribes Cuffe as "A man of "ſecret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counſels, "ſmothered under the habit of a ſcholar, and ſlubbered over with a "certain rude and clowniſh faſhion that had the ſemblance of integrity." (*Reliq. Wotton, p.* 180.)——He is called by Camden, "Vir exquiſitiſ-"ſimâ doctrinâ ingenioque acerrimo, ſed turbido et tortuoſo." Owen, the Epigrammatiſt, wrote the following lines upon him; alluding to his untimely death.

"Doctus eras Græcè, felixque tibi fuit Alpha,
"At fuit infelix Omega, Cuffe, tuum."

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as ſubtle ſtateſmen ſhall project, either for their revenge or ſafety: Conſidering this, he thought prevention by abſence out of England [n], a better ſecurity than to ſtay in it, and there plead his innocency in a priſon. Therefore did he, ſo ſoon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through Kent to Dover, without ſo much as looking toward his native and beloved Boćton; and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the mariners, within ſixteen hours after his departure from London, ſet upon the French ſhore; where he heard ſhortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other perſons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look ſo favourable upon Sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England: Having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an aſſurance that his annuity ſhould be paid him in Italy, thither he went; happily renewing his intermitted friendſhip and intereſt, and indeed his great content in a new converſation with his old acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence (which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's Court, than for the great recourſe of men of choiceſt note for learning and arts), in which number he there met with his old friend, Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be Secretary to the Great Duke of Tuſcany.

After ſome ſtay in Florence [o], he went, the fourth time, to

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[n] In the beginning of his account of "The State of Chriſtendom," he pathetically laments his voluntary baniſhment. "That day ſhould "have been more joyful unto me than the day of my birth and nativity, "wherein I might have ſeen a letter from any of my friends with aſſurance "of my pardon to call me home. But I find myſelf ſo much inferior to "Coriolanus in good fortune, as I come behind him in manly valour, "and other laudable qualities."

Τι; το στερισθαι πατριδος ἡ κακον μεγα;
Μεγιστον· ἐργῳ δ' ἐστι μειζον ἡ λογῳ.

[o] Here he compoſed his great work, "The State of Chriſtendom; or a moſt Exact and Curious Diſcovery of many Secret Paſsages and Hidden Myſteries of the Times," 1657, folio.—A ſecond edition appeared in 1677, with ſeveral additions. The deſign of the Author ſeems to have been to ingratiate himſelf with Queen Elizabeth; on the tranſactions of whoſe reign he expatiates in all the language of panegyric.

That men of learning ſhould fix their reſidence at Florence we need not wonder, when we reflect that this city has been long celebrated for its many excellent libraries, and principally for the ducal palace, which contains the greateſt and moſt valuable collection made by one family, and within one roof, of ancient and modern ſculpture, paintings and curioſities of every kind, both natural and artificial. Yet Sir Henry Wotton has given a very unfavourable account of this place. "I live "here in a Paradiſe inhabited by devils. Venice hath ſcarce heard of "thoſe vices which are here practiſed. My beſt commodity is the con-"verſation of certain gentlemen, and their vulgar very pure and correct. "So that here we have good means to learn to ſpeak well and to do "ill." *(Letter to Lord Zouch, Florence, June 25, 1592.)*

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viſit Rome; where in the Engliſh College he had very many friends (their humanity made them really ſo, though they knew him to be a diſsenter from many of their principles of religion), and having enjoyed their company, and ſatisfied himſelf concerning ſome curioſities that did partly occaſion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a moſt notable accident befell him: An accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and an intereſt with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I ſhall proceed to relate.

But firſt, I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth (or ſhe and her council) were never willing to declare her ſucceſsor; yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by moſt to be the man upon whom the ſweet trouble of kingly government would be impoſed: And the Queen declining very faſt, both by age and viſible infirmities, thoſe that were of the Romiſh perſuaſion in point of religion (even Rome itſelf, and thoſe of this nation), knowing that the death of the Queen, and the eſtabliſhing of her ſucceſsor, were taken to be critical days for deſtroying or eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Proteſtant Prince to ſucceed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth[p] had, both by the judgment and practice of the Jeſuited Papiſt, expoſed her to be warrantably deſtroyed; ſo (if we may believe an angry adverſary[q], "a Se-

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[p] Pope PIUS V. without any previous admonition or citation, had paſsed a private ſentence of excommunication upon Queen Elizabeth; which, in 1576, he cauſed to be publiſhed, and to be fixed upon the Biſhop of London's palace-gate. By this exertion of his authority, he depoſed her from her kingdom, and enjoined all her ſubjects to throw off their allegiance to her.—This Bull was completely anſwered by a foreign divine, Henry Bullinger, a miniſter of the Reformed Church at Zurich. On this Bull Biſhop Jewell addreſsed his congregation in animated language, telling them,—That he had read it and weighed it thoroughly, and found it to be a matter of great blaſphemy againſt God, and a practice to work much unquietneſs, ſedition, and treaſon againſt our bleſsed and proſperous government: "For it depoſed the Queen's "Majeſty from her royal ſeat, and tore the crown from her head. It "diſcharged all her natural ſubjects from all due obedience. It armed "one ſide of them againſt another. It emboldened them to burn, to "ſpoil, to rob, to kill, to cut one another's throats; like Pandora's box "ſent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholeſome evils."

(Biſhop Jewell's Works.)

[q] WILLIAM WATSON, a ſecular prieſt, compoſed a book, written with great acrimony in the ſcholaſtic method uſually obſerved at that time, conſiſting of ten quodlibets; each of which is ſubdivided into as many articles. It diſcloſeth the character and conduct of the Jeſuits; exhibiting in proper colours their arts of equivocation and mental reſervation. Yet this man, ſo acute in diſcerning the errors of others, was hanged in 1603, for High Treaſon, along with William Clark, a Popiſh

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cular Prieſt againſt a Jeſuit"), you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, firſt to excommunicate, and then to ſhorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth), Ferdinand, the Great Duke of Florence[r], had intercepted certain letters that diſcovered a deſign to take away the life of James the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring the fact, and reſolving to endeavour a prevention of it, adviſed with his Secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be beſt given to that King; and after conſideration, it was reſolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta firſt commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the Engliſh that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who, after much profeſſion of truſt and friendſhip, acquainted him with the ſecret; and being well inſtructed, diſpatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and, with thoſe letters, ſuch Italian antidotes againſt poiſon[s] as the Scots till then had been ſtrangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it beſt to avoid the line of Engliſh intelligence and danger, he poſted into Norway, and

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prieſt, and George Brook, brother to Lord Cobham, in conſpiring the death of James I. He had deceived his accomplices by inſtructing them, "That the King, before his coronation, was not an actual but a "political king, and therefore no treaſon could be committed againſt "him." *See the State Trials.*

[r] FERDINAND I. of the houſe of Medici, who in 1589 ſucceeded his brother Francis I. was educated for the church, and advanced to the dignity of a Cardinal. He reſigned his hat when he was 52 years of age. A wife and excellent Prince, he applied himſelf to domeſtic affairs and governed his ſubjects with great mildneſs. He died in 1609. His character is drawn by Sir Henry Wotton in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 243. He is deſcribed by a foreign hiſtorian in theſe words: "Prin-"ceps animo excelſo, et omnibus politicis artibus in tantum inſtructus, "ut in multis ſeculis vix æqualem habuerit."

[s] "This Duke," ſays Sir Henry Wotton, in an addreſs to Charles I. "while I was a private traveller in Florence, and went ſometime by "chance (ſure I am without any deſign) to his court, was pleaſed out of "ſome gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity (for nothing elſe "could move it), to employ me into Scotland, with a caſket of anti-"dotes and preſervatives (wherein he did excel all the princes of the "world), and with a deſpatch of high and ſecret importance, which he "had intercepted touching ſome practice upon the ſucceſſion to this "crown; ſo as I am much obliged to his memory, though it was a pain-"ful journey, for that honour, and other favours and beneficences; and "eſpecially becauſe I came thereby firſt into the notice of the King "your father, of ever-bleſſed memory, when your Majeſty was but a "blooming roſe." *(Reliq. Wotton. p. 246.*

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through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling: Being there, he uſed means by Bernard Lindſey, one of the King's bed-chamber, to procure him a ſpeedy and private conference with his Majeſty; aſſuring him, "That the buſineſs which he was to negociate was of ſuch con-"ſequence, as had cauſed the Great Duke of Tuſcany to en-"join him ſuddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to im-"part it to his King."

This being by Bernard Lindſey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder (mixed with jealouſy) to hear of an Italian ambaſſador or meſſenger, required his name (which was ſaid to be Octavio Baldi[t]), and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the preſence-chamber door, he was requeſted to lay aſide his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore), and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords ſtanding diſtant in ſeveral corners of the chamber, at the ſight of whom he made a ſtand; which the King obſerving, "bade him be bold, and "deliver his meſſage; for he would undertake for the ſecrecy "of all that were preſent." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his meſſage to the King in Italian: which when the King had graciouſly received, after a little pauſe, Octavio Baldi ſteps to the table, and whiſpers to the King in his own language, that he was an Engliſhman, beſeeching him for a more private conference with his Majeſty, and that he might be concealed during his ſtay in that nation; which was promiſed, and really performed by the King during all his abode there, which was about three months: all which time was ſpent with much pleaſantneſs to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himſelf as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within ſome few months after his return, there came certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and James, King of the Scots, proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and buſineſs to be the beſt ſchools of wiſdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, adviſed him to return preſently to England,

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t In a letter to the King, dated Dec. 9, 1622, Sir Henry Wotton ſtyles himſelf, "Your Majeſty's faithful vaſſal, and long devoted poor ſervant, "Octavio Baldi." *(Reliq. Wotton. p. 247.)* And in a letter to Henry Prince of Wales, dated from Venice, April 14, 1608, he alludes to this circumſtance of his life, calling himſelf "a poor counterfeit Italian." He probably aſſumed this name out of regard to the memory of Barnardino Baldi, Abbot of Guaſtalla, a great maſter in his favourite ſcience of architecture, and quoted by him as a commentator on Ariſtotle's Mechanics.

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and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongſt other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was, after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the Houſe, of whom he demanded, "If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had ſpent much time in "foreign travel?" The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother: Then the King, aſking where he then was, was anſwered, at Venice or Florence; but by late letters from thence he underſtood he would ſuddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," ſaid the King; "and when he ſhall come "into England, bid him repair privately to me." The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, aſked the King, "If he knew "him?" to which the King anſwered, "You muſt reſt unſa- "tisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this diſcourſe, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome, by the name of *Octavio Baldi*; ſaying he was the moſt honeſt, and therefore the beſt diſsembler that ever he met with: And ſaid, "Seeing I know you neither "want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had "ſo real a teſtimony of your faithfulneſs and abilities to manage "an ambaſsage, I have ſent for you to declare my purpoſe; "which is, to make uſe of you in that kind hereafter." And indeed the King did ſo moſt of thoſe two-and-twenty years of his reign; but before he diſmiſsed Octavio Baldi from his preſent attendance upon him, he reſtored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him[u].

Not long after this, the King having reſolved, according to his motto, "BEATI PACIFICI[x]," to have a friendſhip with his neighbour kingdoms of France and Spain; and alſo for divers weighty reaſons, to enter into an alliance with the ſtate of Venice, and to that end to ſend ambaſsadors to thoſe ſeveral places, did propoſe the choice of theſe employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who conſidering the ſmallneſs of his own eſtate (which he never took care to augment), and knowing

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[u] James I. was as liberal in the diſtribution of honours, as his predeceſsor Queen Elizabeth was ſparing. In 1603 he conferred knighthood on more than five hundred perſons.

[x] James I. heard with great pleaſure the epithet of the "pacific" monarch applied to himſelf. "I know not by what fortune the *dicton* "of pacific was added to my title at my coming into England, that of "the *lyon* expreſſing true fortitude having been my *dicton* before: "But I am not aſhamed of this addition; for King Solomon was a "figure of Chriſt, in that, that he was a King of Peace. The greateſt "gift that our Saviour gave his apoſtles immediately before his aſcen- "ſion was, that he left his peace with them, he himſelf having prayed "for his perſecutors and forgiven his own death, as the proverb is."
(King James's Works, p. 590.

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the courts of great princes to be ſumptuous, and neceſsarily expenſive, inclined moſt to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and beſt ſuiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with buſineſs, ſtudy, and a trial of natural experiments: for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of Nature, and cheriſher of all arts, is ſo juſtly famed in all parts of the Chriſtian world.

Sir Henry having after ſome ſhort time and conſideration reſolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a ſettled maintenance during his ſtay there, he left England [y], nobly accompanied through France to Venice by gentlemen of the beſt families and breeding that this nation afforded: they were too many to name, but theſe two, for the following reaſons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton his nephew, who went his ſecretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and ſanctified wiſdom, who went his chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of the number that did perſonally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of the following letter ſent by him to Sir Henry Woton, the morning before he left England, may teſtify he wanted not his friend's beſt wiſhes to attend him.

LETTER.

SIR,

After thoſe reverend papers, whoſe ſoul is
Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name:
By which to you he derives much of his,
And, how he may, makes you almoſt the ſame;

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam
Of the ſame warm and dazzling ſun, though it
Muſt in another ſphere his virtue ſtream:

After thoſe learned papers which your hand
Hath ſtored with notes of uſe and pleaſure too;
From which rich treaſury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write or do.

After thoſe loving papers which friends ſend
With glad grief to your ſeaward ſteps farewel,
And thicken on you now, as prayers aſcend
To heaven on troops at a good man's paſſing-bell [z]:

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y In 1604.

z The ſoul-bell was tolled before the departure of a perſon out of life, as a ſignal for good men to offer up their prayers *for the dying*. Hence the abuſe commenced of praying *for the dead*. "Aliquo *moriente* cam-"panæ debent pulſari, ut populus hoc audiens oret pro illo."
Durandi rationale.

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Admit this honeſt paper; and allow
It ſuch an audience as yourſelf would aſk;
What you would ſay at Venice, this ſays now,
And has for nature what you have for taſk.

To ſwear much love; nor to be chang'd before
Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
Nor ſhall I then honour your fortune more,
Than I have done your honour-wanting-wit.

But 'tis an eaſier load (though both oppreſs)
To want, than govern greatneſs; for we are
In that, our own and only buſineſs;
In this, we muſt for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your ſpirits now are plac'd
In their laſt furnace, in activity,
Which fits them: ſchools, and courts, and wars o'er-paſt
To touch and taſte in any beſt degree.

For me! (if there be ſuch a thing as I)
Fortune (if there be ſuch a thing as ſhe)
Finds that I bear ſo well her tyranny,
That ſhe thinks nothing elſe ſo fit for me[a].

But though ſhe parts us, to hear my oft prayers
For your increaſe, God is as near me here:
And, to ſend you what I ſhall beg, his ſtairs
In length and eaſe are alike every where.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honour and gladneſs, both for that he delivered his Ambaſsage moſt elegantly in the Italian language, and came alſo in ſuch a juncture of time, as his maſter's friendſhip ſeemed uſeful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Donato being then Duke, a wiſe and reſolved man, and to all purpoſes ſuch (Sir Henry Wotton would often ſay it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted, there having been formerly in the time of Pope Clement VIII. ſome conteſts about the privileges of churchmen, and the power of the civil magiſtrate; of which, for the information of common readers, I ſhall ſay a little, becauſe it may give light to ſome paſsages that follow.

About the year 1603, the Republic of Venice made ſeveral injunctions againſt lay perſons giving lands or goods to the

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[a] The author of theſe lines was then ſtruggling with poverty and domeſtic diſtreſs.

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church, without licence from the civil magiſtrate[b]; and in that inhibition, they expreſsed their reaſons to be, "For that when "any goods or land once came into the hands of the eccleſiaſtics, "it was not ſubject to alienation, by reaſon whereof (the lay "people being at their death charitable even to exceſs the "clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an ex-"emption from all public ſervice and taxes, and from all ſecular "judgment; ſo that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be "borne by the laity."

Another occaſion of difference was, that about this time complaints were juſtly made by the Venetians againſt two clergymen, the Abbot of Nerveſa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing ſuch ſins, as I think not fit to name: Nor are theſe mentioned with an intent to fix a ſcandal upon any calling, For holineſs is not tied to eccleſiaſtical orders, and Italy is obſerved to breed the moſt virtuous and moſt vicious men of any nation.—Theſe two having been long complained of at Rome, in the name of the State of Venice, and no ſatisfaction being given to the Venetians, they ſeized the perſons of this abbot and canon, and committed them to priſon.

The juſtice or injuſtice of ſuch, or the like power then uſed by the Venetians, had formerly had ſome calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement VIII. and that Republic[c]: I ſay calm, for he did not excommunicate them; conſidering, as I conceive, that in the late Council of Trent it was at laſt (after many politic diſturbances and delays, and endeavours to preſerve the Pope's preſent power) in order to a general reformation of thoſe many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by the Council, "That though diſcipline, and eſpecial excommu-"nication, be one of the chief ſinews of church-government,

[b] They alſo made injunctions "Againſt the unneceſsary increaſe of "new churches, convents, and other religious buildings within their "dominions."

[c] CLEMENT VIII. the admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker's vaſt erudition, was a munificent patron of learning, having promoted to the purple, Bellarmine, Baronius, and many other eminent ſcholars. Sir Henry Wotton in a letter to Lord Zouch, from Florence, July 27, 1592, gives us the following anecdote of this Pope. "The Pope (Clement VIII.) "in this laſt general examination of the clergy in St. John Lateran hath "depoſed four canoniſts of that church, the one for having 'Plutarch's "Lives' found on his table, the reſt for failing in declining of nouns and "verbs." He has drawn his character in another letter to the ſame nobleman, May 8, 1592; and in a letter from Florence, July 31, 1592, he declares, that Clement had "la ſantita di Pio quarto, la prudentia "di Gregorii XIII. et la ſeverita di Siſto V."——Leo XI. the immediate ſucceſsor of Clement VIII. died on the 29th day of his pontificate. Upon his death, Paul V. was advanced to the Papal dignity, in preference to two learned antagoniſts, Bellarmine and Baronius—a pontiff of a haughty, vindictive, and violent ſpirit, who, as hath already been obſerved, diſgraced his character by an expreſs approbation of the doctrine of SUAREZ the Jeſuit, in defence of "The Murder of Kings."

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" and intended to keep men in obedience to it; for which end " it was declared to be very profitable: Yet it was alſo declared, " and adviſed to be uſed with great ſobriety and care; becauſe " experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced " unadviſedly or raſhly, it became more contemned than feared[d]." And, though this was the advice of that Council at the concluſion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians, yet this prudent patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul V. who ſucceeded him (though not immediately, yet in the ſame year), being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting thoſe late acts of that State, to be a diminution of his juſt power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening, if it were not obeyed, to proceed to the excommunication of the Republic, who ſtill offered to ſhew both reaſon and ancient cuſtom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predeceſſor's moderation, required abſolute obedience without diſputes.

Thus it continued for about a year: the Pope ſtill threatening excommunication, and the Venetians ſtill anſwering him with fair ſpeeches, and no compliance; till at laſt the Pope's zeal to the Apoſtolic ſee did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole Senate, and all their dominions; and, that done, to ſhut up all their churches: charging the whole clergy to forbear all ſacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience ſhould render them capable of abſolution.

But this act of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their reſolution not to obey him. And to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's interdict, they preſently publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:—

" That whoſoever hath received from Rome any copy of a " papal interdict, publiſhed there, as well againſt the law of " God as againſt the honour of this nation, ſhall preſently ren- " der it to the Council of Ten upon pain of death[e]. And " made it loſs of eſtate and nobility but to ſpeak in behalf of " the Jeſuits."

Then was Duado, their ambaſſador, called home from Rome, and the Inquiſition preſently ſuſpended by order of the ſtate: And the floodgates being thus ſet open, any man that had a pleaſant or ſcoffing wit might ſafely vent it againſt the Pope, either by free ſpeaking or by libels in print; and both became very pleaſant to the people.

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[d] " When it is denounced raſhly for a ſmall cauſe." *(History of the Council of Trent, translated by Sir Nathaniel Brent, p. 754.)* But ſee Father Courayer's remark on this paſſage in his elegant French verſion.

[e] The Venetians had at this time baniſhed the Jeſuits from their territories, becauſe they had rendered themſelves peculiarly obnoxious by their implicit adherence to the papal power.

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Matters thus heightened, the ſtate adviſed with father Paul[f], a holy and learned friar, the author of "The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent," whoſe advice was, "Neither to provoke the Pope, nor loſe their own right;" he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the ſtate, "That the Pope was truſted to "keep two keys, one of *prudence* and the other of *power*; and "that if they were not both uſed together, *power* alone is not "effectual in an excommunication."

And thus theſe diſcontents and oppoſitions continued, till a report was blown abroad that the Venetians were all turned Proteſtants; which was believed by many: for that it was obſerved that the Engliſh ambaſſador was ſo often in conference with the ſenate; and his chaplain, Mr. Bedel[g], more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: And alſo, for that the Republic of Venice was known to give commiſſion to Gregory Juſtiniano, then their ambaſſador in England, to make all theſe proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promiſe of his aſſiſtance, if need ſhould require; and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the ſame that he gave to Pope Clement, at his firſt coming to the crown of England—(that Pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church);—namely, "To endea-"vour the calling of a free Council for the ſettlement of peace "in Chriſtendom; and that he doubted not but that the French "King, and divers other Princes, would join to aſſiſt in ſo good "a work; and in the mean time the ſin of this breach, both "with his and the Venetian dominions, muſt of neceſſity lie "at the Pope's door."

In this contention, which laſted almoſt two years, the Pope grew ſtill higher, and the Venetians more and more reſolved and careleſs, ſtill acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton,

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f We have already had occaſion to name this venerable eccleſiaſtic. The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent was publiſhed as the work of Pietro Soave Polano, the anagram of his name. His principal adverſaries in the Venetian cauſe were Bellarmine and Baronius, the two great champions of their church. It was ſaid of Father Paul, that "He not only "knew more than other men, but that he knew better;" and that "he "ſeemed to have wiſdom by habit." Attempts have been recently made by ſome modern writers among the *high Catholics*, as they are denominated, to depreciate the fame and invalidate the authority of this great man. Theſe attempts are vain. His works will be held in veneration when the names of his adverſaries are ſunk into oblivion.

g Afterward Biſhop of Kilmore, in Ireland. During his reſidence at Venice for eight years, he contracted an intimate acquaintance with Father Paul, who taught him the Italian language, and who was much afflicted when Mr. Bedel returned to England, to whom at his departure he preſented his picture, the MSS. of his Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, his Hiſtory of the Interdict and Inquiſition, with other literary donations.

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Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their conſulters of ſtate, and with his pen to defend their juſt cauſe: Which was by him ſo performed, that the Pope ſaw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians abſolution upon very eaſy terms; which the Venetians ſtill ſlighting, did at laſt obtain by that which was ſcarce ſo much as a ſhow of acknowledging it. For they made an order, that in that day in which they were abſolved, there ſhould be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, leſt the common people might judge that they deſired an abſolution, or were abſolved for committing a fault[h].

Theſe conteſts were the occaſion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and intereſt with King James; for whoſe ſake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent hiſtory of the remarkable Council of Trent; which hiſtory was, as faſt as it was written, ſent in ſeveral ſheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James and the then Biſhop of Canterbury, into England; and there firſt made public both in Engliſh and in the univerſal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he ſtood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion, but at laſt became much clouded by an accident which I ſhall proceed to relate.

At his firſt going ambaſſador into Italy, as he paſſed through Germany, he ſtayed ſome days at Auguſta, where having been, in his former travels, well known by many of the beſt note for learning and ingeniouſneſs (thoſe that are eſteemed the virtuoſi of that nation) with whom he, paſſing an evening in merriments, was requeſted by Chriſtopher Flecamore to write ſome ſentence in his Albo (a book of white paper which the German gentry uſually carry about them for that purpoſe); and Sir Henry Wotton conſenting to the motion, took an occaſion, from ſome accidental diſcourſe of the preſent company, to

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[h] King James had written "A Premonition to all Chriſtian Princes and States," in the Latin language. Sir Henry Wotton is much cenſured for having delayed to preſent it to the Senate of Venice, as there was no doubt but that it would have tended much to ſeparate them entirely from the papal power. It was his intention to have produced it on St. James's day. Before that day came, the difference between the Pope and the Republic was made up: ſo that when he had his audience, all the anſwer he got was, "That they thanked the King of England for "his good will, but that they were now reconciled to the Pope, and "that therefore they were reſolved not to admit any change in their re-"ligion, according to their agreement with the court of Rome."—*(Burnet's Life of Bedel, p. 13, 14.)*—It muſt be remembered that the above account is expreſsly contradicted by Dr. Hickes, who aſserts, that the King's book, of which Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks, was not then extant. "The Pope and the Venetians were reconciled in April 1607, and the "King's Premonition came not out till 1609."

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write a pleaſant definition of an ambaſſador, in theſe very words:

"Legatus eſt vir bonus peregrè miſsus ad mentiendum reipublicæ "causâ."

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content ſhould have been thus Engliſhed:

"An ambaſſador is an honeſt man, ſent to *lie* abroad for the good of "his country."

But the word for lie, being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn, was not ſo expreſsed in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy eſpecially) ſo fair a conſtruction as Sir Henry thought in Engliſh [i]. Yet as it was, it ſlept quietly among other ſentences in this Albo, almoſt eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jaſper Scioppius [k], a Romaniſt, a man of a reſtleſs ſpirit and a malicious pen; who, with books againſt King James, prints this as a principle of that religion profeſsed by the King, and his Ambaſſador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was preſently after written in ſeveral glaſs-windows, and ſpitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be ſuch an overſight, ſuch a weakneſs, or worſe,

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[i] This paſsage reminds me of a junevile epigram written by Dr. Donne:

"A LAME BEGGAR.

"I am unable, yonder beggar cries,
"To ſtand or move; if he ſay true, he *lies*."

[k] A perſon much celebrated for his intenſe application to ſtudy, the quickneſs of his parts, his memory, his eloquence, and the multitude of books which he compoſed. His great qualities were debaſed by a want of probity and moderation. He was born at Neumark, in the higher Palatinate, in 1576. On reading the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, he abjured the Proteſtant religion in 1599, and was admitted into the community of the Church of Rome. He wrote with much aſperity of language againſt the Jeſuits, againſt Joſeph Scaliger, Caſaubon, and other learned men, not ſparing even Cicero and the beſt writers of antiquity. He attacked James I. of England. To truth he paid little regard, being more inclined to calumniate his adverſary, by the moſt diſgraceful arts of defamation, than to refute him by juſt and ſolid reaſoning. The very titles of his books diſcover the acrimony of his temper. "Scorpiacum ſive remedium contra Proteſtantium hæreſes ex ipſorum ſcriptis petitum, adverſum Jacobum Regem Britanniæ Magnæ," 1612.—"Collyrium regium Britanniæ Regi graviter ex oculis laboranti muneri miſsum," 1611. His writings excited ſuch reſentment againſt him, that he was alarmed for his perſonal ſafety, and fled to Padua, where he died in 1649.—*(Dictionnaire Hiſtorique)*.—In the prologue to "Ignoramus," ſpoken before James I. at Cambridge, May 6, 1615, Scioppius is cenſured with great ſeverity of language for his treatment of Sir Henry Wotton.

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in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him; and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Velserus[l] (one of the Chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote[m] against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another Apology to King James: Which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, that "Sir Henry Wotton "had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence[n]."

And now, as broken bones, well set, become stronger; so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and useful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his (a will of conceits[o]), his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: So those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued. And those acquaintance, that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth),

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[l] MARK VELSER, or WELSER, was born at Augsburg, June 20, 1558, of a noble and ancient German family. He pursued his studies at Rome under the celebrated Muretus, and upon his return into his native city, having acquired great reputation at the bar, became one of its first magistrates, and was very learned himself, and a great patron of learned men. (*Dictionnaire Historique*, 1777.)

[m] In this letter, written with truly classic elegance, Scioppius is treated with a harshness, which, though probably deserved by him, does not perfectly quadrate with the character of a scholar. "Cùm fame-"licus, transfuga, & Romanæ Curiæ lutulentus circulator scriptitat "solùm ut prandere possit; cùm semidoctus grammaticaster, &c. &c."

[n] After his first return from Venice he remained without any employment for five years. It may be inferred from a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, dated June 8, 1614, and printed in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 431," that Sir Henry Wotton was at that time a member of the House of Commons.

[o] The passage to which Isaac Walton alludes, is in a poem of Dr. Donne's, entitled "The Will."

"I give my reputation to those
"Which were my friends; mine industry to foes;
"To schoolmen I bequeath my doubtfulness;
"My sickness to physicians, or excess;
"To Nature all that I in rhyme have writ,
"And to my company my wit."

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for the future, to become more induſtriouſly watchful over his tongue and pen[p].

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithſtanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undiſsembled affection for him, and the malicious accuſation of Scioppius; yet his intereſt, as though it had been an intailed love, was ſtill found to live and increaſe in all the ſucceeding Dukes, during his employment to that ſtate, which was almoſt twenty years: all which time he ſtudied the diſpoſitions of thoſe Dukes, and the other conſulters of ſtate; well knowing that he who negociates a continued buſineſs, and neglects the ſtudy of diſpoſitions, uſually fails in his propoſed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine ſorting of fit preſents, curious and not coſtly entertainments, always ſweetened by various and pleaſant diſcourſe—with which, and his choice application of ſtories, and his elegant delivery of all theſe, even in their Italian language, he firſt got, and ſtill preſerved, ſuch intereſt in the ſtate of Venice, that it was obſerved (ſuch was either his merit or his modeſty) they never denied him any requeſt.

But all this ſhews but his abilities and his fitneſs for that employment: It will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what uſe he made of that intereſt which theſe procured him. And that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himſelf; he ſtill endeavouring that the reputation of the Engliſh might be maintained, both in the German Empire and in Italy: where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour; and by his intereſt, ſhelter or deliverance from thoſe accidental ſtorms of adverſity which uſually attend upon travel.

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[p] The meaning of this obſcure paſsage may probably be elucidated by the following paraphraſe. "And as Sir Henry Wotton's friend, Dr. "Donne, gave in a will of his (a will replete with facetiouſneſs) his re- "putation to his friends, and his induſtry to his foes; becauſe from "thence (that is, from them, from his friends and foes), he received "both, namely, reputation from his friends, and induſtry from his foes; "ſo thoſe friends, who in this time of trial laboured to excuſe this in- "ſtance of Sir Henry Wotton's facetious freedom, became more dear "to Sir Henry, and by him more highly valued, and thoſe acquaintance, "who cenſured him for the ſentence which he had inſerted in the Al- "bum, malignantly urged that circumſtance to his diſadvantage, by "ſuch enmity taught him wiſdom, cauſed him by this error or indiſcre- "tion to grow more wiſe; and, which is the beſt fruit error can bring "forth, for the future to become more induſtriouſly watchful over his "tongue and pen."

Whether I am praiſed or blamed, ſays a Chineſe ſage, I make it of uſe to my advancement in virtue. Thoſe who commend me I conceive to point out the way I ought to go; thoſe who blame me, as telling me the dangers I have run.

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And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples; one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turks: And those English having by irregularities or improvidence brought themselves into several galleys and prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was, during his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other foreign employments[q], Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice Ambassador to the Republic of Venice[r]. And at his last going thither he was employed Ambassador to several of the German Princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando II.; and that his employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions, for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia, and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was by his eight months' constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his court and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion without bloodshed. But there was at that time two opposite armies in the field, and as they were treating, there was a battle fought[s]; in the managery whereof, there were so many miserable errors on the one side—(so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the King),—and so advantageous events to the Emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty. So that Sir Henry, seeing the face of a peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that court; and at his departure from the Emperor, was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of "every battle move on the unseen wheels of Fortune, which

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q In 1615 he was Ambassador to the United Provinces. (*Reliq. Wotton.* p. 428.)

r In 1604, 1615, and 1621.

s The fatal battle near Prague in November 1620, when the Prince of Anhault, General to the King of Bohemia, was, with his whole army, totally defeated.

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"are this moment up, and down the next; and therefore "humbly adviſed him to uſe his victory ſo ſoberly, as ſtill to "put on thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it ſeemed to be ſpoken with ſome paſſion (his dear miſtreſs the Queen of Bohemia[t] being concerned in it), was yet taken in good part by the Emperor, who replied, "That he would conſider his "advice. And though he looked on the King his maſter as an "abettor of his enemy the Paulſgrave; yet, for Sir Henry "himſelf, his behaviour had been ſuch during the manage of "the treaty, that he took him to be a perſon of much honour "and merit, and did therefore deſire him to accept that jewel, "as a teſtimony of his good opinion of him:" Which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thouſand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumſtances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Counteſs of Sabrina, an Italian lady, in whoſe houſe the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged and honourably entertained, acknowledged her merits, and beſought her to accept of that jewel, as a teſtimony of his gratitude for her civilities; preſenting her with the ſame that was given him by the Emperor. Which being ſuddenly diſcovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told ſo by a meſſenger. To which he replied, "that though he received it with thankfulneſs, yet he found in "himſelf an indiſpoſition to be the better for any gift that came

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[t] The following verſes were wrote by Sir Henry Wotton "on his Miſtreſs, the Queen of Bohemia:"

"You meaner *beauties* of the *night*,
"That poorly ſatisfy our *eyes*
"More by your *number* than your *light*,
"You common people of the ſkies,
"What are you when the ſun ſhall riſe?

"You curious chanters of the wood,
"That warble forth *dame Nature's* lays,
"Thinking your voices underſtood
"By your weak *accents*; what's your praiſe,
"When *Philomel* her voice ſhall raiſe?

"You *violets* that firſt appear,
"By your *pure purple mantles* known,
"Like the proud *virgins* of the *year*,
"As if the *ſpring* were all your own,
"What are you when the *roſe is blown*?

"So when *my miſtreſs* ſhall be *ſeen*,
"In *form* and *beauty* of her *mind*,
"By *virtue* firſt, then *choice* a *Queen*,
"Tell me, if *ſhe* were not deſign'd
"The *eclipſe* and *glory* of her kind." H. W.

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" from an enemy to his Royal Miſtreſs, the Queen of Bohemia;" for ſo ſhe was pleaſed he ſhould always call her.

Many other of his ſervices to his Prince and this nation might be inſiſted upon; as namely, his procurations of privileges and courteſies with the German Princes and the Republic of Venice, for the Engliſh merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Biſhop of Spalato's[u] return to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of theſe, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of ſome papers that might inform me, (his late Majeſty's letter-office having now ſuffered a ſtrange alienation), and indeed I want time too; for the printer's preſs ſtays for what is written: ſo that I muſt haſte to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an inſtant from Venice to London; leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the ſmall ſupplement of the inſcription under his arms, which he left at all thoſe houſes where he reſted, or lodged, when he returned from his laſt Embaſsy into England.

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[u] MARCUS ANTONIUS DE DOMINIS, Archbiſhop of Spalato in the territory of Venice, to whom we are obliged for the introduction of the celebrated " Hiſtory of the Council of Trent" into this kindom. Having abandoned the religion in which he was educated, he came into England in the beginning of the reign of James I. and continued there to the year 1622. The Univerſity of Cambridge, at their commencement in 1617, paid the moſt flattering attention to him, while he experienced many ſignal inſtances of kindneſs from the King. Yet the ficklenes of his diſpoſition, and, as ſome have affirmed, his vanity and avarice, ſoon loſt him all credit. Upon the promotion of Gregory XV. his friend and relation, to the Popedom, he was artfully perſuaded by Gondamar, the Spaniſh Ambaſsador, to return to Rome, where he publicly renounced his errors, and was again admitted into the boſom of the church. He is ſaid alſo to have left England with a view to convoke a general council, having entertained hopes of compoſing matters of religion by ſuch a meaſure. The Pope at firſt treated him with reſpect: He was however ſoon delivered to the Inquiſition, and impriſoned in the Caſtle of Angelo, on ſuſpicion of hereſy; and it is ſuggeſted that he was there poiſoned.——Different accounts indeed are given of the miſerable exit of this irreſolute man on his return to Rome; yet moſt writers agree, that by an order of the Inquiſition he was declared to be a relapſed heretic, and that, after his death, his body was publicly burnt.

" In 1617 the Archbiſhop of Spalato, a convert, came into England, " and preached, wrote, and [illegible] againſt Rome, until he was made " Dean of Windſor, and Maſter of the Savoy: Afterward he returned " to Rome, and recanted [illegible] bitterly reproaching the Proteſtant " doctrine, as here he had [illegible] it: And his end was in a priſon." *(Welwood's Memorials, &c. p. 296.)*

He hurt the cauſe of Rome more by his pen, than by the defection of his perſon: His learned books entitled, " De Republicâ Eccleſiaſticâ" being ſtill unanſwered. Of the zeal which he once diſplayed againſt Popery, we may form ſome opinion from the ſtory related by Lord Bacon. Biſhop Andrews being aſked at the firſt coming over of the Archbiſhop of Spalato, whether he was a *Proteſtant* or no? anſwered,

" Truly

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" Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri " filius natu minimus, à ſereniſsimo Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege, " in equeſtrem titulum adſcitus, ejuſdemque ter ad Rempubli- " cam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, ſemel ad Confœderatarum " Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacenſi negotio. Bis ad Carolum " Emanuel, Sabaudiæ Ducem; ſemel ad unitos ſuperioris Ger- " maniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunenſi, poſtremò ad " Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergenſem, Civitates " Imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipſam Romanorum " Imperatorem Ferdinandum Secundum, Legatus Extraordi- " narius, tandem hoc didicit,

" Animas fieri ſapientiores quieſcendo."

To London he came the year before King James died; who having, for the reward of his foreign ſervice, promiſed him the reverſion of an office which was fit to be turned into preſent money, which he wanted, for a ſupply of his preſent neceſſities, and also granted him the reverſion of the Maſter of the Rolls

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" Truly I know not; but I think he is *Detestant*, viz. of moſt of the " opinions of Rome." And in a print of this prelate engraved by Sparke, is an inſcription, expreſſive of his ſtrong averſion to the doctrines of that church which he had abjured.

" Welcome, grave primate, from th' erroneous holde
" Of Romiſh Babel into Chriſt his folde:
" Thy learned workes the beaſt ſhall deadly wound,
" Confute his errors, and his pride confound,
" Therefore converted (under Faith's defender)
" Strengthen thy brethren, and confirm the tender."

Biſhop Burnet in his " Life of Bedel" has obſerved, that De Dominis was utterly ignorant of the Greek Tongue, and that Mr. Bedel, when Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton at Venice, corrected many ill applications of texts of ſcripture and quotations of fathers, in his work, " De Republicâ Eccleſiaſticâ."

The opinion uſually entertained concerning the conduct of " De Dominis," upon his return to Rome, is leſs favourable to his character than he deſerves, if we may judge from the narrative of Dr. John Coſin, Biſhop of Durham, in his " Hiſtory of Tranſubſtantiation," C. II. § vii. We are aſsured, that on his departure from England, he left in writing this memorable declaration: " I am reſolved, even with the danger of my life, to profeſs before the Pope himſelf, that the Church of England is a true and orthodox Church of Chriſt." This he not only promiſed, but faithfully performed. He could never be perſuaded by the Jeſuits or others, either to ſubſcribe to the *new-devised* tenets of the Council of Trent, or to retract thoſe orthodox books which he had printed in England and Germany, or to renounce the Communion of the Church of England, in whoſe defence he conſtantly perſiſted to the very laſt.

It ſhould never be forgotten that he acquired conſiderable reputation in the philoſophical world, by his explanation of the phænomena of the rainbow, in his book, " De Radiis Viſûs et Lucis."

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place, if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæsar[x], who then poſſeſsed it, and then grown ſo old that he was ſaid to be kept alive beyond Nature's courſe by the prayers of thoſe many poor which he daily relieved.

But theſe were but in hope, and his condition required a preſent ſupport: For in the beginning of theſe employments he ſold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father, and, which is worſe, was now at his return indebted to ſeveral perſons, whom he was not able to ſatisfy but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many ſervants, of which ſome were German and Italian artiſts; this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly ſufficient to ſupply the occaſions of the day: For it may by no means be ſaid of his providence, as himſelf ſaid of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That "it was the very meaſure of congruity," he being always ſo careleſs of money, as though our Saviour's words "Care not "for to-morrow" were to be literally underſtood.

But it pleaſed the God of Providence that in this juncture of time the Provoſtſhip of his Majeſty's College of Eaton[y] became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray[z], for which there

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[x] Sir JULIUS CÆSAR alias ADELMARE, the eldeſt ſon of Cæſar Dalmarius, an Italian phyſician to Queen Mary and to Queen Elizabeth. His bounty was ſo extenſive, that he might be called "The Almoner General of the Nation." He printed a catalogue of the books, parchments, and papers belonging to the Court of Requeſts, in quarto, of ſingular uſe to antiquaries, but now almoſt as ſcarce as the MSS. themſelves. *(Peck's Desid. Cur. lib.* xiv. *p.* 17.)

"It was not," ſays Lloyd in his State Worthies, p. 935, "without a "proſperous omen that his chief houſe in Hertfordſhire was called "Benington, that is *villa benigna*, as one author will have it, or as ano-"ther, *villa beneficii*, the Town of Good Turns, from the river ſo named "running by it."

This venerable lawyer died April 28, 1639, in the 79th year of his age. He lies buried in great St. Helen's church, London, under a monument, having an inſcription in the form of a deed with a ſeal to it, importing "That he was willing to pay his debt to nature whenever God pleaſed." *(Biogr. Brit.)*

[y] Archbiſhop Laud, in the account of his province of Canterbury, ſent to the King for the year 1624, gives this honourable teſtimony to Sir Henry Wotton's conduct in the government of his college:—"For Eaton "College within that dioceſe (of Lincoln), I do not find but that the "Provoſt Sir Henry Wotton, hath carried himſelf very worthily."

[z] The ſucceſsor of Sir Henry Savile in the Provoſtſhip of Eaton College. He was a native of Scotland, Tutor and Secretary to Prince Charles. His zeal in oppoſing the marriage of the Prince with the Infanta of Spain, occaſioned his impriſonment for ſome time, along with Dr. George Hackwell, Archdeacon of Surry, the author of "A Diſcourſe againſt the Spaniſh Match." He died April 1, 1623. In the Cabala is a letter from Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, on the appointment of Murray to the Provoſtſhip

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were (as the place deſerved) many earneſt and powerful ſuitors[a] to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Siſyphus) rolled the reſtleſs ſtone of a ſtate employment, knowing experimentally that the great bleſsing of ſweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or buſineſs, and that a College was the fitteſt place to nouriſh holy thoughts and to afford reſt both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almoſt threeſcore years) ſeemed to require, did therefore uſe his own and the intereſt of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promiſed reverſionary offices, and a piece of honeſt policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant[b] of it from his Majeſty.

And this was a fair ſatisfaction to his mind: But money was wanting[c] to furniſh him with thoſe neceſsaries which attend

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voſtſhip of Eaton. In this letter he complains of "The diſpenſation "given to him, who was a mere layman, to hold a place which was a "living with cure of ſouls," and hints a ſuſpicion of his being averſe to the church government, as eſtabliſhed in England.

[a] Among other unſucceſsful candidates at this time was the great Lord Bacon, as appears from a letter written by him to Mr. Secretary Conway, dated Grey's Inn, March 25, 1623. And Dr. Birch has given the following extract from an unpubliſhed letter of the Lord Keeper Williams to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated April 11, 1623. "Mr. Murray, "the Provoſt of Eaton, is now dead: The place ſtayed by the Fellows "and myſelf, until your Lordſhip's pleaſure be known. Whomſoever "your Lordſhip ſhall name I ſhall like of, though it be Sir William "Becker, though this Provoſtſhip never deſcended ſo low. The King "named unto me yeſterday morning Sir Albertus Morton, Sir Dudley "Carlton, and Sir Robert Ayton, our late Queen's Secretary. But in "my opinion, though he named him laſt, his Majeſty inclined to this "Ayton moſt. It will reſt wholly upon your Lordſhip to name the man. "It is ſomewhat neceſsary he be a good ſcholar, but more that he be a "good huſband, and a careful manager, and a ſtayed man, which no man "can be that is ſo much indebted as the Lord St. Alban's." *(Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 636.)*

[b] He was inſtituted to the Provoſtſhip July 26, 1624, having obtained the appointment by ſurrendering a grant of the reverſion of the Maſterſhip of the Rolls, and of another office. The value of this preferment in the reign of Henry VIII. is known from the following ſtory: Sir Thomas Wyat one day told the King, that he had found out a living of one hundred pounds in the year more than enough, and prayed him to beſtow it on him. "Truly," ſaid the King, "we have no ſuch in Eng-"land." "Yes, Sir," ſaid Sir Thomas, "the Provoſtſhip of Eaton, "where a man has his diet, his lodging, his horſe-meat, his ſervants' "wages, his riding charges, and 100l. per annum beſides." *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 79.)*

[c] When he went to the election at Eaton, ſoon after he was made Provoſt, he was ſo ill provided that the Fellows of his College were obliged to furniſh his bare walls, and whatever elſe was wanting. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, after his return from his laſt ambaſsage to Venice, he thus writes: "I am left utterly deſtitute of all poſsibility to "ſubſiſt

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removes and a ſettlement in ſuch a place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey[d] for his aſſiſtance. Of which Nicholas Pey I ſhall here ſay a little for the clearing of ſome paſsages that I ſhall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in ſome ſuch way a ſervant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's Houſehold, was made a great officer[e] in his Majeſty's Houſe. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey, *in whom there was a radical honeſty*, were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expreſsed by a willing and unwearied ſerviceableneſs to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote[f] to uſe all his intereſt at court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears (for leſs would not ſettle him in the College), and the want of ſuch a ſum *wrinkled his face with care*—(it was his own expreſsion);—and that money being procured, he ſhould the next day after find him in his College, and "Invidiæ remedium" written over his ſtudy-door[g].

This money, being part of his arrears, was by his own, and the help of honeſt Nicholas Pey's intereſt in court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the College: the place where

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"ſubſiſt at home: Much like thoſe ſeal-fiſhes, which ſometimes, as they "ſay, overſleeping themſelves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about "them in a dry ſhore when they are awake." (*Reliq. Wotton*, p. 320.)

[d] Of whom Sir Henry Wotton writes in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham from Venice: "That he is his friend of truſt to him at home in "all his occaſions." In other letters he always mentions him in language full of reſpect. The name of this faithful ſervant, thus tranſmitted to poſterity in the page of Iſaac Walton, will ever be remembered with honour.

"Oh good old man! how well in thee appears
"The conſtant ſervice of the antique world,
"When ſervants ſweat for duty, not for meed.
"Thou art not for the faſhion of theſe times
"Where none will ſweat but for promotion,
"And having that, do choke their ſervice up
"Even with the having. It is not ſo with thee."

(*Shakſpeare's As You Like It, act II. ſcene III.*)

[e] One of the Clerks of the King's Kitchen.

[f] See this letter in "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 359.

[g] Yet, in a letter to the King in 1628, he requeſts that, when the Rolls are diſpoſed of, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to reſerve for him ſome ſmall proportion towards the diſcharge of ſuch debts as he had contracted in public ſervice, and next to promiſe him the next good Deanery that ſhall be vacant by death or remove. (*Reliq. Wott. p.* 563.)——And we find him in 1637, as a poor ſuppliant unto the King to confer upon him the Maſterſhip of the Savoy, in caſe Dr. Belcanquel, his good friend, ſhall be removed to the Deanery of Durham. (*Ibid. p.* 340.)

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indeed his happineſs then ſeemed to have its beginning. The College being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a ſeafaring-man after a tempeſtuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and ſeated on ſuch a rock, as the waves of want could not probably ſhake; where he might ſit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the buſy multitude turmoiled and toſsed in a tempeſtuous ſea of trouble and dangers[h]; and, as Sir William Davenant[i] has happily expreſsed the like of another perſon,——

"Laugh at the graver buſineſs of the ſtate,
"Which ſpeaks men rather wiſe than fortunate."

Being thus ſettled according to the deſires of his heart, his firſt ſtudy[k] was the ſtatutes of the College, by which he conceived himſelf bound[l] to enter into Holy Orders, which he did, being made Deacon with all convenient ſpeed. Shortly after

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[h] "Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
"E terrâ alterius magnum ſpectare laborem." LUCRET.

[i] Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT, born at Oxford in 1605, and called by Anthony Wood "The ſweet Swan of Iſis," was choſen Poet-laureat on the death of Ben Jonſon. He attached himſelf to the royal cauſe, and entering upon a military life, received the honour of Knighthood for his behaviour at the ſiege of Glouceſter in 1641. Having embarked on board a ſhip to go to Virginia, he was captured by a man of war belonging to the Parliament, and carried priſoner to the Iſle of Wight. During his confinement he retained his natural vivacity of temper, and employed his time in completing his epic poem of Gondibert. It is generally ſuppoſed that he owed the preſervation of his life to the kind interference of Milton. He had afterward an opportunity of conferring the ſame favour on our immortal bard. At the reſtoration he exerted himſelf in improving the ſcenery and decorations of the ſtage. His dramatic works are numerous. He died in April 1668, and was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, near the poet May, who was his rival for the laurel.

[k] Previous to this he publiſhed his "Elements of Architecture;" a work of very great merit, and in reality the beſt upon that ſubject that had then appeared in the Engliſh language.

[l] Though the King had actually granted a diſpenſation to hold the Provoſtſhip without going into Orders, Sir Henry Wotton was ordained Deacon in 1627. In the "Reliq. Wottonianæ," p. 323, 327, are two letters to the King—one to make known his intention of entering into Orders; the other to inform his Majeſty that he had *taken the degree of Deacon*. Sir Henry Savile and Mr. Murray, the predeceſsors of Sir Henry Wotton, were both laymen. And it is well known, that upon the death of Dr. John Meredith, the great and good Mr. Boyle was in 1665 nominated to the Provoſtſhip of this College, but that his objection to entering into Holy Orders was a principal motive that induced him to decline the honour. Mr. Edmund Waller was more than once a candidate for this office. The King, Charles II. referred his petition to the

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which time, as he came in his ſurplice from the church-ſervice, an old friend, a perſon of quality, met him ſo attired, and joyed him of his new habit: To whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the King by whoſe goodneſs I now am in "this condition;—a condition which that Emperor Charles V. "ſeemed to approve; who after ſo many remarkable victories, "when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up "his crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his "ſon, making a holy retreat to a cloiſteral life, where he might by "devout meditations conſult with God,"—which the rich or buſy men ſeldom do,—"and have leiſure both to examine the "errors of his life paſt, and prepare for that great day wherein "all fleſh muſt make an account of their actions. And after a "kind of tempeſtuous life I now have the like advantage from "him, '*that makes the outgoings of the morning to praiſe him;*' "even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular "mercy of an exemption from buſineſs, a quiet mind and a li-"beral maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age "and infirmities ſeem to ſound me a retreat from the pleaſures "of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I "have ever taken the greateſt felicity."

And now to ſpeak a little of the employment of his time in the College. After his cuſtomary public devotions, his uſe was to retire into his ſtudy, and there to ſpend ſome hours in read-ing the bible and authors in divinity, cloſing up his meditations with private prayer. This was, for the moſt part, his employ-ment in the forenoon. But when he was once ſat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts poſſeſsed his mind, and thoſe ſtill increaſed by conſtant company at his table of ſuch perſons as brought thither additions both of learning and plea-ſure; but ſome part of moſt days was uſually ſpent in philoſo-phical concluſions. Nor did he forget his innate pleaſure of angling[m], which he would uſually call "His idle time not "idly ſpent;" ſaying often, "He would rather live five May "months than forty Decembers."

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful en-

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the Council, "Who, after hearing the queſtion argued by lawyers for "three days, determined that the office could be held only by a clergy-"man, according to the act of uniformity; ſince the Provoſts had "always received inſtitution, as for a parſonage, from the Biſhop of "Lincoln." *See Dr. Johnſon's Works, vol. IX. p. 256.*

[m] Angling was the favourite diverſion of Mr. Iſaac Walton, who, from his ſuperior ſkill in the art, was called "the Father of Anglers." His treatiſe of "The Complete Angler," will be always read with pleaſure even by thoſe who have no reliſh for "the fly and the cork." In his preface to this work he informs us, "That Sir Henry Wotton had de-"clared to him his intentions of writing a Diſcourſe of the Art, and in "praiſe of Angling." This he doubtleſs would have done, if death had not prevented him.

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tertainer of them very often at his table; where his meat was choice, and his diſcourſe better.

He was a conſtant cheriſher of all thoſe youths in that ſchool, in whom he found either a conſtant diligence or a genius that prompted them to learning. For whoſe encouragement he was (beſides many other things of neceſſity and beauty) at the charge of ſetting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he cauſed to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the moſt famous Greek and Latin hiſtorians, poets, and orators: perſuading them not to neglect rhetoric, becauſe "Almighty God "has left mankind affections to be wrought upon." And he would often ſay, "That none deſpiſed eloquence but ſuch dull "ſouls as were not capable of it." He would alſo often make choice of ſome obſervations out of thoſe hiſtorians and poets; and would never leave the ſchool without dropping ſome choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or ſentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing ſcholar [n].

He was pleaſed conſtantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the ſchool and took into his own domeſtic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whoſe diſcourſe and behaviour he gathered obſervations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his ſtill ſtriving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to poſterity [o].

He was a great enemy to wrangling diſputes of religion [p]: concerning which I ſay a little, both to teſtify that, and to ſhew the readineſs of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleaſant prieſt, who invited him one evening to hear their veſper-muſic at church: The prieſt ſeeing Sir Henry ſtand obſcurely in a corner, ſends to him by a boy of the choir this queſtion, written in a ſmall piece of paper, "Where was your religion "to be found before Luther?" To which queſtion Sir Henry preſently underwrit, "My religion was to be found then,

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n His ſingular attention to the education of the young nobility and gentry, who were ſent to Eaton, tended much to recommend the ſchool. Mr. Boyle, who wrote the hiſtory of the earlier period of his own life, under the fictitious name of "Philaretus," tells us, that he and his elder brother were ſent "To be bred up at Eaton college near Windſor, "whoſe Provoſt at that time was Sir Henry Wotton, a perſon that was "not only a fine gentleman himſelf, but very well ſkilled in the art of "making others ſo; betwixt whom and the Earl of Corke, an ancient "friendſhip had been conſtantly cultivated by reciprocal civilities."
(*Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq.* p. 23.)

o A ſmall fragment of this work, under the title of "A Philoſophical Survey of Education or Moral Architecture," is extant in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

p The propoſition inſcribed on his monument, "Diſputandi pruritus "eccleſiarum ſcabies," is too ſtrongly verified in the annals of hiſtory.

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"where yours is not to be found now, in the written word of "God[q].

The next veſper, Sir Henry went purpoſely to the ſame church, and ſent one of the choir-boys with this queſtion to his honeſt pleaſant friend the prieſt: "Do you believe all thoſe "many thouſands of poor Chriſtians were damned that were "excommunicated becauſe the Pope and the Duke of Venice "could not agree about their temporal power? even thoſe poor "Chriſtians that knew not why they quarrelled? Speak your "conſcience." To which he underwrit in French, "Mon-"ſieur, excuſez-moi."

To one that aſked him, "Whether a Papiſt may be ſaved?" he replied, "You may be ſaved without knowing that:—Look "to yourſelf."

To another whoſe earneſtneſs exceeded his knowledge, and was ſtill railing againſt the Papiſts, he gave this advice; "Pray, "Sir, forbear, till you have ſtudied the points better: for the "wiſe Italians have this proverb[r], He that underſtands amiſs "concludes worſe. And take heed of thinking, The farther "you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to "God."

And to another that ſpake indiſcreet and bitter words againſt Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpoſe:

"In my travel towards Venice, as I paſsed through Ger-"many, I reſted almoſt a year at Leyden, where I entered "into an acquaintance with Arminius[s], then Profeſsor of Di-

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[q] When this queſtion was propoſed to the learned Mr. Joſeph Mede, he anſwered with his uſual feſtivity by another queſtion, "Where was "the fine flour when the wheat went to the mill?" And ſometimes thus, "Where was the meal before the corn was ground?" *See Dr. Clerk's Sermons, vol. III. p.* 323.

Biſhop Bedel wrote a very long treatiſe on theſe two queſtions—"Where was the reformed church before Luther's time?" and "What "was the fate of thoſe who died in the boſom of the church before the "reformation?" Archbiſhop Uſher often urged him to publiſh this work, which was loſt in that ſcene of confuſion which attended the Iriſh rebellion.

[r] "Chi mal intende, peggio decide."

[s] How different is the language of King James, who heſitates not to pronounce Arminius "A ſeditious and heretical preacher, an infector "of Leyden with hereſy, and an enemy of God." The condemnation of Arminianiſm at the Synod of Dort, is principally to be attributed to James, whilſt with an inconſiſtency, which it will be difficult to defend, he protected the Arminian party in his own kingdom. Of Arminius and his opinions, ſee "Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation abridged," p. 267.

How much the Arminians were favoured, appears from the following incident. Mr. Morley, afterward Biſhop of Wincheſter, remarkable for his facetiouſneſs and jocular ſayings, being aſked by a grave country gentleman, who was deſirous to be inſtructed what their tenets and

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" vinity in that Univerſity; a man much talked of in this age, " which is made up of oppoſition and controverſy. And in- " deed, if I miſtake not Arminius in his expreſſions (as ſo weak " a brain as mine is may eaſily do), then I know I differ from " him in ſome points: Yet I profeſs my judgment of him to " be, that he was a man of moſt rare learning, and I knew him " to be of a moſt ſtrict life, and of a moſt meek ſpirit. And that " he was ſo mild, appears by his propoſals to our Maſter Perkins[t] " of Cambridge, from whoſe book, 'Of the Order and Cauſes " of Salvation' (which was firſt written in Latin), Arminius " took the occaſion of writing ſome queries to him concerning " the conſequences of his doctrine; intending them, it is ſaid, " to come privately to Mr. Perkins' own hands; and to receive " from him a like private and a like loving anſwer. But Mr. " Perkins died before thoſe queries came to him, and it is " thought Arminius meant them to die with him. For though " he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publiſh them— " but ſince his death his ſons did not. And it is a pity, if God " had been ſo pleaſed, that Mr. Perkins did not live to ſee, con- " ſider and anſwer thoſe propoſals himſelf; for he was alſo of " a moſt meek ſpirit, and of great and ſanctified learning. And " though ſince their deaths, many of high parts and piety have

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and opinions were, " What the Arminians held?" pleaſantly anſwered, "That they held all the beſt Biſhoprics and Deaneries in England:" Which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. Morley's definition of the Arminian tenets. *(Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon. Oxford. p. 26.)*

[t] Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS, of Chriſt College in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he died in 1602. He was miniſter of St. Andrew's pariſh, in Cambridge, and had the character of a learned, pious, and laborious preacher. " His life," ſays Fuller, " was ſo pious, ſo ſpotleſs, " that malice was afraid to bite at his credit, into which ſhe knew her " teeth could not enter." Dr. Richard Montague, his fellow collegian, and afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, preached his funeral ſermon, taking for his text, " *Moſes my Servant is dead.*" It was the wiſh of Archbiſhop Uſher, that he might die like Mr. Perkins, who expired crying for mercy and forgiveneſs. His works, which were diſperſed through Great Britain, France, Germany, the Low Countries, and Spain, many of them being tranſlated into the French, German, and Italian tongues, are declared to be equal in point of language, to thoſe of the beſt authors. His humility, as a preacher, was eminent, in condeſcending to the capacity of his meaneſt auditors. His church at Cambridge was frequented by the inhabitants of the town as well as the members of the Univerſity; and " The ſcholar could hear no " learneder, or the townſman plainer ſermon." See a Portrait of this good man in *Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p.* 431.

" That worthy pair of our late divines, Greenham and Perkins; " whereof the one excelled in experimental divinity, and knew well how " to ſtay a weak conſcience, how to raiſe a fallen, how to ſtrike a re- " morſeleſs; the other in a diſtinct judgment, and a rare dexterity in " clearing the obſcure ſubtilities of the ſchool, and eaſy explication of " the moſt perplexed diſcourſes." *(Biſhop Hall's First Decad of Epiſtles. Ep.* 7.)

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" undertaken to clear the controverſy; yet for the moſt part " they have rather ſatisfied themſelves, than convinced the diſ- " ſenting party. And, doubtleſs, many middle-witted men, " which yet may mean well, many ſcholars that are not in the " higheſt form for learning, which yet may preach well, men " that are but preachers, and ſhall never know, until they come " to heaven, where the queſtions ſtick betwixt Arminius and " the Church of England (if there be any), will yet in this " world be rampering with, and thereby perplexing the contro- " verſy, and do therefore juſtly fall under the reproof of St. " Jude[u], for being buſy-bodies, and for meddling with things " they underſtand not[x]."

And here it offers itſelf (I think not unfitly), to tell the reader, that a friend of Sir Henry Wotton's, being deſigned for the employment of an ambaſsador, came to Eaton, and requeſted from him ſome experimental rules for his prudent and ſafe carriage in his negociations: To whom he ſmilingly gave this for an infallible aphoriſm; " That, to be in ſafety himſelf, and ſervice- " able to his country, he ſhould always, and upon all occaſions, " ſpeak the truth." It ſeems a ſtate paradox: " For," ſays Sir Henry Wotton, " you ſhall never be believed: And by this " means your truth will ſecure yourſelf if you ſhall ever be " called to any account; and it will alſo put your adverſaries, " who will ſtill hunt counter, to a loſs in all their diſquiſitions " and undertakings[y]."

Many more of this nature might be obſerved, but they muſt be laid aſide; for I ſhall here make a little ſtop, and invite the reader to look back with me whilſt, according to my promiſe, I ſhall ſay a little of Sir Albertus Morton[z] and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

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[u] Rather, St. Peter. 1 *Pet.* iv. 15, and 2 *Pet.* ii. 12.

[x] In England Arminianiſm was hoſtile to civil liberty, and Calviniſm favourable to it. It has been already remarked that James, however he pretended to promote the condemnation of Arminius and his doctrines at the Synod of Dort, encouraged the Arminians at home. He promoted Laud, Howſon, Corbet, and Neil, who were all zealous Arminians. There is reaſon to ſuppoſe that they abetted his arbitrary meaſures, and by that means recommended themſelves.

" The Puritans, who will allow no free-will at all, but God does all, " yet will allow the ſubject his liberty to do or not to do, notwithſtand- " ing the King, the God upon earth. The Arminians, who hold we " have free-will, yet ſay, when we come to the King, there muſt be all " obedience, and no liberty to be ſtood for." *(Selden's Table Talk, under the Article* FREE-WILL.)

[y] When Sir Henry Wotton gives this ſhrewd advice to his friend, he ſeems really to have held that unfavourable opinion of the function of an ambaſsador, which he had once declared in his celebrated definition.

[z] He died in the vernality of his employments and fortunes, under the beſt king and maſter in the world." *(Reliq. Wotton. p.* 477.)

Sir

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I have told you that are my reader, that at Sir Henry Wotton's first going ambassador into Italy, his cousin, Sir Albertus Morton went his secretary; And I am next to tell you that Sir Albertus died Secretary of State to our late King; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed Sir Henry Wotton at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him, and this world. And yet the reader may partly guess by these following expressions: The first, in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part:

——— "And, my dear Nick, when I had been here almost a "fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received "notice of Sir Albertus Morton's departure out of this world, "who was dearer to me than mine own being in it. What a "wound it is to my heart, you that knew him and know me, "will easily believe: But our Creator's will be done and unre-"piningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of "all nature and of all fortune, when he taketh to himself now one "and then another, till that expected day wherein it shall please "him to dissolve the whole and wrap up even the heaven itself "as a scroll[a] of parchment. This is the last philosophy that we "must study upon earth. Let us, therefore, that yet remain "here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to "each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath "the highest privilege, because death itself cannot end it[b]. "And my good Nick," &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nick Pey: The other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude it was too hearty to be dissembled.

Sir Henry Wotton's epigram on the death of Sir Albertus Morton's wife is well known.

"He first deceased: She for a little tried
"To live without him: lik'd it not, and died."

Albertus Morton was elected scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1602. He went to Venice as Secretary to his uncle Sir Henry Wotton, and was afterward agent for King James at the court of Savoy, and with the Princes of the Union in Germany, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia in 1616, one of the Clerks of the Council, and knighted in Sept. 1617, and at last Secretary of State, in which post he died in November, 1625. *(Dr. Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales.)*

[a] Isaiah, xxxiv. 4.

[b] These are noble and exalted sentiments, such as Christianity alone inculcates.

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TEARS

WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

Silence, in truth, would ſpeak my ſorrow beſt,
For deepeſt wounds can leaſt their feelings tell [c];
Yet let me borrow from mine own unreſt
A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewel.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have ſerv'd my youth to vent ſome wanton cries,
And now, congeal'd with grief, can ſcarce implore
Strength to accent—"Here my Albertus lies!"

This is that ſable ſtone, this is the cave
And womb of earth that doth his corps embrace:
While others ſing his praiſe, let me engrave
Theſe bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of wo;
Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
And here my faithful TEARS in ſhowers ſhall flow,
To humanize the flints on which I tread [d].

Where, though I mourn my matchleſs loſs alone,
And none between my weakneſs judge and me;
Yet even theſe penſive walls allow my moan,
Whoſe doleful echoes to my plaints agree [e].

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[c] Agreeable to that more ancient obſervation, "Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent." (*Seneca.*)

——"The grief that does not ſpeak
"Whiſpers the o'er-fraught heart, and bids it break."
(*Shakeſpeare's Macbeth.*)

[d] This curious line reminds us of part of an extravagant elegy to the memory of a pleaſant poet of the laſt century, Colonel Lovelace, in which the author, E. Revett, ſays,

"Why ſhould ſome rude hand carve thy ſacred ſtone,
"And there inciſe a cheap inſcription,
"When we can ſhed the tribute of our tears
"So long, till the relenting marble wears?
"Which ſhall ſuch order in their cadence keep,
"That they a native epitaph ſhall weep;
"Until each letter ſpelt diſtinctly lies,
"Cut by the myſtic droppings of our eyes."

[e] Thus in the beautiful "Lycidas" of Milton——

"Now thou art gone, and never muſt return:
"Thee, ſhepherd, thee the woods and deſert caves
"With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,
"And all their echoes mourn."

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But is he gone? and live I rhyming here
As if ſome muſe would liſten to my lay?
When all diſtun'd ſit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endleſs bliſs with happy ſouls,
Diſcharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's truſt;
Whilſt on this fluid globe my hour-glaſs rolls,
And runs the reſt of my remaining duſt [f].

This concerning Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I ſhall ſay concerning Mr. William Bedel, I muſt prepare the reader by telling him, that when King James ſent Sir Henry Wotton ambaſſador to the State of Venice, he ſent alſo an ambaſſador [g] to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the ambaſſador of France went Joſeph Hall, late Biſhop of Norwich, whoſe many and uſeful works ſpeak his great merit; with the ambaſſador of Spain went James Wadſworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

Theſe three chaplains to theſe three ambaſſadors were all bred in one Univerſity, all of one College (Emanuel College in Cambridge), all beneficed in one dioceſe, and all moſt dear and entire friends. But in Spain Mr. Wadſworth [h] met with temptations, or reaſons, ſuch as were ſo powerful as to perſuade him (who of the three was formerly obſerved to be the moſt averſe to that religion that calls itſelf Catholic) to diſclaim him-

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[f] An ingenious modern critic has juſtly remarked, that "the poetical "compoſitions of Sir Henry Wotton, when conſidered in their proper "light, namely as the effuſions of one who merely ſcribbled for his "amuſement, will be found deſerving of praiſe."

[g] James Hay, Viſcount Doncaſter.

[h] Mr James Waddesworth, who died a Penſioner of the Holy Inquiſition in *Seville*, was educated at *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, being a fellow-ſtudent and a chamber-fellow with Mr. *Bedel*. They were alſo beneficed in the ſame dioceſe; and they both left England at the ſame time. When Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treaſurer to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, went ambaſſador to Spain, he took with him Mr. *Waddesworth* as his chaplain, who was prevailed on to change his religion, and entirely to abandon his native country, and was afterward appointed to teach the *Infanta* the *Engliſh* tongue, when the match betwixt Prince *Charles* and her was believed to be concluded. "It appears," ſays Biſhop Burnet, "as if in theſe two, Mr. *Bedel* and Mr. *Waddesworth*, thoſe "words of our Saviour had been to be verified—'*There ſhall be two in* "'*one bed, the one ſhall be taken and the other left.*' For as the one of "theſe was wrought on to forſake his religion, the other was very near "the being an inſtrument of a great and happy change in the Republic "of Venice."

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ſelf a member of the church of England, and declare himſelf for the church of Rome; diſcharging himſelf of his attendance on the Ambaſsador, and betaking himſelf to a monaſtic life, in which he lived very regularly, and ſo died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Biſhop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadſworth (it is the firſt epiſtle in his printed decades), to perſuade his return, or to ſhow the reaſon of his apoſtacy. The letter ſeemed to have in it many ſweet expreſſions of love; and yet there was in it ſome expreſſion, that was ſo unpleaſant to Mr. Wadſworth, that he rather choſe to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there paſsed betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadſworth divers letters, which be extant in print, and did well deſerve it: For in them there ſeems to be a controverſy, not of religion only, but who ſhould anſwer each other with moſt love and meekneſs. Which I mention the rather, becauſe it too ſeldom falls out to be ſo in a book war[1].

There is yet a little more to be ſaid of Mr. Bedel; for the greateſt part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, written to our late King Charles I.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

"HAVING been informed that certain perſons have, by the "good wiſhes of the Archbiſhop of Armagh, been directed hither "with a moſt humble petition unto your Majeſty, that you will "be pleaſed to make Mr. William Bedel, now reſident upon a "ſmall benefice in Suffolk[k], Governor of your College at "Dublin, for the good of that ſociety: And myſelf being re- "quired to render unto your Majeſty ſome teſtimony of the "ſaid William Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice in "the time of my firſt employment there, I am bound in all "conſcience and truth (ſo far as your Majeſty will vouchſafe to "accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a "fitter man for that charge could have been propounded unto "your Majeſty in your whole kingdom for ſingular erudition and "piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to ad- "vance the cauſe of God; wherein his travels abroad were not "obſcure in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

"For it may pleaſe your Majeſty to know, that this is the "man whom Padre Paulo took, I may ſay, into his very ſoul; "with whom he did communicate the inwardeſt thoughts of

[1] The collection of theſe letters forms a very valuable appendix to Biſhop Burnet's Life of Biſhop Bedel. Thoſe which paſsed between Mr. Bedel and Mr. Waddeſworth, on the converſion of the latter to Popery, diſcover that mildneſs and benignity of temper on the part of the former, which ſhould be preſerved in all controverſies. On the contrary, the acrimony and harſhneſs of Mr. Joſeph Hall, writing on the ſame ſubject, are truly reprehenſible.

[k] Mr. BEDEL had been preſented by Sir Thomas Jermyn to a rectory in Suffolk.

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" his heart; from whom he profeſsed to have received more " knowledge in all divinity, both ſcholaſtical and poſitive, than " from any that he had ever practiſed in his days: of which all " the paſsages were well known to the King your father, of " moſt bleſsed memory. And ſo, with your Majeſty's good " favour, I will end this needleſs office; for the general fame " of his learning, his life and Chriſtian temper, and thoſe reli- " gious labours which himſelf hath dedicated to your Majeſty, " do better deſcribe him than I am able.

" Your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful ſervant,

" H. WOTTON."

To this letter I ſhall add this, that he was, to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton, made Governor of the ſaid College (Auguſt 1627); and that after a fair diſcharge of his duty and truſt there, he was thence removed to be Biſhop of Kilmore (September 3, 1629). In both which places his life was ſo holy, as ſeemed to equal the primitive Chriſtians. For as they, ſo he kept all the Ember weeks, obſerved (beſides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very ſtrictly, and ſo he did all the feaſts and faſt-days of his mother, the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both ſuch as ſhewed his affections were ſet upon " things that are above;" for indeed his whole life brought forth the " fruits of the Spirit;" there being in him ſuch a remarkable meekneſs that, as St. Paul adviſed his Timothy in the election of a biſhop, 1 *Tim.* iii. 7. " That he have a good report of thoſe that be without;" ſo had he: For thoſe that were without, even thoſe that in point of religion were of the Roman perſuaſion (of which there were very many in his dioceſe), did yet (ſuch is the power of viſible piety) ever look upon him with reſpect and reverence, and teſtified it by a concealing and ſafe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Iriſh knew no diſtinction of perſons: and yet there and then he was protected and cheriſhed by thoſe of a contrary perſuaſion; and there and then he died, not by violence or miſuſage, but by grief in a quiet priſon[1] (1629). And with him was loſt many of his learned writings, which were thought worthy of preſervation; and among the reſt was loſt the Bible, which by many years' labour, and conference, and ſtudy, he had tranſlated into the Iriſh tongue[m], with an intent to have it printed for public uſe.

[1] Burnet's Life of Bedel," p. 180, 209.

[m] This zealous prelate, deſirous that the free uſe of the Scriptures ſhould diſſeminate a knowledge of the true religion among the Iriſh, ſelected one *King*, a convert from Popery, who was ſuppoſed to be the moſt elegant writer of his native language then alive, whether in proſe or verſe. Though he was much advanced in years, the Biſhop thought him not only capable of undertaking an Iriſh verſion of the Bible, but qualified for a higher character: He ordained him, gave him a benefice in

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More might be ſaid of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's firſt chaplain, and much of his ſecond chaplain Iſaac Bargrave[n], Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hoſpitable Dean of Canterbury; as alſo of the merits of many others that had the happineſs to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments: But the reader may think that in this digreſſion I have already carried him too far from Eaton college; and therefore I ſhall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had propoſed to himſelf, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther[o], and in it the hiſtory of the Reformation as it was carried on in Germany. For the doing of which he had many advantages by his ſeveral embaſsies into thoſe parts, and his intereſt in the ſeveral Princes of the Empire: By whoſe means he had acceſs to the records of all the Hans towns, and the knowledge of many ſecret paſsages that fell not under common view; and in theſe he had made a happy progreſs, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late Reverend Biſhop of Saliſbury. But in the midſt of this deſign, his late Majeſty, King Charles I. that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did, by a perſuaſive loving violence, to which may be added a promiſe of five hundred pounds a year, force him to lay Luther aſide, and betake himſelf to write the hiſtory of England: In which he proceeded to write ſome ſhort characters of a few Kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but for the preſent meant to be more large in the ſtory of Henry VI. the founder of that College, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happineſs of his preſent being. But Sir Henry died in the midſt of this undertaking; and the footſteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence[p].

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in his own dioceſe, and employed him in this uſeful work, directing him to found his verſion on the Engliſh tranſlation. The good Biſhop reviſed the whole: And it was his uſual cuſtom after dinner and ſupper to read over a chapter, and to compare it with the original Hebrew, the LXXII, and Diodati's Italian verſion. See Burnet's "Life of Biſhop Bedel," p. 118, 119.

[n] Of this excellent divine, and the cruel treatment he and his family received from Colonel Sandys, ſee Mr. Todd's "Deans of Canterbury," p. 100.

[o] A life of this reformer, written with candour and impartiality, has long been a deſideratum in the republic of letters. That which is extant in the Engliſh language, entitled "The Life and Death of Dr. Martin Luther, the Paſsages whereof have bin taken out of his owne and other godly and moſt learned Men's Writings who lived in his Time, 1 *Theſs.* v. 12, 13," was printed in 1641, and is a mere literal tranſlation from Melchior Adam.

[p] Of this hiſtorical work a very ſmall fragment is extant, written in the Latin language, with great elegance, and entitled "Henrici VI. Angliæ

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This is ſome account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the College, where he ſeemed to have his youth renewed by a continual converſation with that learned ſociety, and a daily recourſe of other friends of choiceſt breeding and parts; by which that great bleſſing of a cheerful heart was ſtill maintained: He being always free, even to the laſt of his days, from that peeviſhneſs which uſually attends age.

And yet his mirth was ſometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts[q], partly contracted in his foreign employments; for which his juſt arrears due from the King would have made ſatisfaction. But being ſtill delayed with court-promiſes, and finding ſome decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a Chriſtian deſire, that none ſhould be a loſer by him, make his laſt Will. Concerning which, a doubt ſtill remains, namely, whether it diſcovered more holy wit, or conſcionable policy? But there is no doubt, but that his chief deſign was a Chriſtian endeavour that his debts might be ſatisfied.

And that it may remain as ſuch a teſtimony, and a legacy to thoſe that loved him, I ſhall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand.

IN the name of God almighty and all-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's College by Eaton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect, in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his holy Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chapel of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived, my God knows, in all loving affection; or, if I

Angliæ et Galliarum Regis, Hiberniæ Domini, Etonenſis ad Tameſin Collegii Conditoris vita et exceſsus."

"The grant of a penſion of 500l. a year, for his life, was made to Sir "Henry Wotton, Provoſt of Eaton, and Gentleman of the King's Privy "Chamber. It is dated at Weſtminſter, Feb. 16, 1630."

He had a penſion of 200l. ſettled on him in the third year of this reign, which was now augmented to 500l. to enable him to compoſe the Ancient Hiſtory of England, and to beſtow 100l. on the amanuenſes and clerks neceſsary to be employed in that work. (*Acta Regia*, p. 815.)

q "Sir Henry Wotton is at this time under arreſt for three hundred "pounds, upon execution, and lies by it. He was taken coming from "the Lord Treaſurer's, ſoliciting a debt of four thouſand pounds, due to "him from the King." (*Mr. Garrard to the Lord Deputy. Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 338.*)

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shall die near Boctor Malherb, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish-Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his faith, and this ſurrender of his ſoul to that God that inſpired it, and this direction for the diſpoſal of his body, he proceeded to appoint, that his executors ſhould lay over his grave a marble ſtone, plain, and not coſtly. And conſidering that time moulders even marble to duſt; for

"Monuments themſelves muſt die[r]."

Therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preſerve his name (to which the ſon of Sirac adviſeth all men) by a uſeful apophthegm, than by a large enumeration of his deſcent or merits, of both which he might juſtly have boaſted; but he was content to forget them, and did chooſe only this prudent, pious ſentence, to diſcover his diſpoſition and preſerve his memory.—It was directed by him to be thus inſcribed:

HIC JACET HUJUS SENTENTIÆ PRIMUS AUTHOR,

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES,

NOMEN ALIAS QUÆRE.

Which may be Engliſhed thus:

HERE LIES THE FIRST AUTHOR OF THIS SENTENCE,

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

INQUIRE HIS NAME ELSEWHERE.

And if any ſhall object, as I think ſome have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the firſt author of this ſentence, but that this, or a ſentence like it, was long before his time; to him I anſwer, that Solomon ſays, "Nothing can be ſpoken, that hath "not been ſpoken: For there is no new thing under the ſun." But grant, that in his various readings, he had met with this, or a like ſentence, yet reaſon mixed with charity ſhould perſuade all readers to believe, that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then ſo fixed on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did ſurpriſe his memory. For doubtleſs, if he had not believed himſelf to be the firſt author of what he ſaid, he was too prudent firſt to own, and then expoſe it to the public view and cenſure of every critic. And queſtionleſs it will be charity in all readers to think his mind was then ſo fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did tranſport him; and that in this

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r "Quandoquidem data ſunt ipſis quoque fata ſepulchris."
JUVEN. Sat. x. 146.

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ſacred ecſtaſy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant,—into which he daily expected his admiſſion; and that Almighty God was then pleaſed to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controverſy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more deſtructive to humble piety; and where men have conſciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet ſcruple not to ſpeak and act ſuch ſins as the ancient humble Chriſtians believed to be a ſin to think; and where, as our reverend Hooker[s] ſays, "Former Simplicity, and Soft-"neſs of Spirit, is not now to be found, becauſe, Zeal hath "drowned Charity, and Skill Meekneſs." It will be good to think that theſe ſad changes have proved this epitaph to be a uſeful caution unto us of this nation; and the ſad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of obſervation concerning his epitaph: The reſt of his Will follows in his own words.

Further, I the ſaid Henry Wotton, do conſtitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Morton, ſecond ſon to Sir Robert Morton, Knight, late deceaſed, and Thomas Burgrave, eldeſt ſon to Dr. Burgrave, Dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the aforeſaid Dr. Burgrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my moſt faithful and choſen friends, together with Mr. John Harriſon[t]*, one of the Fellows of Eaton College, beſt acquainted with my books and pictures, and other utenſils, to be ſupervisors of this my laſt Will and Teſtament. And I do pray the aforeſaid Dr. Burgrave and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be ſolicitors for ſuch arrearages as ſhall appear due unto me from his Majeſty's Exchequer at the time of my death; and to aſſiſt my fore-named executors in ſome reaſonable and conſcientious ſatisfaction of my creditors, and diſcharge of my legacies now ſpecified; or that ſhall be hereafter added unto this my Teſtament by any codicil or ſchedule, or left in the hands or in any memorial with the aforeſaid Mr. John Harriſon.*

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[s] *Such was the ancient ſimplicity and ſoftneſs of ſpirit,* which ſometimes prevailed in the world, that they, whoſe words were even as oracles amongſt men, ſeemed evermore loth to give ſentence againſt any thing publicly received in the church of God, except it were wonderfully apparently evil; for that they did not ſo much incline to that ſeverity, which delighteth to reprove the leaſt things it ſeeth amiſs, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing, that duty bindeth to reprove. The ſtate of this preſent age, *wherein Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekneſs,* will not now ſuffer any man to marvel, whatſoever he ſhall hear reproved, by whomſoever.

(Hooker's Eccles. Book IV. Sect. I.)

[t] Mr. J. HARRISON was elected Fellow of Eaton College, October 28, 1636. He was probably that learned and eminent divine, whom Anthony Wood mentions as the author of "A Vindication of the Holy Scriptures, or the Manifeſtation of Jeſus Chriſt the true Meſſiah already come." London, 1658. *(Ath. Ox. vol. II. p. 991.)*

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And first to my most dear Sovereign and Master, of incomparable goodness, (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest man), I leave four pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the backside, which hang in my great ordinary dining room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto[u]*: Likewise a table of the Venetian College, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man.* Item, *The picture of a Duke of Venice, hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano*[x]*, or some other principal hand, long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.*

Item, *I leave his said Majesty all the papers and negociations of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knight*[y]*, during his famous employment, under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France; which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur*

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[u] This artist is mentioned in a very scarce volume, entitled, "Zanetti della pittura Veneziana," as a painter and engraver, and a native of Bologna. "Odoardo Fialetti Bolognese. Visse lungo tempo e morì poi "questo Pittore in Venezia allevato nella scuola del Tintoretto; e fece "studii assai regolati nell' arte. In genio suo non fu tuttavia de piu vi- "vaci e focosi." p. 502. Several of his pictures are in five of the churches of Venice; and he is celebrated for having engraved with great correctness two pictures of Tintoretto, now at Venice, in the "Scuola di S. Rocco;" the one representing St. Sebastian, the other the Marriage of Cana.

[x] Of this celebrated artist, the most universal genius of all the Lombard School, the best colourist of all the moderns, and the most eminent for histories, landscapes, and portraits, see "Dryden's Fresnoy's Art of Painting," p. 267.——Sir Henry Wotton, during his residence at Venice, purchased several very valuable paintings for the Duke of Buckingham: Among others was probably the "Ecce Homo" of Titian, which was afterwards valued at 5000l. and bought by the Archduke Leopold, who added it to his own collection in the Castle of Prague. See "Cabala," p. 398.

[y] Sir NICHOLAS THROGMORTON was eminent for his abilities in state affairs, and often sent by Queen Elizabeth ambassador to foreign courts. Of him Sir Francis Walsingham, lamenting the loss sustained by his death, writes thus in a letter to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. "Be "it spoken without offence of any, for counsel in peace, and conduct in "war, he hath not left of like sufficiency his successor that I know of." (*Supplement to Collins's Peerage, p. 90. See also Kennet's Complete History, &c. Vol. II. p. 430.*

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Throgmorton his son[a], *to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust.*

Item, *I leave to our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo*[a] *in the best language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince, the picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues through the clouds of her fortune. To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury*[b] *now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London*[c]*, Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at, the world: Most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life-time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services (wherein I more studied the public honour, than mine own utility), some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last Will and Testament, shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble; hoping likewise in his Majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my said arrears.*

To ————, *for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave, as emblems of his attractive virtues and obliging nobleness, my great Loadstone, and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and*

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[a] THOMAS Lord WOTTON, son of Edward, the first Lord Wotton, and nephew to Sir Henry Wotton, married Mary the daughter and one of the coheirs of Sir Arthur Throgmorton, of Paulers Perry, in Northamptonshire.

[a] A physician of the 16th century, who published commentaries on Dioscorides, adorned with large wooden prints. This work was once held in high estimation. "I pray you, buy me the commentaries of "*Matthiolus* upon *Dioscorides*, translated into French, and let it be bound "with two or three sheets of paper before and in the end. That book "was never wont to go from me, and now I cannot tell how it is stolen "from me: because it was noted with my observations and notes, I had "rather have lost a far better thing."

Letter of Sir Thomas Smith to Sir Francis Walsingham, in Digges's compleat Ambassador.

[b] Archbishop LAUD.

[c] JUXON, Bishop of London, was made Lord High Treasurer of England in 1635, through the interest of Archbishop Laud.

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only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, *A piece of Crystal Serangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhaetian Alps, in the very place where it grew; recommending most humbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the fore-named Spiritual Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person.* Item, *I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity) the Four Seasons of old Bassano*[d]*, to hang near the eye in his parlour (being in little form), which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.*

*To the above-named Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise, my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy; in which country I first contracted with him an unremovable affection. To my other Supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of uses: in the lower box whereof are some * fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears; and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the Library at Eaton College, I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain Ring of gold, enameled black, all save the verge, with this motto within,* AMOR UNIT OMNIA.

This is my Last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed, written on the first of October, in the present year of our Redemption, 1637, *and subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.*

HENRY WOTTON.

NICH. QUDERT.
GEO. LASH.

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies: By which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

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[d] GIACOMO DA PONTE DA BASSANO, so called from the place of his birth in the Marca Trevisana, in 1510, was a celebrated artist, who excelled in rural scenery and animals. He died at the age of 82, leaving four sons, two of whom were distinguished painters.
(Dryden's Fresnoy's Art of Painting, p. 290.)

* In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

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The next thing wherewith I ſhall acquaint the reader is, that he went uſually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Boſton-Hall, where he would ſay, "He found a cure for all "cares, by the cheerful company," which he called "the liv-"ing furniture of the place:" and "a reſtoration of his "ſtrength, by the connaturalneſs of" that which he called "his genial air."

He yearly went alſo to Oxford. But the ſummer before his death[e] he changed that for a journey to Wincheſter College, to which ſchool he was firſt removed from Boſton. And as he returned from Wincheſter towards Eaton College, ſaid to a friend, his companion in that journey, "How uſeful was that "advice of a holy monk, who perſuaded his friend *to perform* "*his customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we* "*usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last* "*being there;* and I find it thus far experimentally true, that "at my now being in that ſchool, and ſeeing that very place "where I ſat when I was a boy, occaſioned me to remember "thoſe very thoughts of my youth which then poſſeſſed me: "ſweet thoughts, indeed, that promiſed my growing years nu-"merous pleaſures without mixtures of cares[f], and thoſe to be "enjoyed when time (which I therefore thought ſlow paced) "had changed my youth into manhood.—But age and expe-"rience have taught me that thoſe were but empty hopes; for "I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretel, "'*Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.*' Nevertheleſs, I ſaw "there a ſucceſſion of boys uſing the ſame recreations, and,

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[e] In this year he wrote his letter to Milton, who then lived near Eaton, thanking him for his preſent of "Comus," which he calls "A dainty "peece of entertainment; wherein," he adds, "I ſhould much com-"mend the tragical part, if the lyrical did not raviſh me with a certain "Dorique delicacy in your ſongs and odes, whereunto I muſt plainly "confeſs to have ſeen yet nothing parallel in our language: ipſa molli-"ties." (*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 343.)

Milton has commended this letter in his "Defenſio Secunda Populi Anglicani." "Abeuntem vir clariſſimus Henricus Wootonus, qui ad "Venetos Orator Jacobi Regis diu fuerat, et votis et præceptis omni "peregrè ſanè utiliſſimis *eleganti epistolâ* perſcriptis amiciſſimè proſe-"quutus eſt."

[f] "Ah, happy hills! Ah, pleaſing ſhade!
"Ah, fields belov'd in vain!
"Where once my careleſs childhood ſtray'd,
"A ſtranger yet to pain!
"I feel the gales that from ye blow
"A momentary bliſs beſtow,
"As waving freſh their gladſome wing
"My weary ſoul they ſeem to ſooth,
"And, redolent of joy and youth,
"To breathe a ſecond ſpring."
GRAY'S Ode on a diſtant proſpect of Eaton College.

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"queſtionleſs, poſſeſſed with the ſame thoughts that then poſ-
"ſeſſed me. Thus one generation ſucceeds another, both in
"their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Wincheſter to Eaton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative; in which time he was often viſited by Mr John Hales (the learned Mr. John Hales), then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occaſion he ſpake to this purpoſe: "I have, in my paſſage to my grave, met with moſt of thoſe "joys of which a diſcourſive ſoul is capable; and been enter-"tained with more inferior pleaſures than the ſons of men are "uſually made partakers of: Nevertheleſs in this voyage I "have not always floated on the calm ſea of content; but have "often met with croſs winds and ſtorms, and with many "troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet, though "I have been and am a man compaſſed about with human "frailties, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from "making *ſhipwreck of faith and a good conſcience*, the thought of "which is now the joy of my heart; and I moſt humbly praiſe "him for it: And I humbly acknowledge that it was not my-"ſelf, but he that hath kept me to this great age, and let him "take the glory of his great mercy.—And, my dear friend, I "now ſee that I draw near my harbour of death; that harbour "that will ſecure me from all the future ſtorms and waves of "this reſtleſs world; and I praiſe God I am willing to leave it "and expect a better; that world *wherein dwelleth righteouſ-*"*neſs; and I long for it.*"

Theſe and the like expreſſions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feveriſh diſtemper, at which time he was alſo troubled with an aſthma or ſhort ſpitting: But after leſs than twenty fits, by the help of familiar phyſic and a ſpare diet, this fever abated, yet ſo as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his aſthma ſeemed alſo to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he alſo had taken ſomewhat immoderately. This was his then preſent condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which, though he ſeemed to recover, yet theſe ſtill left him ſo weak, that they and thoſe other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to viſit him like civil friends, and after ſome ſhort time to leave him, came now both oftener and with more violence, and at laſt took up their conſtant habitation with him, ſtill weakening his body and abating his cheerfulneſs; of both which he grew more ſenſible, and did the oftener retire into his ſtudy, and there made many papers that had paſſed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the buſy part of his life, uſeleſs, by a fire made there to that purpoſe. Theſe, and ſeveral unuſual expreſſions to his ſervants and friends, ſeemed to foretel that the day of his death drew near; for which he ſeemed to

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those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man[s].

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester school, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eaton College, where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain grave-stone over him. Dying worthy of his name and family; worthy of the love and favour of so many Princes and persons of eminent wisdom and learning; worthy of the trust committed unto him for the service of his Prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen to have preserved his memory and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

IZ. WA.

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[s] The following exquisitely beautiful hymn was written by him in his sickness:

"O thou great Power, in whom I move,
"For whom I live, to whom I die!
"Behold me thro' thy beams of love,
"Whilst on this couch of tears I lie,
"And cleanse my sordid soul within
"By thy Christ's blood, the bath of sin.

"No hallow'd oils, no grains I need,
"No rags of saints, no purging fire;
"One rosy drop from David's seed
"Was worlds of seas to quench thine ire.
"O, precious ransom! which, once paid,
"That *consummatum est* was said;

"And said by him that said no more,
"But seal'd it with his dying breath.
"Thou then that hast dispung'd my score,
"And dying wast the death of Death,
"Be to me now, on thee I call,
"My life, my strength, my joy, my all."

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AN

ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON,

WRIT BY

Mr. ABRAM COWLEY [h].

WHAT ſhall we ſay, ſince ſilent now is he,
Who when he ſpoke all things would ſilent be.
Who had ſo many languages in ſtore,
That only Fame ſhall ſpeak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd muſt ſee;
He's gone to heav'n on his fourth embaſsy [i].
On earth he travell'd often, not to ſay
He'd been abroad to paſs looſe time away;
For in whatever land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners; bringing home
Their wiſdom, learning, and their piety,
As if he went to conquer, not to ſee.
So well he underſtood the moſt and beſt
Of tongues that Babel ſent into the Weſt;

---

[h] "Every thing which Cowley wrote," ſays the editor of his ſelect works, "is either ſo good or ſo bad, that in all reaſon a ſeparation "ſhould be made." His Elegy on the death of Sir Henry Wotton is claſsed by him among the latter, as he has not inſerted it in his "Collection of Cowley's Poems." Dr. Johnſon entertains a more favourable opinion of it: By him it is pronounced to be vigorous and happy, the ſeries of thoughts eaſy and natural, and the concluſion, though a little weakened by the intruſion of Alexander, elegant and forcible. Denham has remarked of Cowley,

"To him no author was unknown,
"Yet what he writ was all his own."

The laſt lines of this elegy bear ſo ſtrong a reſemblance to an epigram of Grotius upon the death of Joſeph Scaliger, that the great critic above quoted thinks them copied from it, though they are copied by no ſervile hand. Joſeph Scaliger, like Sir Henry Wotton, was celebrated for his accurate knowledge of languages. Grotius compoſed four elegies on the death of this eminent ſcholar.

That which Cowley is ſuppoſed to have imitated begins with theſe lines——

"Hîc jacet et Gades ſuper exauditus et Indos
"Scaliger, hîc mundi publica lingua jacet."

[i] Sir Henry Wotton's moſt important embaſſies were thoſe to Venice. To that Republic he was thrice ſent ambaſsador from James I.

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Spoke them so truly, that he had (you'd swear)
Not only liv'd but been born every where.
Justly each nation's speech to him was known;
Who for the world was made, not us alone.
Nor ought the language of that man be less,
Who in his breast had all things to express:
We say that learning's endless, and blame Fate
For not allowing life a longer date.
He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find,
And found them not so large as was his mind;
But, like the brave Pellean youth [k], did moan,
Because that art had no more worlds than one.
And when he saw that he through all had past,
He dy'd lest he should idle grow at last.

A. COWLEY.

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[k] "Unus *Pelleo juveni* non sufficit orbis." JUVEN. Sat. X. 168.

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APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON is addreſsed as a poet by Baſtard the epigrammatiſt, in the following lines:

" Wotton, the country and the country ſwaine,
" How can they yeelde a poet any ſenſe?
" How can they ſtirre him up or heal his vaine?
" How can they feed him with intelligence?
" You have that fire which can a wit enflame
" In happy London, England's fayreſt eye:
" Well may you poets have of worthy name
" Which have the foode and life of poetry.
" And yet the country or the towne may ſway
" Or bear a part, as clownes doe in a play."

His Poems were collected by Iſaac Walton, and inſerted in " RELIQUIÆ WOTTONIANÆ; or, a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems with Characters of ſundry Perſonages, and other incomparable Pieces of Language and Art: By the curious Pencil of the ever memorable Sir Henry Wotton, Kt. late Provoſt of Eaton College, 1651." A ſecond edition in 4to appeared in 1654: a third in 1672. In the fourth edition which appeared in 1685, is the valuable addition of letters to the Lord Zouch.

This collection contains the " TREATISE on the ELEMENTS of ARCHITECTURE," firſt publiſhed in 1624, 4to. This Treatiſe is ſtill held in great eſtimation, has been tranſlated into Latin, and annexed to the works of Vitruvius, and to Freart's " Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern."

In Cibber's, or rather Shield's Lives of the Poets, the only ſpecimen given of Sir Henry Wotton's poetry, is the famous compoſition, " THE WORLD'S A BUBBLE," which, in " The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," is ſaid to have been found among his papers, the author unknown. Farnabie, in his " Epigrammata Selecta, 1629," aſcribes it to Lord Bacon. He has tranſlated it into Greek, and has ſome various readings.

Of Sir Henry Wotton's Latin Panegyric on Charles I. there are two tranſlations by unknown hands: The one is inſerted in " The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ;" the other is very ſcarce, printed

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in a very ſmall twenty-fours, on a large type, containing 118 pages, beſides the Dedication and Preface.

A
Panegyrick
of King Charles,
being obſervations
upon the inclination
life & govern-
-ment of our Sove-
-raign Lord the
King.
Written by
Sir Henry Wotton, Knight,
Provoſt of Eaton Colledg,
a little before his Death,
And printed for Richard Marriott,
London.

Beſides the pieces in "The Remains," Sir Henry Wotton wrote

"The STATE of CHRISTENDOM; or, a moſt exact and curious Diſcovery of many Secret Paſsages and hidden Myſteries of the Times: Written by the renowned Sir Henry Wotton, Kt. Ambaſsadour in Ordinary to the Moſt Serene Republique of Venice, and late Provoſt of Eaton College." *London*, 1657. To which is added "A SUPPLEMENT to the HISTORY of the STATE of CHRISTENDOM." Reprinted in 1677.

This work was begun about the year 1599, during Sir Henry Wotton's firſt reſidence at Venice, after his haſty departure from England.

Several of Sir Henry Wotton's letters are inſerted in "Cabala, or Myſteries of State. *London*, 1654," in 4to; and in "Cabala, or Scrinia ſacra. *London*, 1663," Fol.: Alſo in "Strafford's Letters and Deſpatches, 1739," Fol.

The two following tracts, written by Sir Henry Wotton, were never printed; namely,

"The JOURNAL of his EMBASSIES to VENICE;" a MS. fairly written, and formerly in the library of Lord Edward Conway.

"THREE PROPOSITIONS to the COUNT D'ANGOSCIOLA, in Matters of Duels;" a MS. preſerved in the library of the College of Arms.

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Mr. RICHARD HOOKER.

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THE LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS

OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

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TO HIS VERY WORTHY FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

Upon his writing and publishing the LIFE of the venerable and judicious

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

I.

HAIL, ſacred mother[a]! Britiſh Church, all hail!
From whoſe fruitful loins have ſprung
Of pious ſons ſo great a throng
That Heav'n t'oppoſe their force, of ſtrength did fail,
And let the mighty conqu'rors o'er Almighty arms prevail;
How art thou chang'd from what thou wert a late!
When deſtitute and quite forlorn,
And ſcarce a child of thouſands with thee left to mourn,
Thy veil all rent, and all thy garments torn:
With tears thou didſt bewail thine own and children's fate.
Too much, alas! thou didſt reſemble then
Sion thy pattern—Sion in aſhes laid,
Deſpis'd, forſaken, and betray'd;
Sion thou doſt reſemble once agen,
And, rais'd like her, the glory of the world art made.
Threnes only to thee could that time belong,
But now thou art the lofty ſubject of my ſong.

---

[a] The church of England emerging from thoſe dreadful calamities in which ſhe had been involved by the artifices of thoſe men, who, under the pretence of zeal for the cauſe of religion, meditated her entire deſtruction, is here not unaptly pourtrayed under the figure of an afflicted parent——

"Her veil all rent, and all her garments torn."

She was then the ſubject of elegiac lamentation. The ſcene is happily changed; and ſhe is here addreſsed in the language of praiſe and exultation.

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II.

Begin, my verſe, and where the doleful mother ſat[b]
(As it in viſion was to Eſdras ſhown)
Lamenting, with the reſt, her deareſt ſon,
Bleſs'd Charles, who his forefathers has outgone,
And to the royal join'd the martyr's brighter crown,
Let a new city riſe with beauteous ſtate,
And beauteous let its temple be, and beautiful the gate!
Lo! how the ſacred fabric up does riſe!
The architects ſo ſkilful all,
So grave, ſo humble, and ſo wiſe;
The axe's and the hammer's noiſe
Is drown'd in ſilence or in numbers muſical[c]:
'Tis up, and at the altar ſtand
The reverend fathers as of old,
With harps and incenſe in their hand.
Nor let the pious ſervice grow or ſtiff or cold;
Th' inferior prieſts, the while,
To praiſe continually employ'd or pray,
Need not the weary hours beguile,
Enough's the ſingle duty of each day.
Thou thyſelf, Woodford, on thy humbler pipe may'ſt play,
And tho' but lately enter'd there[d],
So gracious thoſe thou honour'ſt all appear,
So ready and attent to hear
Ah eaſy part, proportion'd to thy ſkill, may'ſt bear.

III.

But where, alas? where wilt thou fix thy choice?
The ſubjects are ſo noble all,
So great their beauties and thy art ſo ſmall,
They'll judge, I fear, themſelves diſparag'd by thy voice.
Yet try, and ſince thou canſt not take
A name ſo deſpicably low,
But 'twill exceed what thou canſt do,
Tho' thy whole mite thou away at once ſhouldſt throw,
Thy poverty a virtue make:
And, that thou may'ſt immortal live,
(Since immortality thou canſt not give)
From one who has enough to ſpare be ambitious to receive.

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[b] See 2 Eſdras, from chap. ix. 38, to the end of the tenth chapter.

[c] See 1 Kings vi. 7.

[d] Dr. WOODFORD, the author of this poem, was ordained by Biſhop Morley in the year in which theſe verſes were written.

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Of reverend and judicious Hooker ſing;
Hooker does to the church belong,
The church and Hooker claim thy ſong,
And inexhauſted riches to thy verſe will bring;
So far beyond itſelf will make it grow,
That life, his gift to thee, thou ſhalt again on him beſtow.

IV.

How great, bleſs'd ſoul, muſt needs thy glories be!
Thy joys how perfect, and thy crown how fair!
Who mad'ſt the church thy chiefeſt care;
This church which owes ſo much to thee,
That all her ſons are ſtudious of thy memory.
'Twas a bold work the captiv'd to redeem,
And not ſo only, but th' oppreſs'd to raiſe
(Our aged mother) to that due eſteem
She had and merited in her younger days.
When primitive zeal and piety
Were all her laws and policy,
And decent worſhip kept the mean
Its too wide ſtretch'd extremes between,
The rudely ſcrupulous and extravagantly vain——
This was the work of Hooker's pen.
With judgment, candour, and ſuch learning writ,
Matter and words ſo exactly fit
That were it to be done agen,
Expected 'twould be as its anſwer hitherto has been.

RITORNATA.

To Chelſea[e], ſong; there tell thy maſter's friend
The church is Hooker's debtor—Hooker his;
And ſtrange 'twould be if he ſhould glory miſs
For whom two ſuch moſt powerfully contend:

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[e] The reſidence of Morley Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe liberality appropriated to the uſe of his ſucceſsors a magnificent houſe at Chelſea, which he had purchaſed for four thouſand pounds. He obtained an act of Parliament, by which that houſe was declared to be within the dioceſe of Wincheſter. Such was his known beneficence, that on his promotion to the ſee of Wincheſter, Charles II. ſaid of him, "That "notwithſtanding its vaſt revenue he would be never the richer for it."

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Bid him cheer up, the day's his own;
And he ſhall never die,
Who, after ſev'nty's paſt and gone,
Can all th' aſſaults of age defy;
Is maſter ſtill of ſo much youthful heat,
A child ſo perfect and ſo ſprightly to beget.

BENSTEAD, HANTS,
March 10, $16\frac{69}{70}$. SAM. WOODFORD[f].

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[f] The author of theſe verſes, Dr. SAMUEL WOODFORD, was born in 1636, and having been a commoner of Wadham College, in Oxford, he took his firſt degree in arts, and afterward removed to the Inner Temple, where he was chamber-fellow with Mr. Flatman, the poet. In 1669, he was ordained by Morley Biſhop of Winchester, and being created Doctor of Divinity by a diploma from Archbiſhop Sancroft, was preferred to a prebend in the church at Winchester. He compoſed a Paraphraſe on the Pſalms, commended by Mr. Richard Baxter, as alſo on the Canticles; with many original poems and tranſlations from the Greek, Latin, Spaniſh, and Italian writers. He died in 1700.
(Wood's Athen. Ox.)

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TO THE READER.

I THINK it neceſsary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Biſhop of Worceſter) hath alſo lately wrote and publiſhed the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by deſign to oppoſe what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a neceſſity to ſay, that in it there be many material miſtakes, and more omiſſions. I conceive ſome of his miſtakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller[g], who had too haſtily publiſhed what he hath ſince moſt ingenuouſly retracted. And for the Biſhop's omiſſions, I ſuppoſe his more weighty buſineſs and want of time made him paſs over many things without that due examination, which my better leiſure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages have made known unto me.

And now for myſelf, I can ſay, I hope, or rather know, there are no material miſtakes in what I here preſent to you that ſhall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this diſtance of time undertake to juſtify: for, though I have uſed great diligence, and compared relations and circumſtances, and probable reſults and expreſſions, yet I ſhall not impoſe my belief upon my reader, I ſhall rather leave him at liberty: But if there ſhall appear any material omiſſion, I deſire every lover of truth and the memory

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[g] Dr. THOMAS FULLER, celebrated as a biographer and a hiſtorian, was educated at Cambridge, having been firſt admitted of Queen's College, from whence, being incapacitated by the ſtatutes from ſucceeding to a fellowſhip, he removed to Sidney College. He died in 1661. He was a general ſcholar, had a prodigious memory, a quick wit, a luxuriant fancy and invention, but not the moſt exact judgment. Such was his moderation during the time of the civil wars, that by one party, before whom he preached, he was called "a hot royaliſt;" while, for his diſcourſes before the King and Court at Oxford, he was blamed as being too lukewarm. Soon after the reſtoration, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, being alſo in a well-grounded expectation of ſome preſent farther advancement; but here death ſtepped in, and drew the curtain between him and the eccleſiaſtical dignities that awaited him. His laborious but imperfect "Hiſtory of the Worthies of England" is conſidered as the moſt valuable of his works. See his account of Mr. Hooker in "The Church Hiſtory of Britain," B. IX. p. 214, 217, 235. *(Echard's History of England, vol. III. p. 71.—Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller, p. 5, 53.)*

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of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promiſe to acknowledge and rectify any ſuch miſtake in a ſecond impreſſion, which the printer ſays he hopes for; and by this means my weak, but faithful, endeavours may become a better monument, and, in ſome degree, more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confeſs, that when I conſider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what ſatisfaction and advantages many eminent ſcholars and admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder that in ſixty years no man did undertake to tell poſterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and ſometimes wonder more at myſelf that I have been perſuaded to it; and indeed I do not eaſily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader ſhall, unleſs my introduction ſhall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

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THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been perſuaded by a friend, that I ought to obey, to write The Life of Richard Hooker[h], the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of "The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity." And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with ſome unwillingneſs, foreſeeing that it muſt prove to me, and eſpecially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, conſider, reſearch, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and muſt therefore not only look back to his death (now ſixty-four years paſt) but almoſt fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence ſuch obſervations and prognoſticks, as may at leaſt adorn, if not prove neceſſary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foreſee, and foreſee alſo that it is impoſſible to eſcape cenſures; againſt which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me (for I conſider the age in which I live); and ſhall therefore but intreat of my reader a ſuſpenſion of them, till I have made known unto him ſome reaſons, which I myſelf would now fain believe, do make me in ſome meaſure fit for this undertaking: And if theſe reaſons ſhall not acquit me from all cenſures, they may at leaſt abate of their ſeverity; and this is all I can probably hope for.——My reaſons follow:

About forty years paſt (for I am now in the ſeventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God) grand-nephew unto the great Archbiſhop of that name; a family of noted prudence and reſolution; with him and two of his ſiſters I had an entire and free friendſhip: One of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a boſom-friend, and ſometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and after Preſident of the ſame. I name them here, for that I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in this following diſcourſe; as alſo their brother, of whoſe uſeful abilities my

[h] Iſaac Walton's edition of 1675 has been followed in the preceding lives of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton. It is thought expedient to deviate from that edition in the Life of Mr. Hooker, by adopting that which was laſt reviſed by Walton, and is prefixed to his works printed at London in 1723, and at Oxford in 1793, yet without admitting thoſe paſſages which Mr. Strype has introduced into the text.

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reader may have a more authentic teſtimony than my pen can purchaſe for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two fore-named ſiſters, had ſome affinity, and a moſt familiar friendſhip with Mr. Hooker, and had had ſome part of their education with him in his houſe, when he was parſon of Biſhop's-Born near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I ſay, a great part of their education with him, as myſelf, ſince that time, a happy cohabitation with them; and having ſome years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and ſatisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquiſitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his perſon, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my conſideration, and intended for the ſatisfaction of my reader.

I had alſo a friendſhip with the Reverend Doctor Uſher [i], the late learned Archbiſhop of Armagh; and with Doctor Morton, the late learned and charitable [k] Biſhop of Durham; as

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[i] The character of this eminent Prelate is happily expreſsed in the eulogium of the Univerſity of Oxford, inſcribed on his portrait, which was ordered to be prefixed to his edition of The Epiſtles of Ignatius. "Jacobus Uſerius, Archiepiſcopus Armachanus, totius Hiberniæ Primas, "Antiquitatis primævæ peritiſſimus, orthodoxæ Religionis Vindex "ἀνατρεπτικός, Errorum malleus, in concionando frequens, facundus, "præpotens, vitæ inculpatæ exemplar ſpectabile."

[k] How properly this epithet is applied to this excellent perſon appears, from his behaviour in 1602, in the earlier period of his life, while the plague raged at York. The poorer ſort of the infected, being turned out of their habitations, had booths erected for them at a moor near the city; for whoſe comfort and relief in that fatal extremity, Mr. Morton often repaired to them from Marſton, to preach unto them, and to miniſter conſolation to their languiſhing ſouls, having withal proviſions of meat carried with him in ſacks, to relieve the pooreſt ſort with. But as often as he went thither, he ſuffered not any ſervant to attend him, but himſelf ſaddled and unſaddled his horſe, and he had a private door made through the wall of his ſtudy (being the utmoſt part of the houſe) for prevention, leſt he might bring the contagion with him and endanger his whole family. *(Richard Baddiley's Life of Biſhop Morton.)* Having thus laid the foundation of virtue when in a more private and humble ſtation, he built upon it a moſt noble ſuperſtructure. His various actions of ſplendid liberality and extenſive beneficence, through the whole courſe of a long life, are only to be equalled by the magnanimity which he diſplayed in his great ſufferings. By his will, dated Feb. 20, 1658, and proved Oct. 1, 1660, when he had little or nothing left, he bequeathed his chalice to All-Saints Church in York, and ten pounds to the poor of the pariſh where he died, which was at Eaſton-Maudit, in Northamptonſhire. In his epitaph he is declared—"Bonis "exutus omnibus bonâ præterquam Famâ et Conſcientiâ."

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alſo with the learned John Hales, of Eaton College, and with them alſo (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many diſcourſes concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitneſs for what by perſuaſion I have now undertaken. But though that full harveſt be irrecoverably loſt, yet my memory hath preſerved ſome gleanings, and my diligence made ſuch additions to them, as I hope will prove uſeful to the completing of what I intend. In the diſcovery of which I ſhall be faithful, and with this aſſurance put a period to my Introduction.

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THE LIFE OF

RICHARD HOOKER.

IT is not to be doubted but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts [l], or in the city of Exeter. A city which may juſtly boaſt, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley [m]; as indeed the county may, in which it ſtands, that it hath furniſhed this nation with Biſhop Jewel [n],

[l] On the eaſt of Exeter is a pariſh-church called Heavy-Tree, memorable for the birth of Mr. Hooker, the judicious author of "The Eccleſiaſtical Polity," and of that great civilian, Dr. Arthur Duck.
(Camden's Britannia.)

[m] Sir T. BODLEY was the founder, or rather the reſtorer of the public library at Oxford, which was originally begun by Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. and collected together, and conſiderably enlarged two libraries, one founded by Richard Bury, from his great love of books, uſually called Philo-biblos, Biſhop of Durham in the reign of Edward III. and another by Thomas Cobham, Biſhop of Worceſter.—"Illa Bodlei Induſtria pluſquam humana; illa "tot Linguarum Artiumque infinita Comprehenſio doctos tantum egit "in Stuporem; at illa incredibilis Morum Suavitas, ille in Congreſsibus "Geſtuque toto Lepos et veluti Atticiſmus quidam doctos indoctosque "juxtà cepit." *(Orat. Funebr. I. Hales.)*—"King James, in 1605, when "he came to ſee our Univerſity of Oxford, and amongſt other edifices "now went to view that famous library renewed by Sir Thomas Bodley, "in imitation of Alexander, at his departure broke out into that noble "ſpeech. *If I were not a King, I would be an University man. And if "it were ſo, that I muſt be a priſoner, if I might have my wish, I would "deſire to have no other priſon than that library, and to be chained toge-"ther with ſo many good authors and* mortuis magiſtris."
(Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part I. Sect. II. p. 177.)

[n] Dr. JOHN JEWEL, Biſhop of Saliſbury, one of the brighteſt ornaments of the reformed religion, the celebrated author of "The Apology of the Church of England;" a work ever to be commended for the claſsic elegance of its language, and the nervous ſtrength of its argumentation. It attracted the notice of the Council of Trent, who paſsed a very ſevere cenſure upon it, and though a refutation of it was undertaken by a Spaniſh and Italian Biſhop, it remains yet unanſwered. Originally written in Latin, it was tranſlated into the Greek, French, Italian, Spaniſh, and Dutch languages. To Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and many other foreign Proteſtants, it gave infinite ſatisfaction. An Engliſh

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Sir Francis Drake[o], Sir Walter Raleigh[p], and many others memorable for their valour and learning[q]. He was born about the year of our Redemption, one thouſand five hundred fifty and three; and of parents that were not ſo remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and induſtry, and God's bleſsing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in ſome degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair teſtimony, and that nature is not ſo partial as always to give the great bleſsings of wiſdom and learning, and with them the greater bleſsings of virtue and government, to thoſe only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

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verſion by a lady, Anne the ſecond daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, and the wife of the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, was publiſhed for the uſe of the common people in 1564, and ordered to be kept in every pariſh-church throughout England and Wales. This great and good prelate, having impaired his conſtitution, as well by the fatigues he underwent when abroad, as by an inceſsant application to his ſtudies, died Sept. 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age.——Of his noble challenge to the learned of his adverſaries, or to all the learned men that be alive, ſee "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," Vol. IV. p. 220.

"Juelle, Mater quem tulit Devonia,
"Nutrixque fovit erudita Oxonia,
"Quem Maria ferro et igne patriâ expulit;
"Virtus reduxit, præſulem fecit parens
"Elizabetha docta doctarum artium:
"Pulvis puſillus te ſepulchri hic contegit,
"Quàm parva tellus nomen ingens occulit!"

BUCHANANI POEMATA, p. 3, 60.

[o] Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, the firſt captain who achieved the circumnavigation of the globe, was the ſon of a private clergyman in Devonſhire. See "Prince's Worthies of Devon," p. 239, and his Life in Dr. Johnſon's Works, Vol. XII. p. 63.

[p] Prince's Worthies, &c. p. 530.—"Who hath not known or read of "this prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir Walter Raleigh, a man unfortunate in nothing but in the greatneſs of his wit and advancement, "whoſe eminent worth was ſuch both in domeſtic policy, foreign expe"ditions, and diſcoveries in art and literature, both practic and con"templative, that it might ſeem at once to conquer example and imi"tation." (*Howell's Familiar Letters, p.* 387.) This great man fell a victim to the jealouſy of Gondomar, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador. No one encountered danger with more intrepidity and firmneſs: Yet his character never ſhone with greater luſtre, than when he patiently ſuſtained the injurious and indecent language of the Attorney-General, Coke, at his trial.

[q] Mr. Prince, in the dedication of his "Danmonii Orientales Illuſtres," or "The Worthies of Devon," obſerves, that "he preſents to the view "of the reader ſuch an illuſtrious troop of heroes as no other country in "the kingdom, no other kingdom (in ſo ſmall a tract) in Europe in all "reſpects is able to match, much leſs excel."

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His complexion (if we may gueſs by him at the age of forty) was ſanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was ſlow, even in his youth, and ſo was his ſpeech, never expreſsing an earneſtneſs in either of them, but a gravity ſuitable to the aged. And it is obſerved (ſo far as inquiry is able to look back at this diſtance of time) that at his being a ſchoolboy, he was an early queſtioniſt, quietly inquiſitive[r], "Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered?" "Why this was granted, and that denied?" This being mixed with a remarkable modeſty, and a ſweet ſerene quietneſs of nature, and with them a quick apprehenſion of many perplexed parts of learning, impoſed then upon him as a ſcholar, made his maſter and others to believe him to have an inward bleſsed divine light, and therefore to conſider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were leſs pregnant, leſs confident, and more malleable, than in this wiſer, but not better age[s].

This meekneſs and conjuncture of knowledge, with modeſty in his converſation, being obſerved by his ſchoolmaſter, cauſed him to perſuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at ſchool till he could find out means, by perſuading his rich uncle, or ſome other charitable perſon, to eaſe them of a part of their care and charge; aſſuring them, that their ſon was ſo enriched with the bleſsings of nature and grace, that God ſeemed to ſingle him out as a ſpecial inſtrument of his glory. And the good man told them alſo, that he would double his diligence in inſtructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of ſo hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and eſpecially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were ſo pleaſed with this propoſal, that it was reſolved *ſo it ſhould be*. And in the mean time his parents and maſter laid a foundation for his future happineſs, by inſtilling into his ſoul the *ſeeds of piety*, thoſe conſcientious principles of *loving and fearing God; of an early belief, that he knows the very ſecrets of our ſouls; that he puniſheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we ſhould be free from hypocriſy, and appear to man, what we are to God, becauſe firſt or laſt the crafty man is catched in his own ſnare.* Theſe ſeeds of piety were ſo ſeaſonably planted, and ſo continually watered with the daily dew of God's bleſsed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into ſuch holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour, both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did attain to, hath made Richard

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[r] Principium eſt ſcientiæ quærere, et principium quærendi dubitare.

[s] The age was, perhaps, not wiſer, though it might be more knowing in ſome reſpects.

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Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be ſo to ſucceeding generations.

This good ſchoolmaſter, whoſe name I am not able to recover, (and am ſorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his ſcholar), was very ſolicitous with John Hooker[t], then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the Univerſity, and in the mean time to uſe his endeavours to procure an admiſsion for him into ſome College; ſtill urging and aſsuring him that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both ſo remarkable, that they muſt of neceſsity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him ſome ſecond patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

Theſe reaſons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good maſter, and God's bleſsing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promiſe that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promiſe was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned John Jewel (after Biſhop of Saliſbury) having been in the firſt of this Queen's reign expelled [u]

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[t] JOHN HOOKER, alias VOWELL, was born at Exeter, in 1524, of a very creditable family, being the ſecond ſon of Robert Hooker, Mayor of that city. Having received his education at Oxford, where he ſtudied the Civil Law, he travelled into Germany, and at Cologn kept his exerciſes in law, and took his degree there. Next he went to Straſbourg, and ſojourned with Peter Martyr, by whom he was inſtructed in divinity. Returning home after a ſhort ſtay, he travelled into France, and was prevented from proceeding into Italy and Spain by the French declaration of war againſt England. Hence he retired to his native town, whereof he became the firſt Chamberlain in 1554, and was choſen one of the Citizens for the ſame in the Parliament, holden at Weſtminſter in 1571. He died in 1601, at the age of near eighty years. He aſsiſted Holinſhed in his Chronicles, and is mentioned by ſeveral writers with ſingular reſpect as an antiquary, and an hiſtorian of great accuracy and fidelity.

[u] This good man was one of the firſt victims to Popiſh reſentment after the acceſsion of Queen Mary, being expelled by ſeven of the Fellows of his College, for attending Peter Martyr's lectures in divinity; for preaching doctrines contrary to Popery; for receiving ordination by the new form, and refuſing to be preſent at maſs. He concluded his valedictory ſpeech, delivered on occaſion of his expulſion, with theſe words: "Valeant "ſtudia, valeant hæc tecta, valeat ſedes cultiſsima literarum, valeat ju-"cundiſsimus conſpectus veſtri: valete juvenes, valete ſocii, valete fra-"tres, valete oculi mei, omnes valete." His temporary dereliction of the Proteſtant faith, which happened ſoon afterward, affords a melancholy inſtance of the imbecillity of human nature to withſtand the attempts of inſidious artifice. But, like Cranmer, he burſt forth with ſevenfold ſplendour from that momentary eclipſe which obſcured his fame.

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out of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford (of which he was a Fellow), for adhering to the truth of thoſe principles of religion, to which he had aſsented in the days of her brother and predeceſsor Edward VI. and he, having now a juſt cauſe to fear a more heavy puniſhment than expulſion, was forced, by forſaking this, to ſeek ſafety in another nation, and, with that ſafety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worſhip for which he ſuffered.

But the cloud of that perſecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and ſtate did then look more clear and comfortable; ſo that he, and many others of the ſame judgment, made a happy return into England about the firſt of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was ſent a commiſsioner or viſitor of the churches of the weſtern parts of this kingdom, and eſpecially of thoſe in Devonſhire [x], in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendſhip with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Biſhop of Saliſbury; and there being always obſerved in him a willingneſs to do good and oblige his friends, and now a power added to it, John Hooker gave him a viſit at Saliſbury, "and "beſought him, for charity's ſake, to look favourably upon a "poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a ſcholar; "but the eſtate of his parents was ſo narrow, that they were "unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the "Biſhop would, therefore, become his patron, and prevent him "from being a tradeſman; for he was a boy of remarkable "hopes." And though the Biſhop knew men do not uſually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he aſsented ſo far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his ſchoolmaſter ſhould attend him, about Eaſter next following, at that place; which was done accordingly: and then, after ſome queſtions and obſervations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the Biſhop gave the ſchoolmaſter a reward, and took order for an annual penſion for the boy's parents, promiſing alſo to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the fourteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was, by the Biſhop, appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole [y], then Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College; which

x "Mr. Jewel was appointed for the weſtern circuit, and ſo it fell "out fitly that he preſented the firſt-born of his labours in the miniſtry, "after his return from exile, in Devonſhire, and parts adjacent; there "firſt breaking the bread of life where firſt he received the breath of "life; where he endeavoured more to win his countrymen to embrace "the Reformation by preaching and good uſage, than to terrify and "awe them by that great authority the Queen's Majeſty had armed him "with." (*Prince's Worthies, &c. p.* 422.)

y Dr. WILLIAM COLE, in 1599, exchanged with Dr. John Reynolds the Preſidentſhip of Corpus Chriſti College for the Deanery of Lincoln,

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he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promiſe made to the Biſhop) provided for him both a tutor (which was ſaid to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds [z]) and a clerk's place in that College; which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued penſion of his patron, the good Biſhop, gave him a comfortable ſubſiſt-

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which he did not long enjoy. He fled into Germany in the time of Queen Mary, and Anthony Wood names him as one of the exiles at Geneva engaged with Miles Coverdale and others in a new tranſlation of the Bible. He miſtakes him for his brother Thomas Cole, mentioned in "Lewis's Hiſtory of the ſeveral Tranſlations of the Bible," p. 206.

[z] The great prodigy of learning in his time, Crakanthorp, under whom he was educated, applied to him what was ſaid of Athanaſius, "to name Reynolds is to commend virtue itſelf." "He alone," ſays Biſhop Hall, in his "Decad of Epiſtles," (Dec. I. Ep. 7.), "was a well-furniſhed library, full of all faculties, of all ſtudies, of all learning: "the memory, the reading of that man were near to a miracle." He was the great champion of Proteſtantiſm againſt Bellarmine.

"Cùm vibrat doctæ Reynoldus fulmina linguæ,
"Romanus trepidat Jupiter, et meritò."

Having ſucceeded Dr. Cole as Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, he died May 21, 1607. Whilſt he was public profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, he was involved in a controverſy "on the Authority of the Scripture Chronology," with Hugh Broughton, a vain and arrogant man, though the firſt ſcholar of his age in oriental literature. From the active part which he took in the conference at Hampton Court, he is claſſed amongſt "the pillars of Puritaniſm and the grand favourers of "Nonconformity." Yet it ought never to be forgotten, that to his exertions we are principally indebted for that noble verſion of the Bible which is now in uſe. Fuller aſſerts, "that his diſaffection to the diſci-"pline eſtabliſhed in England was not ſo great as ſome Biſhops did "ſuſpect, or as more Nonconformiſts did believe. No doubt, he deſired "the aboliſhing of ſome ceremonies for the eaſe of the conſcience of others, "to which in his own practice he did willingly ſubmit, conſtantly wear-"ing hood and ſurplice, and kneeling at the ſacrament. On his death-"bed he earneſtly deſired abſolution, according to the form of the "Church of England, and received it from Dr. Holland, whoſe hand "he affectionately kiſſed in expreſſion of the joy he received thereby."
(*Fuller's Church History, Book X. p.* 48.)

It has been related that *John Reynolds* was brought up in the Church of Rome, whilſt his brother *William* was educated a Proteſtant: and that the two brothers, meeting together one day, diſputed with ſo much energy, that each of them changed his religion on conviction from the other's arguments. This circumſtance gave occaſion to a copy of verſes, concluding with this diſtich,

"Quod genus hoc pugnæ eſt? ubi victus gaudet uterque,
"Et ſimul alteruter ſe ſuperâſſe dolet."

To this *William Reynolds* has been aſcribed an Engliſh New Teſtament in quarto, printed at Rheims, in 1582, tranſlated from the vulgate Latin, and retaining many Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words, with an apparent intention of making the text leſs intelligible to common readers.

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ence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, ſtill increaſing in learning and prudence, and ſo much in humility and piety, that he ſeemed to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and even, like St. John Baptiſt, to be ſanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bleſs the day in which ſhe bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous ſickneſs, which laſted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earneſtly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Auguſtine did that he might become a true Chriſtian, and their prayers were both ſo heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and pray that he "might never live to occaſion any ſorrow "to ſo good a mother[a]; whom, he would often ſay, he loved "ſo dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much "for her ſake, as for his own."

As ſoon as he was perfectly recovered from his ſickneſs, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to ſatisfy and ſee his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own College, and both on foot; which was then either more in faſhion, or want of money or their humility made it ſo: But on foot they went, and took Saliſbury in their way, purpoſely to ſee the good Biſhop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boaſted of with much joy and gratitude when he ſaw his mother and friends: and at the Biſhop's parting with him, the Biſhop gave him good counſel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Biſhop had conſidered, he ſent a ſervant in all haſte to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return the Biſhop ſaid to him, "Richard, I ſent "for you back to lend you a horſe which hath carried me many "a mile, and, I thank God, with much eaſe[b];" and preſently delivered into his hand a walking-ſtaff, with which he profeſsed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he ſaid, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horſe; be "ſure you be honeſt, and bring my horſe back to me at your "return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten

[a] The tender anxiety of *Monica*, the wife of *Patricius*, and mother of *St. Auguſtine*, for the reform and converſion of her ſon, was abundantly recompenſed by his extraordinary piety. "Miſiſti, Domine, manum "tuam ex alto, et de hâc profundâ caligine eruiſti animam meam, cùm "pro me ploraret ad te mater mea, fidelis tua, ampliùs quàm flent "matres corporea funera." (*Auguſtin. Confeſs. L. III. c. ii.*)

[b] While Biſhop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, the plague, which prevailed there, occaſioned his removal into a country village, where he purſued his ſtudies in a low and damp lodging-room. Thus contracting a cold, he got a lameneſs, which affected him to his death. Yet, notwithſtanding this, moſt of his journeys in Germany, as well as in England, were undertaken on foot.

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"groats[c], to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten "groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, "and tell her, I send her a Bishop's benediction with it, and "beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring "my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to "carry you on foot to the college: and so God bless you, good "Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, "Whether his last ejaculations or his soul did first enter into heaven[d]?"

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear for his future subsistence. But Mr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, that he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes), for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, or not much longer; for about that time the following accident did befal Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys[e] (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary

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[c] It is well known that pieces of ten-groats, or three shillings and fourpence, were current at this time.

[d] "It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first "in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying." *(Fuller.)*—— The circumstances that attended his death are related in "Prince's Worthies," p. 428. The following beautiful lines upon him were written by Fuller:

"Holy learning, sacred arts,
"Gifts of nature, strength of parts,
"Fluent grace, an humble mind,
"Worth reform'd, and wit refin'd,
"Sweetness both in tongue and pen,
"Insight both in books and men,
"Hopes in wo, and fears in weal,
"Humble knowledge, sprightly zeal,
"A lib'ral heart, and free from gall,
"Close to friend and true to all,
"Height of courage in truth's duel,
"Are the stones that made this JEWEL.
"Let him that would be truly blest
"Wear this Jewel in his breast."

FULLER'S *Abel redivivus*, p. 314.

[e] Dr. EDWIN SANDYS was born at Hawkshead in Westmoreland, where he founded a grammar-school. When he was reproached with being

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forced, by forſaking this, to ſeek ſafety in another nation; where, for many years, Biſhop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany[f]; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of ſorrow, and by that means they there began ſuch a friendſhip, as time did not blot out, but laſted till the death of Biſhop Jewel, which was in 1571. A little before which time the two Biſhops meeting, Jewel began a ſtory of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave ſuch a character of his learning and manners, that though Biſhop Sandys was educated in Cambridge[g], where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his reſolution was, that his ſon Edwin[h] ſhould be

being neither gentleman nor honeſt man, he anſwered, "that he would "not contend for gentry, but would defend his honeſty; that his father "was an honeſt man, and ſerved the King, and was a Juſtice of peace "in his country." He and Jewel were two of the eight divines appointed by Queen Elizabeth to hold a conference with an equal number of Romaniſts, before the two Houſes of Parliament, on certain great controverſial points of their religion. While he was Archbiſhop of York, he ſpent the greater part of his time in retirement at Southwell. A very numerous family demanded from him the utmoſt economy. Hence he has been charged with exceſsive parſimony, though in the inſcription on his monument, in the church of Southwell, he is called "Summè "liberalis, atque miſericors, hoſpitaliſsimus." "He was," ſaith Fuller, "an excellent and painful preacher, of a pious and godly life, which "increaſed in his old age; ſo that by a great and good ſtride, "while he had one foot in the grave he had the other in heaven. It is "hard to ſay, whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more "happy in his flouriſhing poſterity." His ſermons, preached between 1559 and 1576, are ſaid to have been ſuperior to thoſe of his contemporaries, and are yet admired as patterns of eloquence and fine writing.

[f] Firſt at Frankfort, afterward at Straſburgh and Zurich, in which two laſt places they reſided in the houſe of Peter Martyr.

[g] At St. John's College in Cambridge.

[h] Afterward Sir EDWIN SANDYS, prebendary of York, and the author of "Europæ Speculum; or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Weſterne Parts of the World; wherein the Romane Religion, and the pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome to ſupport the ſame, are notably diſplayed with ſome other memorable Diſcoveries and Memorations. Hagæ Comitis, 1629." This work is dedicated to Archbiſhop Whitgift. In the addreſs to the reader, the editor ſtyles the author "ingenuous, ingenious, and acute: a gentleman who, as I have "been credibly informed, both heretofore deſerved right well of his "countrye in the ſervice of the Prince of Orange, and the Lords of the "States General, his Majeſty of England's faſt friends and allies." The reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following ſpecimen of his mode of writing. He thus deſcribes the various contrarieties of the ſtate and church of Rome. "What pomp, what riot, to that of their Cardinals? "What ſeverity of life comparable to that of their Heremits and Capu-"chins? Who wealthier than their Prelates? who poorer by vow and pro-"feſsion than their Mendicants? On the one ſide of the ſtreet, a cloiſter "of virgins: on the other, a ſtye of courtezans, with public toleration. "This day all in maſks, with all looſeneſs and foolery: to-morrow all "in

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ſent to Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his ſon Edwin was then almoſt of the ſame age: For the Biſhop ſaid, "I will have a tutor for "my ſon, that ſhall teach him learning by inſtruction, and "virtue by example; and my greateſt care ſhall be of the laſt; "and (God willing) this Richard Hooker ſhall be the man into "whoſe hands I will commit my Edwin." And the Biſhop did ſo about twelve months after this reſolution.

And doubtleſs, as to theſe two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had ſpent five in the Univerſity; and had, by a conſtant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his uninterrmitted ſtudy, he had made the ſubtilty of all the arts eaſy and familiar to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcovery of ſuch learning as lay hid from common ſearchers. So that by theſe, added to his great reaſon, and his induſtry added to both, *he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew he knew better than other men.* And with this knowledge he had a moſt bleſsed and clear method of demonſtrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many), but eſpecially to his two firſt, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer: of which there will be a fair teſtimony in the enſuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongſt other teſtimonies, this ſtill remains of him, that in four years he was but twice abſent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was ſuch as ſhowed an awful reverence of that God which he then worſhipped and prayed to; giving all outward teſtimonies that his affections were ſet on heavenly things.

"in proceſsions, whipping themſelves till the blood follow. On one "door an excommunication, throwing to hell all tranſgreſsours: on "another a jubilee, or full diſcharge from all tranſgreſsions. Who "learneder in all kinds of ſciences than their Jeſuits? What thing more "ignorant than their ordinary maſs-prieſts? What prince ſo able to "prefer his ſervants and followers as the Pope, and in ſo great multi-"tude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his enemies? "What pride equal unto his, making Kings kiſs his pantofle? What "humility greater than his, ſhriving himſelf daily on his knees to an "ordinary prieſt?" Page 39.

Sir Edwin Sandys was the intimate friend of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. On a large ſilver flagon belonging to the communion-plate at Little Gidding, are theſe inſcriptions: On the handle, "For the church of "Little Giddinge in Huntington ſhyer." And on the bottom of the flagon, "What Sir Edwin Sandys bequeathed to the rememberance of "friendſhip, his friend hath conſecrated to the honour of God's ſervice." He died in 1629, leaving behind him five ſons, all of whom, except one, forgetting their allegiance to their King, joined the Parliament in the beginning of the rebellion; his ſecond ſon, Colonel Edwin Sandys, particularly diſgracing his family by acts of the moſt ſavage inhumanity againſt the royaliſts.

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This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is obſervable, that he was never known to be angry, or paſſionate, or extreme in any of his deſires; never heard to repine or diſpute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle ſubmiſſion and reſignation of his will to the wiſdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: And by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his perſon, even from thoſe that at other times and in other companies, took a liberty to caſt off that ſtrictneſs of behaviour and diſcourſe that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleaſant, his wit was never blemiſhed with ſcoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon or might beget a thought of looſeneſs in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his College; and thus this good man continued till death; ſtill increaſing in learning, in patience, and in piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he was choſen, December 24, 1573, to be one of the twenty ſcholars of the foundation; being elected and admitted as born in Devonſhire; out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's ſtatutes. And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved College, which was then noted for an eminent library, ſtrict ſtudents, and remarkable ſcholars [i]. And indeed it may glory, that it had Biſhop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackſon [k], of that foundation. The firſt famous by his learned

[i] The celebrity of this College, founded in 1516, by Dr. Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was in ſome meaſure predicted by Eraſmus, in a letter to his friend, Dr. John Claymond, the firſt Preſident: "Mihi præſagit "Animus futurum olim ut iſtud Collegium, ceu Templum ſacroſanctum, "optimis literis dicatum, toto terrarum orbe, inter præcipua Decora "Britanniæ numeretur." See "Knight's Life of Eraſmus," p. 211.

[k] Dr. THOMAS JACKSON, deſcended from a reſpectable family and born at Witton on the Wear, in the county of Durham, was deſigned by his parents to be a merchant in Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne. From this intention he was diverted by the Lord Eure, Baron of Malton, &c. through whoſe perſuaſion he was placed in Queen's College, Oxford, and from thence removed to Corpus Chriſti College. He was firſt promoted to the pleaſant rectory of Winſton, in his native county, and then to the vicarage of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne. After a reſidence of ſome years in that town, he was invited to return to Oxford, and was appointed Preſident of his College.

The precious manuſcripts, which he left at his death, were conſigned by Archbiſhop Sheldon to the care of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who tells us, that "the reader will find in this author an eminent excellency in that "part of divinity which I make bold to call Chriſtology, in diſplaying "*the great myſtery of godliness, God manifested in human flesh.*" He adds, "He that will carefully peruſe this good author's works, ſhall "thereby have a goodly proſpect of the Old and New Teſtament "opened unto him; ſhall mightily improve in the underſtanding of the "holy

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" Apology for the Church of England," and his " Defence of it againſt Harding [1]." The ſecond, for the learned and wife

" holy Bible." And in his preface to Mr. Herbert's " Country Parſon," he bleſſes God for the confirmation which Dr. Jackſon hath given him in the Chriſtian religion againſt the Atheiſt, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Proteſtant againſt Rome.

One part of Dr. Jackſon's character is highly deſerving of imitation. He willingly admitted, and was much delighted with the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young divines, not deſpiſing their youth, but accounting them as ſons and brethren, encouraging and adviſing them what books to read, and with what holy preparations; lending them ſuch books as they had need of. So placid and benign was his diſpoſition that no one ever went ſad from his preſence.

A circumſtance, which occurred in his earlier life, affords an opportunity of congratulating the preſent age on a noble and humane inſtitution. That circumſtance is thus related by his biographer:

" Walking out with others of the company to waſh himſelf, he was in " imminent peril of being drowned. *The depth closed him round about, " the weeds were wrapt about his head. He went down to the bottom of " the mountains, the earth with her bars was about him for ever, yet God " brought his ſoul from corruption,* Jonah ii. 5, 6. that, like Moſes from " the flags, for the future good of the church and government of the " College where he lived, there might be preſerved the meekeſt " man alive, or, like Jonas, *there might be a prophet revived,* as af- " terwards he proved, to forewarn the people of enſuing deſtruc- " tion, if peradventure they might repent, and God might revoke " the judgments pronounced againſt, and ſpare this great and fin- " ful nation. It was a long and almoſt incredible ſpace of time " wherein he lay under water, and before a boat could be procured, " which was ſent for rather to take out his body, before it floated, for " a decent funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of life. The boat- " man diſcerning where he was by the bubbling of the water, the laſt " ſigns of a man expiring, thruſt down his hook at that very moment, " which, by happy Providence, at the firſt eſſay, lighted under his arm, " and brought him up into the boat. All the parts of his body were " ſwollen into a vaſt proportion, and although by holding his head " downward they let forth much water, yet no hopes of life appeared, " therefore they brought him to the land, and lapped him up in the " gowns of his fellow-ſtudents, the beſt ſhroud that love or neceſſity " could provide. After ſome warmth and former means renewed, they " perceived that life was yet within him, conveyed him to the College, " and commended him to the ſkill of Dr. Channel, an eminent phyſi- " cian of the ſame houſe, where, with much care, time, and difficulty, " he recovered, to the equal joy and wonder of the whole ſociety. All " men concluded him to be reſerved for high and admirable purpoſes."

[1] Dr. THOMAS HARDING, educated at Winchester ſchool, became Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1536. He was the firſt King's Hebrew Profeſſor in that Univerſity, having been appointed by Henry VIII. in, or about, 1542. He was, in the reign of King Edward VI. a conſtant attendant on the lectures of Peter Martyr, and diſplayed great zeal for the Reformed religion. A little before the King's death he exhorted the people not to ſhrink from the true doctrine of the goſpel in the day of trouble, but to conſider perſecution as ſent from God to try their faith. But alas! he found himſelf unequal to temptation. Under Queen Mary he

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manage of a public diſpute with John Hart [m], of the Roman perſuaſion, about the head and faith of the church, then printed by conſent of both parties. And the third for his moſt excellent "Expoſition of the Creed," and for his other treatiſes; all ſuch as have given greateſt ſatisfaction to men of the greateſt learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning, than for his ſtrict and pious life, teſtified by his abundant love and charity to all [n].

In the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Weſtphaling [o], a man of

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he abandoned his principles, and obtained conſiderable preferment, a Prebend in the church of Wincheſter, and the Treaſurerſhip of Salisbury. On the acceſsion of Queen Elizabeth he adhered to the religion to which he had recently conformed, and fled beyond ſea to Louvain, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by writing againſt Biſhop Jewel's "Challenge." He had been Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey. A letter from her is yet extant in Fox's "Book of Martyrs," addreſsed to him in very ſtrong language. She admoniſhes him to relinquiſh the errors of Popery, reproaches him for his apoſtacy, and urges many arguments to perſuade him to repentance and reformation. Mr. Hooker (*Eccles. Polit. B. II.* 6.) applies to Biſhop Jewel and this his antagoniſt, what Velleius Paterculus remarks of Jugurtha and Marius: "Sub eodem Africano militantes in iiſdem caſtris didicere quæ poſtea "in contrariis facerent." Mr. Harding and the worthieſt divine that Chriſtendom hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one Univerſity, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others, "they learned in the ſame that which in contrary "camps they did practiſe."

[m] A convert to Popery, ſtyled by Camden the moſt learned of his brethren, known principally from his diſpute with Dr. Reynolds, the particulars of which are related in "the Sum of a Conference between John Reynolds and John Hart, touching the Head and the Faith of the Church. &c. London, 1588," approved, as it is ſaid, by John Hart to be a true conference, and tranſlated into Latin by Henry Parry, C. C. C. Being baniſhed from England with other Roman prieſts in 1584, he was admitted of the Society of Jeſus, and was much reſpected by his fraternity for his learning and ſanctity of life. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

[n] In the preceding editions the name of Cardinal Poole was inſerted. He was originally of Magdalen College, Oxford, where in 1515 he was admitted B. A. In 1522 Biſhop Fox appointed him Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College, during his reſidence in foreign parts, but whether he came to take poſſeſsion of his Fellowſhip is not certain.
(*See Gutch's Wood's Colleges and Halls*, p. 320, 398.)

[o] Otherwiſe Weſtfayling, of foreign extraction, being the grandſon of Harbert, a native of Weſtphalia in Germany; he was Canon of Chriſt Church, and Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity for one part of the year in 1576, and conſecrated Biſhop of Hereford in 1585-6: a man of great piety of life, and of ſuch gravity, that he was ſcarce ever ſeen to laugh; leaving no great eſtate, but, as he declares in his will, ſuch a one as would be attended with the bleſsing of God, as being conſcious to himſelf that no part of it was acquired by any diſhoneſt means.

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noted learning, being then Vice-Chancellor, and the act following, he was completed Maſter, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being that year Vice-Chancellor, and his dear friend, Henry Savil of Merton College, then one of the Proctors. It was that Henry Savil, that was after Sir Henry Savil [P], Warden of Merton College, and Provoſt of Eaton: he which founded in Oxford two famous Lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savil that tranſlated and enlightened the "Hiſtory of Cornelius Tacitus," with a moſt excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the ſcattered pieces of St. Chryſoſtom and the publication of them in one

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P 1576. John Underhill of New College, Pr.
And
1576. Henry Savil of Merton College, Pr. [Le Neve.]

Henry Savil, celebrated for his ſuperior knowledge of Greek literature, his proficiency in mathematical and philoſophical ſtudies, has been ſtyled "That magazine of learning, whoſe memory ſhall be ho-"nourable amongſt not only the learned, but the righteous for ever." He was born at Over-Bradley, near Halifax in Yorkſhire, Nov. 30, 1547, and was admitted into Merton College, Oxford, in 1561. Upon his return from his travels into France and other countries, he was appointed preceptor to Queen Elizabeth in the Greek language. He was one of the learned men, to whom the province of tranſlating the Bible was conſigned in the beginning of the reign of James I. His name is in the fifth claſs, among thoſe to whom the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Apocalypſe were allotted. Nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge of Engliſh antiquities. He founded and liberally endowed two Profeſſorſhips at Oxford, one of Geometry, the other of Aſtronomy. At this time ſcholaſtic learning and polemic divinity were principally regarded and encouraged. In the preamble of the deed, by which a ſalary was annexed to thoſe two Profeſſorſhips, it is expreſsly ſaid that "Geometry was almoſt totally unknown and aban-"doned in England."

One of the moſt important tranſlations in the 16th century was that of the four firſt books of "Tacitus," and "The Life of Agricola," by Sir Henry Savil. The valuable notes that accompanied theſe tranſlations were rendered into Latin by Gruter, and publiſhed at Amſterdam. Ben Jonſon has commended this work in an epigram, which begins with theſe lines——

"If, my religion ſafe, I durſt embrace
"That ſtrange doctrine of Pythagoras,
"I ſhould beleeve the ſoule of Tacitus
"In thee, moſt weighty Savile, liv'd to us."

"Learning," ſaith Fuller, *(Holy State, p.* 186.) "hath gained moſt by thoſe books by which the printers have loſt." As an inſtance of the truth of this remark he adds, "Our worthy Engliſh Knight, who ſet "forth 'the *golden-mouthed* Father' in a ſilver print, was a loſer by it." To the excellency of this edition a learned foreigner hath given his teſtimony by applying to it the line in Horace.

"Nil oriturum aliàs, nil ortum tale fatemur."

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entire body in Greek; in which language he was a moſt judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happineſs to be a contemporary, and a moſt familiar friend to our Richard Hooker, and let poſterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was choſen Fellow of the College: happy alſo in being the contemporary and friend of Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately ſpoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both of which were after and ſucceſsively made Preſidents of his College: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendſhip of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "Speculum Europæ" as his brother George [q] for making poſterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation

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q GEORGE SANDYS, the friend of Lucius Lord Viſcount Falkland, the ſeventh and youngeſt ſon of Archbiſhop Sandys, not leſs illuſtrious for his exalted piety, than for his accompliſhments as a gentleman and a ſcholar, was born at Biſhopthorp, near York, in 1577. He travelled through ſeveral parts of Europe, and viſited many countries and cities in the Eaſt. The "Hiſtory of his Travels," a work written by himſelf, is at this day read with great ſatisfaction. He tranſlated "Ovid's Metamorphoſes" into Engliſh verſe: but he delighted chiefly in exerciſing his genius on ſacred ſubjects. He is acknowledged to be the firſt poet of his age.—In the pariſh-regiſter of Boxley in Kent, where he died, is this entry. "Georgius Sandys poetarum Anglorum ſui "ſæculi princeps ſepultus fuit Martii 7. ſtilo Angliæ. An. Dom. 1643." Mr. Dryden declares him to be the beſt verſifier of the times in which he lived, and in the opinion of Mr. Pope, Engliſh poetry owes much of its preſent beauty to his tranſlations. Nor are his original compoſitions leſs elegant and correct. To juſtify the character given of him as a poet by Walton, I ſubjoin his "Verſion of the VIII Pſalm:"

"Lord, how illuſtrious is thy name!
"Whoſe power both heav'n and earth proclame!
"Thy glory thou haſt ſet on high,
"Above the marble-arched ſky.
"The wonders of thy power thou haſt
"In mouths of babes and ſucklings plac'd:
"That ſo thou mightſt thy foes confound,
"And who in malice moſt abound.
"When I, pure heav'n, thy fabric ſee,
"The moon and ſtars diſpos'd by thee;
"O what is man or his frail race,
"That thou ſhouldſt ſuch a ſhadow grace!
"Next to thy angels moſt renown'd,
"With majeſty and glory crown'd:
"The king of all thy creatures made;
"That all beneath his feet hath laid:
"All that on dales or mountains feed,
"That ſhady woods or deſerts breed;

"What

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and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious tranſlation of the Pſalms of David, the book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into moſt high and elegant verſe.—And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I ſhall refer my reader to the printed teſtimonies of our learned Mr. Camden[r], the Lord Tottenes[s], Fines Moriſon[t], and others.

"This Cranmer, whoſe Chriſtian name was George, was a "gentleman of ſingular hope, the eldeſt ſon of Thomas Cran- "mer, ſon of Edmund Cranmer, the Archbiſhop's brother: he "ſpent much of his youth in Corpus Chriſti College in Ox- "ford, where he continued Maſter of Arts for many years be- "fore he removed, and then betook himſelf to travel, accom- "panying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, "Germany, and Italy, for the ſpace of three years; and after "their happy return, he betook himſelf to an employment "under Secretary Daviſon[u]; after whoſe fall he went in place

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"What in the airy region glide,
"Or through the rowling ocean ſlide.
"Lord, how illuſtrious is thy name!
"Whoſe pow'r both heav'n and earth proclame!"

King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who himſelf tranſlated the Pſalms for the uſe of the common people, obſerves that Mr. George Sandys was too elegant for the vulgar uſe, changing both the metre and tunes wherewith they had been long acquainted.

[r] "Cecidit tamen ex Anglis Cranmerus pro-rege ab epiſtolis, vir eru- "ditiſsimus, et ipſi eo nomine longè chariſsimus."
(Camden, Annal. Regin. Eliz. sub An. 1600.)

[s] Sir GEORGE CAREW, created by Charles I. Earl of Totnes, and celebrated for his military exploits in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the author of "Pacata Hibernia; or, the Hiſtory of the Wars in Ireland, eſpecially within the Province of Munſter, in the Years 1599, 1600, 1601, and 1602."

[t] Mr. MORRISON, Secretary to Lord Mountjoy, and author of "An Itinerary, containing his ten Years Travels through the twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, Denmark, Poland, England, Scotland, and Ireland; divided into three Parts. London, 1617." Fol. Publiſhed after his death, and originally written in Latin.

[u] WILLIAM DAVISON, Eſq. one of the Principal Secretaries of State to Queen Elizabeth, a plain and honeſt man, without policy, and totally unſkilled in the dark intrigues of a court. His conduct with reſpect to the warrant granted for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots has been variouſly reported. *(See the State Trials,* 1583. 30 *Eliz.)* The fulleſt credit may probably be given to his own aſſertions in the Star-Chamber, when he proteſted before God and the commiſsioners that were appointed to try him, "That wittingly or willingly he had "done nothing in this thing but that which he was perſuaded in his "conſcience the Queen willed. In which if he had carried himſelf to do "any part either by unſkilfulneſs or negligence, he could not chooſe but "be grievouſly ſorry, and undergo willingly the cenſure of the commiſ- "ſioners."

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" of Secretary with Sir Henry Killigrew [x] in his embaſsage into " France; and after his death he was ſought after by the moſt " noble Lord Mountjoy [y], with whom he went into Ireland, " where he remained, until in a battle againſt the rebels near " Charlinford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his " life and the great hopes that were conceived of him [z]."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and theſe his two pupils, there was a ſacred friendſhip; a friendſhip made up of religious principles, which increaſed daily by a ſimilitude of inclinations to the ſame recreations and ſtudies; a friendſhip elemented in youth and in an Univerſity, free from ſelf-ends, which the friendſhips of

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" ſioners." When he was ſentenced, Sir Edmond Anderſon, one of his judges, ſaid of him, that herein he had done " juſtum non juſtè," and ſo, acquitting of all malice, cenſured him for indiſcretion. *(Fuller's Worthies, Lincolnshire, p.* 161.)—" In the reign of Queen Elizabeth " we read of one, whom the grandees of the Court procured to be made " Secretary of State, only to break his back in the buſineſs of the " Queen of Scots, whoſe death they were then projecting. Like true " courtiers, they firſt engage him in that fatal ſcene, and then deſert " him in it; uſing him only as a tool, to do a preſent ſtate-job, and " then to be reproached and ruined for what he had done."

(Dr. South's twelve Sermons, 1698, *p.* 137.

[x] Sir H. KILLIGREW, the huſband of Katherine, the fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, no leſs renowned than her three ſiſters for her knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. An epitaph on this learned lady was written by Andrew Melville. *(See also Buchanani Poemata, p.* 351.) Fuller has preſerved ſome Latin verſes compoſed by her on the following occaſion: Her huſband Sir Henry Killigrew, being deſigned by Queen Elizabeth Ambaſsador for France in troubleſome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous, this affectionate wife wrote theſe verſes to Mildred Cecil, her eldeſt ſiſter, to uſe her intereſt with the Lord Treaſurer her huſband, that Sir Henry might be excuſed from that ſervice:

" Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,
" Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi ſola ſoror.
" Sin malè cunctando retines, vel trans mare mittes,
" Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla ſoror.
" It ſi Cornubiam, tibi pax ſit et omnia læta!
" Sin mare, Cecili nuntio bella, vale."

(Biograph. Brit. in the article COOK ANTHONY, *p.* 1456.)

[y] An accompliſhed and brave ſoldier. Queen Elizabeth, confiding in her own princely judgment and opinion, had formed ſo favourable an opinion of his worth and conduct, that ſhe would have him and none other to finiſh and bring the Iriſh war to a propitious end, which, not deceiving her good conceit of him, he nobly achieved, though with much pains and carefulneſs. *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 665.)

[z] Of the ſpirited behaviour of Mr. George Cranmer in oppoſition to the Fellows of Corpus Chriſti College who were inclined to Popery, ſee Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 266.

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age uſually are not. In this ſweet, this bleſſed, this ſpiritual amity, they went on for many years: And, as the holy prophet ſaith, ſo "they took ſweet counſel together, and walked in the "houſe of God as friends." By which means they improved it to ſuch a degree of amity as bordered upon heaven; a friendſhip ſo ſacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it ſhall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of pleaſure equal to ſuch a friendſhip; yet obedience to parents, and a deſire to know the affairs, and manners, and laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more ſerviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns and leave Mr. Hooker to his College: where he was daily more aſſiduous in his ſtudies, ſtill enriching his quiet and capacious ſoul with the precious learning of the philoſophers, caſuiſts, and ſchoolmen; and with them the foundation and reaſon of all laws, both ſacred and civil; and with ſuch other learning as lay moſt remote from the track of common ſtudies. And as he was diligent in theſe; ſo he ſeemed reſtleſs in ſearching the ſcope and intention of God's ſpirit revealed to mankind in the Sacred Scripture; for the underſtanding of which, he ſeemed to be aſſiſted by the ſame ſpirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to underſtand wiſdom ſecretly. And the good man would often ſay, "The Scripture was not writ to beget pride and diſputa-"tions, and oppoſition to government; but moderation, and "charity, and humility, and obedience, and peace, and piety in "mankind; of which no good man did ever repent himſelf "upon his death-bed." And that this was really his judgment did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a ſtranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as muſic and poetry; all which he had digeſted, and made uſeful; and of all which the reader will have a fair teſtimony in what follows[a].

Thus he continued his ſtudies in all quietneſs for the ſpace of three or more years; about which time he entered into Sacred Orders, and was made both Deacon and Prieſt; and not long after, in obedience to the College Statutes, he was to

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[a] In 1579 Mr. Hooker read the Hebrew Lecture at Oxford, during the indiſpoſition of Mr. Thomas Kingſmill, Fellow of Magdalen College, who in 1565 was elected Public Orator, and in 1569 Hebrew Profeſſor. This circumſtance, mentioned by Walton, in the earlier editions of Mr. Hooker's Life, was afterward omitted; as alſo the account of his expulſion from his College in 1579, with his immediate reſtoration. This expulſion probably did not happen, or the cauſe of it was ſo frivolous as not to deſerve notice.

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preach either at St. Peter's, Oxford[b], or at St. Paul's Croſs[c], London, and the laſt fell to his allotment.

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[b] The Fellows of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford are obliged by their own ſtatutes to preach at Paul's Croſs, or St. Peter's in Oxford, in Lent, before they can be admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. There were no ſermons preached before the Univerſity at the time of the foundation of C. C. C. but in Lent. The Univerſity Church is of a later date.

[c] We learn from Stowe, that in the midſt of the churchyard of St. Paul's was a pulpit croſs of timber, mounted upon ſteps of ſtone, and covered with lead, in which were ſermons preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon, when the Court and the Magiſtrates of the city, beſides a vaſt concourſe of people, uſually attended. Dugdale mentions "its leaded cover." This circumſtance explains Owen's epigram entitled "Paul's Croſse and the Croſse in Cheap oppoſite St. Peter's Church."

"*Aurea* cur *Petro* poſita eſt *Crux, plumbea Paulo?*
"*Paulinam* decorant *aurea* Verba Crucem."

In foul and rainy weather theſe ſolemn ſermons were preached at a place called "The Shrouds," which was, it ſeems, by the ſide of the Cathedral Church, under a covering or ſhelter. In the Pepyſian Collection at Magdalen College in Cambridge, is a drawing of the pulpit at Paul's Croſs, as it appeared in 1621.——During the wars of York and Lancaſter Paul's Croſs was a mere ſtate engine.

"Here is th' indictment of the good Lord Haſtings,
"Which, in a ſet hand, fairly is ingroſs'd;
"That it may be to-day read o'er *in Paul's.*"
SHAKESPEAR's RICHARD III. *Act* III. *Sc.* VI.

It was at Paul's Croſs that in the beginning of the Reformation the Rood of Grace, whoſe eyes and lips were moved with wires, was expoſed to the view of the people and deſtroyed by them. It was a place of general reſort, where the citizens met, like the Athenians of old, for the ſake of hearing and telling of news. "A man was aſked whether he "was at the ſermon at Paul's Croſs? and he anſwered that he was there; "and being aſked what news there? Marry, quoth he, wonderful news." And it was ſometimes a ſubject of complaint, that the people walked up and down in the ſermon-time, and that there was ſuch buzzing and huzzing in the preacher's ear, that it made him oft to forget his matter.

It ſeems to have been within the province of the Biſhop of London, to ſummon from the Univerſities, or from other places, perſons of the beſt abilities to preach there. Sandys, when Biſhop of London, in an addreſs to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley and the Earl of Leiceſter, concerning ſeditious preachers, tells them that "he does what he can to procure "fit men to preach *at the Cross*, but that he cannot know their hearts." (*Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, p.* 9.) For the due providing theſe ſermons, and for the encouragement of the preachers, Biſhop Aylmer was a great benefactor.

When Biſhop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, Mr. Parkhurſt, his tutor, gave him "Tindal's Tranſlation of the Bible" to read, himſelf overlooking Coverdale's. Obſerving Jewel's acute remarks on theſe two verſions, he exclaimed, "Surely Paul's Croſs will one day ring of this boy." Propheſying, as it were, ſays my author, of that noble ſermon of his at Paul's Croſs, in 1560, on 1 *Cor.* xi. 23. (*Prince's Worthies of Devon.*)

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In order to which ſermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites-Houſe; which is a houſe ſo called; for that, beſides the ſtipend paid the preacher, there is proviſion made alſo for his lodging and diet two days before, and one day after his ſermon. This houſe was then kept by John Churchman, ſometimes a draper of good note in Wattling-ſtreet, upon whom, after many years of plenty, poverty had at laſt come like an armed man, and brought him into a neceſſitous condition; which, though it be a puniſhment, is not always an argument of God's diſfavour, for he was a virtuous man: I ſhall not yet give the like teſtimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this houſe Mr. Hooker came ſo wet, ſo weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to expreſs more paſſion, than againſt a friend that diſſuaded him from footing it to London, and for hiring him no eaſier a horſe, (ſuppoſing the horſe trotted when he did not); and at this time alſo, ſuch a faintneſs and fear poſſeſſed him, that he would not be perſuaded two days quietneſs, or any other means could be uſed to make him able to preach his Sunday's ſermon; but a warm bed, and reſt, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this firſt public appearance to the world, he was not ſo happy as to be free from exceptions againſt a point of doctrine delivered in his ſermon, which was, that "in God there "were two wills; an antecedent, and a conſequent will: his "firſt will, that all mankind ſhould be ſaved; but his ſecond "will was, that thoſe only ſhould be ſaved, that did live an"ſwerable to that degree of grace which he had offered or af"forded them." This ſeemed to croſs a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's[d], and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and had been ſince by Dr. Jackſon, Dr. Hammond[e], and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honour and juſtice of our merciful God. How he juſtified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted againſt (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occaſional anſwer to Mr.

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[d] Of this diſtinguiſhed divine, the founder of the Church of Geneva; ſee Mr. Hooker's Preface to his "Eccleſiaſtical Polity," Sect. II.

[e] The name of Dr. HAMMOND requires no eulogy. His excellent writings fully demonſtrate his piety and learning. It is remarked of him, that, after all his great acquiſitions, the ſcholar was leſs eminent than the Chriſtian: That his ſpeculative knowledge, which gave light to the moſt dark and difficult points, became eclipſed by the more dazzling luſtre of his practice.

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Travers) by John Elmer, then Biſhop of London[f], at this time one of his auditors, and at laſt one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accuſed for it.

But the juſtifying of this doctrine did not prove of ſo bad conſequence, as the kindneſs of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late diſtemper and cold, for that was ſo gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himſelf bound in conſcience to believe all that ſhe ſaid: So that the good man came to be perſuaded by her, that "he was a man of a tender conſti-"tution;" and, "that it was beſt for him to have a wife, that "might prove a nurſe to him; ſuch a one, as might both prolong "his life, and make it more comfortable; and ſuch a one, ſhe could "and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not conſidering, that "the children of this world are wiſer in their "generation than the children of light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, who feared no guile, becauſe he meant none, did give her ſuch power as Eleazar was truſted with, when he was ſent to chooſe a wife for Iſaac; for even ſo he truſted her to chooſe for him, promiſing upon a fair ſummons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did ſo in that or the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping houſe; So that he had no reaſon to "rejoice in the wife of his youth," but rather to

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[f] The conduct of AYLMER, Biſhop of London, in the ſcenes of public life, has been accurately deſcribed by the induſtrious pen of Mr. Strype. It will be ſufficient to notice one trait of his character, which diſplayed itſelf in his care of Lady Jane Grey, to whom he was tutor. Such was the ſuavity of his diſpoſition, ſo gently, ſo pleaſantly, and with ſuch fair allurements to learning, did he inſtruct her, that ſhe thought all the time nothing whilſt ſhe was with him. "And when I am called from "him," ſaid this accompliſhed young woman, "I fall on weeping, be-"cauſe whatſoever I do elſe but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, "and wholly miſliking to me. And thus my book has been ſo much "my pleaſure, and bringeth daily to me more pleaſure and more, that "in reſpect of it all other pleaſures in very deed be but trifles and "troubles to me." *(Aſcham's Schoolmaster.)*—On this occaſion Roger Aſcham thus exclaims in a Latin letter to this lady. "O Elmarum "meum feliciſsimum, cui talis contigit diſcipula, et te multò feliciorem, "quæ eum Præceptorem nacta es: Utrique certè et tibi quæ diſcis et "illi qui docet et gratulor et gaudeo."

"That which I taught," ſays Mr. Hooker *(Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication, Sect. VIII.)* "was at Paul's Croſs; it was not huddled in "amongſt other matters in ſuch ſort that it could paſs without noting: "It was opened, it was proved, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood upon. "I ſee not which way my Lord of London, who was preſent and heard "it, can excuſe ſo great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controul-"ment afterward to hear any man there teach otherwiſe than the word "of God doth."

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ſay with the holy prophet, "Wo is me that I am conſtrained "to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar[g]!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us conſider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſays, "There is a wheel within a wheel;" a ſecret ſacred wheel of Providence (eſpecially in marriages) guided by his hand, that "allows not the race to the ſwift," nor "bread to the wiſe," nor good wives to good men: And he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to ſuch reaſons) only knows why this bleſſing was denied to patient Job, and (as ſome think) to meek Moſes, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But ſo it was; and let the reader ceaſe to wonder, for *affliction is a divine diet;* which though it be unpleaſing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often impoſed it as good, though bitter phyſic to thoſe children whoſe ſouls are deareſt to him.

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his College; from that garden of piety, of pleaſure, of peace, and a ſweet converſation, into the thorny wilderneſs of a buſy world; into thoſe corroding cares that attend a married prieſt, and a country parſonage; which was Draiton Beauchamp[h] in Buckinghamſhire, (not far from Ailſbury, and in the dioceſe of Lincoln); to which he was preſented by John Cheney, Eſq. (then patron of it) the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himſelf ſo, as to give no occaſion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviſeth a miniſter of God) "In much patience, in "afflictions, in anguiſhes, in neceſsities, in poverty, and no "doubt in long-ſuffering;" yet troubling no man with his diſcontents and wants[i].

And in this mean condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Draiton to ſee their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the "Odes of Horace"), he being then tending his ſmall allotment of ſheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his ſervant was then gone home to dine, and aſsiſt his wife to do ſome neceſsary houſehold bu-

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[g] Anthony Wood pronounces the wife of Mr. Hooker to have been a ſilly clowniſh woman, and withal a mere Xantippe.

[h] Drayton Beacham, R. St. Mary, in the Deanery of Muralley, in the Archdeaconry of Bucks. Biſhop Gauden is miſtaken when he relates that Mr. Hooker was preferred to this living by his College. Lord Cheyne preſented his clerk to this rectory in 1708.

(*Bacon's Liber Regis, p.* 495.)

[i] By this inconſiderate marriage his Fellowſhip was immediately vacated. Dr. Gauden's ignorance of this unfortunate event has occaſioned him to aſsign ſeveral reaſons why Mr. Hooker forſook an academic life, and choſe to conſign the rich treaſury of his learning to the retiredneſs and obſcurity of a country parſonage.

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ſneſs. When his ſervant returned and releaſed him, his two pupils attended him unto his houſe, where their beſt entertainment was his quiet company, which was preſently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and their welcome was ſo like this, that they ſtayed but next morning, which was time enough to diſcover and pity their tutor's condition: and having in that time remembered and paraphraſed on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other ſuch like diverſions, given him as much preſent pleaſure as their acceptable company and diſcourſe could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and ſeek themſelves a quieter lodging[k]. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer ſaid, "Good tutor, I am ſorry your lot is fallen in no "better ground, as to your parſonage; and more ſorry your "wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have "wearied your thoughts in your reſtleſs ſtudies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if ſaints have uſually "a double ſhare in the miſeries of this life, I, that am none, "ought not to repine at what my wiſe Creator hath appointed "for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to ſubmit to his "will, and poſſeſs my ſoul in patience and peace[l]."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father (then Biſhop of London, and after Archbiſhop of York), with his tutor's ſad condition, and ſolicits for his removal to ſome benefice that might give him a more comfortable ſubſiſtence; which his father did moſt willingly grant him, when it ſhould next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585[m], Mr. Alvy, Maſter of the Temple, died, who was a man of a ſtrict life, of great learning, and of ſo venerable behaviour, as to gain ſuch a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. At the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, the Archbiſhop of York being then at dinner with the Judges, the Reader, and

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[k] How ſtrongly is this unpleaſing domeſtic ſcene contraſted by the gentle manners, the exalted piety, the extenſive charity, the ſaint-like humility of that excellent woman, the wife of Mr. George Herbert?

[l] On the ſtone which covers the body of Thomas a Kempis is his effigy, and that of another perſon extending to him a label whereon is written a queſtion to this purpoſe:—

"Oh! where is PEACE, for thou its paths haſt trod?"

To which Kempis is repreſented as anſwering—

"In poverty, retirement, and with God."

(*The Amaranth*, 1767, *p.* 23.)

[m] RICHARD ALVY was alſo the firſt canon of the fifth ſtall in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter. The Maſterſhip of the Temple was vacated by his death in Auguſt 1584.

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and Benchers of that ſociety, he there met with a condolement for the death of Father Alvy, a high commendation of his ſaint-like life and of his great merit both to God and man; and as they bewailed his death, ſo they wiſhed for a like pattern of virtue and learning to ſucceed him. And here came in a fair occaſion for the Archbiſhop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place, which he did with ſo effectual an earneſtneſs, and that ſeconded with ſo many other teſtimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was ſent for from Draiton Beauchamp to London, and there the Maſterſhip of the Temple propoſed unto him by the Biſhop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better ſociety, and a more liberal penſion than his parſonage did afford him. But theſe reaſons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wiſh was rather to gain a better country-living, where he might be *free from noise*, (ſo he expreſsed the deſire of his heart), and eat that bread, which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietneſs. But notwithſtanding this averſeneſs, he was at laſt perſuaded to accept of the Biſhop's propoſal; and was by patent for life [n] made Maſter of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age [o].

And here I ſhall make a ſtop; and that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admiſsion into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than deſired; and yet here he promiſed himſelf a virtuous quietneſs; that bleſsed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that ſo he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praiſes; for this he always thirſted; and yet this was denied him. For his admiſsion into this place was the very beginning of thoſe oppoſitions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a ſtranger to, and of which the reader may gueſs by what follows.

In this character of the times, I ſhall by the reader's favour, and for his information, look ſo far back as to the beginning of

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[n] This you may find in the "Temple Records." William Ermſtead was Maſter of the Temple at the diſsolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvy, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. Magiſter five cuſtos domûs et eccleſiæ novi Templi; died 27 Eliz.—Richard Hooker ſucceeded that year by patent, in terminis, as Alvy had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.—That year Dr. Belgey ſucceeded Richard Hooker.

[o] On this occaſion two other candidates were propoſed—Mr. Walter Travers and Dr. Nicholas Bond the Queen's chaplain. The former, commended by Alvy himſelf on his death-bed to be maſter after him, was ſupported by the intereſt of the Lord Treaſurer Burghley; the latter, named to the Queen by Archbiſhop Whitgift, was afterward admitted Preſident of Magdalen College, Oxford, and much abuſed by Martin Mar-Prelate. (*Strype.*)

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the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the Crown, the frequent treaſons, the doubts of her ſucceſſor, the late civil war, and the ſharp perſecution that had raged to the effuſion of ſo much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were freſh in the memory of all men; and theſe begot fears in the moſt pious and wiſeſt of this nation, leſt the like days ſhould return again to them or their preſent poſterity. The apprehenſion of which dangers begot an earneſt deſire of a ſettlement in the church and ſtate: believing there was no other way to make them ſit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the deſired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot ſelf-ends; and thoſe begot animoſities, envy, oppoſition, and unthankfulneſs for thoſe bleſsings for which they lately thirſted, being then the very utmoſt of their deſires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning and progreſs of her reign; and thus it continued too long: for thoſe very people that had enjoyed the deſires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome became at laſt ſo like the grave, as never to be ſatisfied; but were ſtill thirſting for more and more: neglecting to pay that obedience to government and perform thoſe vows to God, which they made in their days of adverſities and fears; ſo that in a ſhort time there appeared three ſeveral intereſts, each of them fearleſs and reſtleſs in the proſecution of their deſigns; they may for diſtinction be called the "active Romaniſts," the "reſtleſs Nonconformiſts," (of which there were many ſorts), and the "paſsive, peaceable "Proteſtant[p]." The councils of the firſt conſidered and reſolved on in Rome; the ſecond in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers ſelected, ſecret, dangerous conventicles both there and within the boſom of our own nation; the third pleaded and defended their cauſe by eſtabliſhed laws, both eccleſiaſtical and civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from deſtroying what was by thoſe known laws happily eſtabliſhed to them and their poſterity.

I ſhall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romaniſts againſt the church and ſtate; becauſe what is principally intended in this digreſsion is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformiſts; againſt whoſe judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at laſt, but moſt unwillingly, to be engaged in a book war; a war which he maintained, not as againſt an enemy, but with the ſpirit of meekneſs and reaſon.

In which number of Nonconformiſts, though ſome might be ſincere and well-meaning men, whoſe indiſcreet zeal might be ſo like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet

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[p] This word is here uſed in a more limited ſenſe to denote a member of the Church of England.

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of this party there were many that were poſſeſſed of an high degree of ſpiritual wickedneſs; I mean with an innate, reſtleſs, radical pride and malice; I mean not thoſe leſſer ſins which are more viſible and more properly carnal, and ſins againſt a man's ſelf, as gluttony, drunkenneſs, and the like (from which, good Lord, deliver us); but ſins of a higher nature, becauſe more unlike to the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace, and more like the devil (who is no glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil); thoſe wickedneſſes of malice and revenge, and oppoſition, and a complacence in working and beholding confuſion (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and diſturber of mankind; and greater ſins, though many will not believe it); men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing reaſon, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and ſelf-conceit had made to over-value their own wiſdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold fooliſh and unmannerly diſputes againſt thoſe men which they ought to reverence, and thoſe laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed *to ſpeak evil of government* [q], and then to be the authors of confuſion (of confuſion as it is confuſion); whom company, and converſation, and cuſtom had blinded, and made inſenſible that theſe were errors; and at laſt became ſo reſtleſs and ſo hardened in their opinions, that like thoſe who periſhed in the gainſaying of Korah, ſo theſe died without repenting theſe ſpiritual wickedneſſes; of which Coppinger and Hacket [r], and their adherents, are too ſad teſtimonies.

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[q] If we give credit to the hiſtorians of theſe times, the picture here exhibited is far from being drawn in too ſtrong colours. Alas! the love of domination, and an uninterrupted oppoſition to the meaſures of government, have too faithfully characteriſed the manners of thoſe Nonconformiſts. From the combination of ſuch unamiable qualities, what other conſequences could be expected than thoſe which actually burſt forth with irreſiſtible fury? What opinion James I. entertained of them, appears from the following extract from the "Baſilicon Doron:"—— "Take heed, therefore, my ſon, of ſuch puritans, very peſts in the "church and commonwealth, whom no deſerts can oblige, nor pro- "miſes bind; breathing nothing but ſedition and calumnies; aſpiring "without meaſure, railing without reaſon, and making their own ima- "ginations, without any warrant of the Word, the ſquare of their con- "ſciences. I proteſt before the great God, and ſince I am here as upon "my teſtament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye ſhall never find "with any Highland or Borderer thieves greater ingratitude, and more "lies and vile perjuries, than with theſe fanatic ſpirits."

[r] WILLIAM HACKET, illiterate and of the meaneſt extraction, from habits of the loweſt profligacy, and the moſt abandoned wickedneſs, aſſumed the appearance of a ſaint, pretending to have an inward call, and to be favoured with a ſpecial revelation. With him were aſſociated Edmund Coppinger, a perſon of better family, and ſome others, who declared themſelves choſen veſſels, proclaimed war againſt the Biſhops, and

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And in theſe times, which tended thus to confuſion, there were alſo many others that pretended to tenderneſs of conſcience, refuſing to ſubmit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magiſtrate: and yet theſe very men did in their ſecret conventicles covenant and ſwear to each other, to be aſſiduous and faithful in uſing their beſt endeavours to ſet up a church government that they had not agreed on. To which end there were many ſelect parties that wandered up and down, and were active in ſowing diſcontents and ſedition, by venomous and ſecret murmurings, and a diſperſion of ſcurrilous pamphlets and libels againſt the church and ſtate; but eſpecially againſt the Biſhops: by which means, together with very bold, and as indiſcreet ſermons, the common people became ſo fanatic, as St. Peter obſerves there were in his time, "ſome that "wreſted the Scripture to their own deſtruction:" So by theſe men, and this means, many came to believe the Biſhops to be Antichriſt, and the only obſtructors of God's diſcipline; and many of them were at laſt given over to ſuch deſperate deluſions, as to find out a text in the "Revelation of St. John," that "Antichriſt was to be overcome by the ſword," which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that thoſe very men that began with tender meek petitions proceeded to print public admonitions; and then to ſatirical remonſtrances; and at laſt (having like David numbered who was not, and who was, for their cauſe) they got a ſuppoſed certainty of ſo great a party, that they durſt threaten firſt the Biſhops, and not long after both the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were ſecretly encouraged by the Earl of Leiceſter, then in great favour with her Majeſty, and the reputed cheriſher and patron-general of theſe pretenders to tenderneſs of conſcience, whom he uſed as a ſacrilegious ſnare to further his deſign; which was by their means to bring ſuch an odium upon the Biſhops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himſelf: which avaricious deſire had ſo blinded his reaſon, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almoſt flattered him into preſent poſſeſſion of Lambeth-Houſe.

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and ſcrupled not to menace the ſafety of the Queen herſelf, unleſs ſhe promoted their ſchemes of reform. The madneſs of fanaticiſm has no bounds. Hacket was at length announced by his followers (miniſters of the Geneva diſcipline) to be "the ſupreme monarch of the world, "from whom all the Princes of Europe held their ſceptres, to be a "greater prophet than Moſes or John Baptiſt, even Jeſus Chriſt, who "was come with his fan in his hand to judge the world." He was apprehended and convicted, and, after uttering the moſt horrid blaſphemies, was hanged by the common executioner. Coppinger ſtarved himſelf in priſon. The contagion quickly ſpread on all ſides, whilſt eccleſiaſtical authority was rudely oppoſed and trampled under foot.

(*See Kennet's History of England, Vol. II. p. 563; and Carte's Hist. Vol. III. p. 637; and Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 68.*)

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And to these strange and dangerous undertakings the Nonconformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one[s] told the Queen openly in a sermon, "She was like an untamed "heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but ob-"structed his discipline[t]." And in Scotland they were more confident, for there they declared her an Atheist[u], and grew to such a height as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her; no, nor for treason against their own King, if spoken in the pulpit[x]; showing at last such a disobedience even to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress and in prison, and in danger of death, the church denied the King their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had

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[s] Mr. EDWARD DERING, a puritan, the author of a book written in defence of Bishop Jewel's "Apology," against Harding. He dates this work, April 2, 1568, from Christ's College, Cambridge, and dedicates it to Thomas Wotton, his countryman, "a person then of great learn-"ing and religion, as well as wealth, in Kent." (*Strype's Annals.*)—He is commended as a truly religious man, whose happy death was suitable to the purity and integrity of his life. (*Granger's Biogr. Hist. Vol. I. p.* 215.)——"Once preaching before Queen Elizabeth, he told "her, that when in persecution under her sister Queen Mary, her motto "was 'tanquam ovis,' as a sheep; but now it might be 'tanquam in-"'domita juvenca,' as an untamed heifer. But surely the Queen still "retained much of her ancient motto 'as a sheep,' in that she patiently "endured so public (and conceived causeless) reproof, in inflicting no "punishment upon him, save commanding him to forbear further "preaching at the Court." (*Fuller's Church History.*)

[t] "The Bishops have long deceived and seduced her Majesty and "her people." (*Martin's Epistle X.* 53.) The Queen was compared to Jeroboam, Ahab, Jehoram, Ahaz, Gideon, Nadab, Saul, Jehu, Asa, and Jehosaphat, in those points whereby they offended God, and she was threatened by their examples, in that having begun so well, she did not proceed to set up Christ's kingdom thoroughly.

[u] The case is famous of Mr. David Blake, minister of St. Andrews, who had said in his sermon, "that the King had discovered the *treachery* "*of his heart* in admitting the Popish Lords into the country: that all "Kings were the devil's bairns; that the devil was in the Court and in "the guiders of it." And in his prayer for the Queen he used these words: "We must pray for her for fashion's sake, but we have no cause, "she will never do us any good." He said that "the Queen of Eng-"land (Queen Elizabeth) was an Atheist; that the Lords of the Session "were miscreants and bribers; that the Nobility were degenerated, "godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church; that the Council "were holliglasses, cormorants, and men of no religion."
(*A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c.* 1649, *p.* 13, 14. *See also Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p.* 420.)

[x] See "Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland," p. 422, &c.

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appointed a day of feasting, their church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority[7].

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state; and these vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the church and state were both forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent confusion and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would in a short time have brought unavoidable ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, "That the common people of England were "wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women "and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and "determine what laws were fit to be made concerning church-"government; then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished. "That they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and "determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the most learned "Colleges in Italy. That men of the slightest learning, and "the most ignorant of the common people were mad for a new, "or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this they "appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and "whet his knife till there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "that those "very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputa-"tions and controversies, and finding out the faults of their

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[7] "In the year 1582 Monsieur le Mot, a Knight of the Order of the "Holy Ghost, with an associate, were sent ambassadors from France "into Scotland. The ministers of Edinburgh approving not his message, "though merely civil, inveigh in their pulpits bitterly against him, "calling his 'white cross the badge of Antichrist,' and himself 'the "'ambassador of a murderer.' The King was ashamed, but did not "know how to help it. The Ambassadors were discontented, and "desired to be gone. The King, willing to preserve the ancient amity "between the two crowns, and to dismiss the Ambassadors with content, "requires the Magistrates of Edinburgh to feast them at their departure: "so they did; but to hinder this feast, upon the Sunday preceding, the "ministers proclaim a fast to be kept the same day the feast was ap-"pointed; and to detain the people all day at church, the three "preachers make three sermons, one after another without intermission, "thundering out curses against the Magistrates and Noblemen which "waited upon the Ambassadors by the King's appointment. Neither "stayed they here, but pursued the Magistrates with the censures of the "church for not observing the fast by them proclaimed."

(*A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c. p. 25. See also Spotswood's History, p. 324.*)

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" governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, " or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions; and had so often and so highly opposed the blessed motions of the blessed Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they had thereby sinned themselves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe: into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe there are many gods); but these have sinned themselves into a belief, that there is no God; and so finding nothing in themselves, but what is worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, " that they should be like the beasts that perish;" and in wicked company (which is the Atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all these other irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn in pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin; when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things which were attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority. In this extremity, fear, and danger of the church and state, when to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude, they were blessed in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom ingenious Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well) hath left this true character[z]; " That " he was a man of a reverend and sacred memory, and of the " primitive temper; a man of such a temper, as when the " church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples " of virtue."

And though I dare not undertake to add to his character, yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I

[z] See " Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 172.

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long to end this digreſsion, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple[a].

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family[b] that was ancient and noted to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge[c]; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall, where Mr. Bradford[d] the martyr was his tutor: from thence he was removed to Peter-Houſe[e]; from thence to be Maſter of Pembroke-Hall; and from thence to the Maſterſhip of Trinity College. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain, and not long after Prebendary of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years paſt looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair teſtimony of both, by giving him the Biſhopric of Worceſter, and (which was not an uſual favour) forgiving him his firſt-fruits; then by conſtituting him Vice-preſident of the principality of Wales. And having for ſeveral years experimented his wiſdom, his juſtice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs in both theſe

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[a] Iſaac Walton's epitome of the life of Dr. Whitgift, is truly excellent.

——"a hand or eye
"By Hilyard drawne, is worth a hiſtory
"By a worſe painter made." DR. DONNE.

[b] WHITGIFT was deſcended from an ancient family in Yorkſhire, reſident at Whitgift, a town in the Weſt-Riding of that county. He was educated under a paternal uncle, Robert Whitgift, Abbot of a monaſtery in Lincolnſhire, from whom he often heard the following propʀetic declaration: "That they and their religion could not long con-"tinue; becauſe," ſaid he, "I have read the whole Scripture over and "over, and could never find therein that our religion was founded by "God:" And to ſupport his opinion the Abbot would allege that ſaying of our Saviour, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not "planted ſhall be rooted out." *Matt.* xv. 13.

[c] He was firſt admitted of Queen's College. He afterward removed to Pembroke-Hall, the Maſter of that College at that time being Biſhop Ridley.

[d] As holy a man as any who lived in his time and learned alſo. Of him ſee "Fox's Book of Martyrs," and "Fuller's Abel redivivus," p. 179.

[e] Dr. Whitgift was the great reſtorer of order and diſcipline in the Univerſity. In 1562 he was appointed Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity, the ſalary of the Profeſſorſhip being, on account of his extraordinary merit, augmented from twenty marks to twenty pounds. He did not continue Maſter of Pembroke-Hall above three months, being appointed Maſter of Trinity College, July 4, 1567, on the death of Dr. Beaumont. To this good prelate has been applied what was ſaid of the Roman Fabius:

"Unus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem:
"Ergo póſtque magíſque viri nunc gloria claret."

Fuller tells us, that Whitgift's finger moved more in church matters, than the hands of all the privy counſellors beſides. (*Ch. Hiſt. B. X. p.* 218.)

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places, ſhe, in the twenty-ſixth of her reign, made him Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and not long after, of her Privy Council; and truſted him to manage all her eccleſiaſtical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a bleſsing upon the place where it reſted; and, in all his employments, was like Jehoiada that did good unto Iſrael.

Theſe were the ſteps of this Biſhop's aſcenſion to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to ſpeak Mr. Camden's very words, in his "Annals"), "he devoutly conſecrated both "his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of "his church." And yet in this place he met with many oppoſitions in the regulation of church affairs, which were much diſordered at his entrance, by reaſon of the age and remiſsneſs[f] of Biſhop Grindal (his immediate predeceſsor), the activity of the Nonconformiſts, and their chief aſsistant the Earl of Leiceſter; and indeed by too many others of the like ſacrilegious principles. With theſe he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cauſe, yet he foreſaw, that without a great meaſure of the Queen's favour, it was impoſsible to ſtand in the breach that was made into the lands and immunities of the church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by juſtifiable ſacred inſinuations, ſuch as St. Paul to Agrippa ("Agrippa, believeſt "thou? I know thou believeſt"), he wrought himſelf into ſo great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious uſe of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him were ſuch,

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[f] Rather, according to Strype, "by reaſon of his ſuſpenſion or ſe-"queſtration which he lay under (together with the Queen's diſplea-"ſure) for ſome years when the eccleſiaſtical affairs were managed by "certain Civilians." During the latter part of his life Archbiſhop Grindal was confined to his houſe, and ſequeſtered for a non-compliance with the directions of the Queen, when ſhe ordered him to forbid the exerciſes and prophecies which were then much practiſed by the Puritans. He became totally blind in 1582. The reſignation of his Archbiſhopric being frequently urged by her Majeſty was delayed from time to time, until broken down with infirmity he died July 6, 1583, aged 63 years.——Though he has been blamed for holding the reins too looſe in reſpect to the Puritans, and for his ſlackneſs in the government of the affairs of the church, yet this has been conſidered as too ſevere a charge. Hollingſhead ſays of him, "That he was ſo ſtudious, that his "book was his bride, and his ſtudy his bride-chamber, wherein he ſpent "both his eye-ſight, his ſtrength, and his health."—In fact, he was a perſon of mild manners, and of ſingular moderation, and very unwilling to have recourſe to extremities. Hence the Puritans claimed him as their own, though in reality no one was ever more ſincerely attached to the Church of England.

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that ſhe called him *her little black husband*[g], and called *his ſervants her ſervants*; and ſhe ſaw ſo viſible and bleſsed a ſincerity ſhine in all his cares and endeavours for the church's and for her good, that ſhe was ſuppoſed to truſt him with the very ſecrets of her ſoul, and to make him her confeſsor, of which ſhe gave many fair teſtimonies; and of which one was, "That ſhe "would never eat fleſh[h] in Lent, without obtaining a licenſe "from her little black huſband:" And would often ſay, "ſhe "pitied him becauſe ſhe truſted him, and had eaſed herſelf by "laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his ſhoulders, "which, ſhe was certain, he managed with prudence and "piety."

I ſhall not keep myſelf within the promiſed rules of brevity in this account of his intereſt with her Majeſty, and her care of the church's rights, if in this digreſsion I ſhould enlarge to particulars; and therefore my deſire is, that one example may ſerve for a teſtimony of both. And that the reader may the better underſtand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbiſhop, there paſsed an act[i] or acts of Parliament, intending the better preſervation of church-lands, by recalling a power which was veſted in others to ſell or leaſe them, by lodging and truſting the future care and protection of them only in the crown; and amongſt many that made a bad uſe of this power or truſt of the Queen's, the Earl of Leiceſter[k] was one; and the good Biſhop having by his intereſt with her Majeſty put a ſtop to the Earl's ſacrilegious deſigns, they two fell to an open oppoſition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the Biſhop made a ſudden and ſeaſonable return to her Ma-

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g Whitgift's name gave occaſion to the Queen to make a deſcant upon him, expreſsive of her regard, calling him "her White Gift." Mr. Hugh Broughton ſtyled him "Archbiſhop Leucodore;" and with the ſame alluſion the following lines were written:——

"Quòd paci, Whitgifte, faves ſtudiisque *bonorum*,
"Det tibi pacis amans *candida dona* Deus."

And a ſcholar at Oxford compoſed this epitaph upon him:——

"Candida dona tibi, Whitegyfte, ſunt nomen et omen.
"Nomen habes niveis nunc inſcriptum ergo lapillis,
"Et ſtola pro meritis redditur alba tuis."

h Licenſes were granted at that time by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury for a man to eat fleſh and white meats, even during his whole life; but with this proviſo, "he do it ſoberly and frugally, cautiouſly, and "avoiding public ſcandal as much as might be."

i 1 Eliz. cap. 19.

k This nobleman profeſsed a great deſire of unity in the church, and yet was an earneſt patron of Cartwright and others of the Puritan ſtrain. He preferred Cartwright to the Maſterſhip of his Hoſpital, founded by him at Warwick. (*Strype.*)

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jeſty (for he found her alone), and ſpake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpoſe[l]:——

"I beſeech your Majeſty to hear me with patience, and to "believe that your's and the church's ſafety are dearer to me "than my life, but my conſcience dearer than both; and "therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that "princes are deputed nurſing fathers of the church, and owe "it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you ſhould be "ſo much as paſsive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or "that I ſhould behold it without horror and deteſtation; or "ſhould forbear to tell your Majeſty of the ſin and danger. "And though you and myſelf are born in an age of frailties, "when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and "immunities are much decayed; yet, Madam, let me beg that "you will but firſt conſider, and then you will believe there "are ſuch ſins as profaneneſs and ſacrilege: for if there were "not, they could not have names in holy writ; and particularly in the New Teſtament. And I beſeech you to conſider, "that though our Saviour ſaid, 'He judged no man;' and to "teſtify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt "the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery, yet in this point of the church's rights, he was ſo zealous, that he made himſelf both the accuſer and the judge, "and the executioner to puniſh theſe ſins; witneſsed, in that "he himſelf made the whip to drive the profaners out of the "Temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and "drove them out of it. And conſider, that it was St. Paul that "ſaid to thoſe Chriſtians of his time that were offended with "idolatry, yet, 'Thou that abhorreſt idols, doſt thou commit "'ſacrilege?' ſuppoſing, I think, ſacrilege to be the greater "ſin. This may occaſion your Majeſty to conſider, that there is "ſuch a ſin as ſacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the "curſe that will follow it: I beſeech you alſo to conſider, that "Conſtantine[m] the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and Helena[n] his "mother; that King Edgar[o], and Edward the Confeſsor[p], and "indeed many others of your predeceſsors, and many private "Chriſtians, have alſo given to God and to his church much "land, and many immunities, which they might have given to "thoſe of their own families, and did not, but gave them as an

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[l] This animated ſpeech was delivered before the Queen in 1578, when Whitgift was Biſhop of Worceſter.

[m] See "Ant. Univerſ. Hiſtory," Vol. XV. p. 564, 569. "Hooker's Works," Vol. III. p. 248, Oxford edit. 1793.

[n] "Ant. Univerſ. Hiſt." Vol. II. p. 406.

[o] See "Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory," Vol. I. p. 185.

[p] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 227, 229.

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" abſolute right and ſacrifice to God: And with theſe immu-
" nities and lands they have entailed a curſe upon the aliena-
" tors of them; God prevent your Majeſty from being liable
" to that curſe.

" And to make you that are truſted with their preſervation
" the better to underſtand the danger of it, I beſeech you, forget
" not that, beſides theſe curſes, the church's land and power
" have been alſo endeavoured to be preſerved, as far as human
" reaſon, and the law of this nation, have been able to preſerve
" them, by an immediate and moſt ſacred obligation on the con-
" ſciences of the princes of this realm. For they that conſult
" Magna Charta ſhall find, that as all your predeceſſors were
" at their coronation, ſo you alſo were ſworn before all the no-
" bility and biſhops then preſent, and in the preſence of God,
" and in his ſtead to him that anointed you, *to maintain the*
" *church lands, and the rights belonging to it*[q]; and this teſtified
" openly at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible
" then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many
" modern ſtatutes have denounced a curſe upon thoſe that
" break Magna Charta. And now what account can be given
" for the breach of this oath at the laſt great day, either by
" your Majeſty or by me, if it be wilfully or but negligently
" violated, I know not.

" And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lord's ex-
" ceptions againſt the failings of ſome few clergymen prevail
" with you to puniſh poſterity for the errors of this preſent age;
" let particular men ſuffer for their particular errors, but let
" God and his church have their right: And though I pretend
" not to propheſy, yet I beg poſterity to take notice of what is
" already become viſible in many families; That church-land,
" added to an ancient inheritance, hath proved like a mtoh
" fretting a garment, and ſecretly conſumed both: or like the
" eagle that ſtole a coal from the altar, and thereby ſet her neſt
" on fire, which conſumed both her young eagles, and herſelf
" that ſtole it[r]. And, though I ſhall forbear to ſpeak reproach-

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q The firſt article of Magna Charta is " Que les Egliſes de Engleterre
" ſeront franches et aient les dreitures franches, et enterinés, et ple-
" niéres."

r This beautiful apologue is taken with ſome alterations from " Æſop's Fable of the Fox and the Eagle."—Appoſite to this paſsage are the remarks in a very ſcarce and curious tract, written by Mr. Ephraim Udall, and entitled " Noli me tangere," *London*, 1642. " And it is a
" thing to be thought on, that many antient families (as ſome intelli-
" gent men have obſerved) who inherited the lands of their anceſtors,
" *longâ serie deductâ à majoribus;* when they took in ſome of the ſpoiles
" made in tithes and glebe by the ſtatute of diſſolution, their poſſeſſions
" quickly ſpued out the old poſſeſſors of them as a loathſome thing,
" the bread of God proving as the bread of deceit, gravell in their
" teeth; and the portion of God's miniſters becoming like antimony or

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" fully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part " of the church's rights, added to the vaſt treaſure left him by " his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable con- " ſumption upon both, notwithſtanding all his diligence to " preſerve it.

" And conſider, that after the violation of thoſe laws, to " which he had ſworn in Magna Charta, God did ſo far deny " him his reſtraining grace, that he fell into greater ſins than I " am willing to mention. Madam, religion is the foundation " and cement of human ſocieties; and when they that ſerve at " God's altar ſhall be expoſed to poverty, then religion itſelf " will be expoſed to ſcorn, and become contemptible; as you " may already obſerve in too many poor vicarages in this na- " tion. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts en- " truſted with a great power to preſerve or waſte the church's " lands; yet diſpoſe of them for Jeſus' ſake as the donors in- " tended: Let neither falſehood nor flattery beguile you to do " otherwiſe, and put a ſtop, I beſeech you, to the approaching " ruins of God's church, as you expect comfort at the laſt great " day; for Kings muſt be judged. Pardon this affectionate " plainneſs, my moſt dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be ſtill " continued in your favour, and the Lord ſtill continue you " in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate ſpeech, her future care to preſerve the church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair teſtimony, that he made her's and the church's good, the chiefeſt of his cares, and that ſhe

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" ſome ſuch poyſon, that dranke into the ſtomacke provokes ſuch a " nauceous abhorrence in it, that it never reſts till it hath emptied it- " ſelf both of the poyſon that troubles it, and of whatſoever elſe before " lay quietly and inoffenſively therein. I could therefore wiſh that all " our gentry would preſerve their inheritances without ruin to their po- " ſterity, would beware they bring not any ſpoiles of the church into " their houſes, leſt they be ſpoyled by them: for they are like the " eagle's feathers by which the Ægyptians in their hieroglyphics ſig- " nifie *pernitiosa potentia;* for they are ſaid to conſume [illegible]s " among which they are mingled, as Pierius relateth of them. [illegible]o " preſerve them from this ſin, *that they would have a tablet hang up al-* " *waies in the dining-roome where they ordinarily take their repast, in which* " *ſhould be drawne an altar with flesh and fire on it for sacrifice, with an eagle* " *ready to take wing, having in her talons a piece of flesh with a burning* " *coale at it, and something beside it, and higher than the altar a tall tree* " *with an eagle's nest in it, and the heads of her young ones discovered* " *above the nest, and the nest flaming with a light fire about them, with* " *this inscription over the altar,* NOLI ME TANGERE NE TE ET TUOS " PERDAM. *For things belonging to the altar will certainly prove a snare* " *to devourers of them.*"—(Page 32.)——This ſubject is fully diſcuſſed in Dr. South's twelve ſermons, printed in 1692, p. 339, 345; and by Sir Henry Spelman, in "The Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege, diſcovered by Examples of Scripture, of Heathens, and of Chriſtians, from the Beginning of the World, continually to this Day."

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alſo thought ſo. And of this, there were ſuch daily teſtimonies given, as begot betwixt them ſo mutual a joy and confidence, that they ſeemed born to believe and do good to each other; ſhe not doubting his piety to be more than all his oppoſers, which were many, and thoſe powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefeſt of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wiſdom, as thoſe dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he ſaw ſome flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour toward all men that oppoſed him, eſpecially the Earl of Leiceſter: ſo that God ſeemed ſtill to keep him in her favour, that he might preſerve the remaining church lands and immunities from ſacrilegious alienations. And this good man deſerved all the honour and power with which ſhe truſted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: He eaſed her of all her church-cares by his wiſe manage of them[s]; he gave her faithful and prudent counſels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age; to be then moſt frequently with her, and her aſſiſtant at her private devotions; to be the greateſt comfort of her ſoul upon her death-bed; to be preſent at the expiration of her laſt breath, and to behold the cloſing of thoſe eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this alſo be added, that he was her chief mourner at her ſad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful ſucceſſor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader, that he allow me to ſay a little, and but a little more of this good Biſhop, and I ſhall then preſently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and, becauſe I would haſten, I will mention but one part of the Biſhop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alms-houſe near to his own palace at Croyden in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a maſter and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he viſited ſo often, that he knew their names and diſpoſitions, and was ſo truly humbled, that he called them brothers and ſiſters: And whenever the Queen deſcended to that lowlineſs to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth[t] (which

[s] Mr. Hooker gave this character of Whitgift. "He always governed with that moderation, which uſeth by patience to ſuppreſs "boldneſs, and to make them conquer that ſuffer; which I think well "ſuited with his poeſy or motto, VINCIT QUI PATITUR."
(Sir G. Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 25.)

[t] Archbiſhop Grindal fell ſo ſoon under the diſpleaſure of Queen Elizabeth, the very year after his tranſlation from York to Canterbury, that it is probable ſhe never honoured him with any viſit at Croyden.
(Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 65.)

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was very often), he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croyden [u], and dine with them at his hospital; at which time you may believe there was joy at the table.

And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars; which gave just occasion for Boyse Sir, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the Bishop's death, to say, "The Bishop had published many learned books, but a free "school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and main- "tain aged and poor people, were the best evidences of Christian "learning that a Bishop could leave to posterity [x]." This good Bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell sick at Lambeth [y]; of which the King having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse, the King assured him, "He had a great affection for him, and high value "for his prudence and virtues, which were so useful for the "church, that he would earnestly beg his life of God." To which he replied, "Pro ecclesia Dei; pro ecclesia Dei [z];"

Sir George Paul informs us, that Archbishop Whitgift entertained the Queen every year at one of his houses, so long as he was Archbishop, and some years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in so seemly an order, that she went thence always exceedingly well pleased: And besides many public and gracious favours done unto him, she would salute him and bid him farewel by the name of *black husband*, calling also his men *her servants*, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains. (*Life of Whitgift*, p. 103.)

[u] The Archbishop's most noble foundation of his hospital, free-school, and chapel at Croyden, was finished in 1594.

[x] "Profectò hospitale ad sublevandam paupertatem et schola ad in- "struendam juventutem sunt optimi libri, quos Archiepiscopus conscri- "bere potuit." (*Paul's Life of Whitgift*, p. 111.)

[y] He was at court the first Sunday in Lent, when, being seized with a paralytic stroke that deprived him of his speech, he was first carried to the Lord Treasurer's chamber, and then conveyed to Lambeth. "On "Tuesday," says Strype, "he had the honour of a visit from the King, "who, out of a sense of the great need he should have of him at this "particular juncture (now he had laid such a scheme for reformation), "told him he would pray to God for his life, and if he could obtain it, "he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be "given him in his kingdom."

[z] Thus died this great prelate, full of years, and full of honour, actuated to the last moment of his life with that zeal which animated the illustrious Father Paul, when upon his death-bed, to breathe out his last prayer for his country, in these memorable words, "Esto perpetua." Yet it has been affirmed, that this distinguished ornament of the Reformation exerted himself against the Puritans with so *unfeeling* a hand, and so *far beyond his legal power*, that upon the Queen's demise he began to be *terribly frighted* at the approach of King James's first Parliament,

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which were the laſt words he ever ſpake; therein teſtifying, that as in his life, ſo at his death, his chiefeſt care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made Archbiſhop in the year 1583. In which buſy place he continued twenty years and ſome months; and in which time you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, "Vincit, "qui patitur;" i. e. "He conquers that endures." And he made it good. Many of his many trials were occaſioned by the then powerful Earl of Leiceſter, who did ſtill (but ſecretly) raiſe and cheriſh a faction of Nonconformiſts to oppoſe him; eſpecially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; ſome time contemporary with the Biſhop in Cambridge, and of the ſame College [a], of which Dr. Whitgift, before he was

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ment, and *it is probable enough his apprehensions hastened his death. (Preface to the first Edition of the Confessionals.)*——Let it be remembered that he was 73 years of age at the time of his demiſe, ſo that it may not be thought quite ſo probable that he died of a fright. His laſt words, as related by Strype, certainly countenance a different opinion, "Et nunc, Domine, exaltata eſt anima mea, quòd in eo tempore "ſuccubui, quando mallem epiſcopatûs mei reddere rationem quàm in- "ter homines exercere." "My ſoul is lifted up, that I die in a time "wherein I had rather give up to God an account of my biſhopric "than any longer to exerciſe it among men." To him we may ſurely apply what was ſaid of Auguſtine: "O virum ad totius eccleſiæ publi- "cam utilitatem natum, factum, datumque divinitus." "Whitgift "ſtrove," ſays Wilſon, in his 'Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of James I.' "to prevail over the Puritans with *sweetness and gentleness;* and died "in David's fulneſs of days, leaving a name, like a ſweet perfume, be- "hind him."——"He was a man born for the benefit of his country "and good of his church, wherein he ruled with ſuch moderation, as he "continued in his Prince's favour all his life, ſuppreſsing ſuch new "ſects as in his time began to riſe, as by his learned work written by "him againſt ſuch ſchiſms does appear." *(Stow.)*

[a] CARTWRIGHT was excluded from his Fellowſhip of Trinity College for breaking a ſtatute of that College, in not taking holy orders upon him in due time. *(Strype's Whitgift, p. 47.)*——He was Lady Margaret's Profeſsor in Divinity in 1569. This dignity he enjoyed a ſhort time, being ſuſpended for maintaining dangerous tenets concerning the government and diſcipline of the Church. He was highly eſteemed among the Preſbyterians, having received an invitation to be Divinity Profeſsor, along with Mr. Travers, in the Univerſity of St. Andrew's in Scotland. A ſignal proof of his oppoſition to the cuſtoms and uſages eſtabliſhed in the church is given by Sir George Paul, in his "Life of Whitgift," p. 11.——"Upon a Sunday Dr. Whitgift, the "Maſter of Trinity College, being from home, Mr. Cartwright, with "ſome of his adherents, made three ſermons in that one day, wherein "they ſo vehemently inveighed, amongſt other ceremonies of our "church, againſt the ſurplice, as thoſe of Trinity College were ſo moved "therewith, that at evening prayer they caſt off their ſurplices, though "againſt the ſtatutes of the houſe, and were all placed in the chapel "without ſurplice, three only excepted. By reaſon of which ſtirs, both

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Biſhop, was Maſter: in which place there began ſome emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at laſt open and high oppoſitions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was moſt faulty, if his expulſion out of the Univerſity can incline you to it.

And in this diſcontent, long before the Earl's death (which was 1588) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cheriſher of the party that were for the Geneva church-government; and to effect it, he ran himſelf into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing to juſtify himſelf and his party in many remonſtrances; (eſpecially that called the "Admonition to the "Parliament") which laſt he cauſed to be printed; to which the Doctor made an anſwer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the Doctor having rejoined to his reply (however Mr. Cartwright would not be ſatisfied), he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cauſe with moſt charity and reaſon.

After ſome years the Doctor being preferred to the ſee, firſt of Worceſter, and then of Canterbury, Mr. Cartwright, after his ſhare of trouble and impriſonment (for ſetting up new preſbyteries in divers places againſt the eſtabliſhed order), having received from the Archbiſhop many perſonal favours, retired himſelf to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he became maſter of an hoſpital, and lived quietly and grew rich; and where the Archbiſhop gave him a licenſe to preach [b], upon promiſe not to meddle with controverſies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promiſe he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Archbiſhop ſurviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other [c].

"that private College was greatly diſtracted, and the whole Univerſity "much perplexed and troubled."——Of the controverſy between Archbiſhop Whitgift and Mr. Cartwright, the latter of whom objected to the liturgy and to the form and manner of cathedral ſervice, and particularly "to the toſsing the Pſalms from one ſide to the other, like "tennis balls;" for thus he denominates the practice of choral and antiphonal ſinging, see *Sir John Hawkins's Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. III. p.* 491, 492.

When the Nonconformiſts were undetermined which of them ſhould undertake to anſwer "Whitgift's Reply," Mr. Cartwright was choſen for that employment by lot.

[b] According to Strype, it is not ſo certain that the Archbiſhop did grant to Cartwright a licenſe to preach. At leaſt it appears that in 1585 he refuſed to give it. "I am content and ready to be at peace "with him, ſo long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conſcience "and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, "until I be better perſuaded of his conformity."

(Letter of Whitgift to the Earl of Leiceſter, July 17, 1585.)

[c] And thus ſhould all controverſies end, or rather, if there muſt be controverſies, thus ſhould they commence, and be conducted with mutual charity and mutual forbearance. If truth and not victory be the

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And now after this long digreſsion, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to the venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we ſhall find him as deeply engaged in a controverſy with Walter Travers[d], a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as Dr. Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himſelf; and of which, I ſhall proceed to give this following account.

And firſt this, that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Whitgift were now at reſt, and had been a great while, yet there was ſprung up a new generation of reſtleſs men, that by company and clamours became poſſeſſed of a faith which they ought to have kept to themſelves, but could not; men that were become poſitive in aſſerting, "that a Papiſt cannot "be ſaved;" inſomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Biſhop that preached her funeral ſermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Biſhop of Peterborough[e]),

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object of purſuit, why ſhould the topic of debate be canvaſsed with animoſity or perſonal invective? Thomas Cartwright, the Archbiſhop's old antagoniſt, was alive in 1601, and grew rich at his hoſpital at Warwick, preaching at the chapel there, ſaith my author, very temperately according to the promiſe made by him to the Archbiſhop. Which mildneſs of his ſome aſcribed to his old age and more experience. But the latter end of next year he deceaſed, out-lived little above two months by the Archbiſhop, who yet was much his elder in years. And now at the end of Cartwright's life to take our leave of him with a fairer character, it is remarkable what a noble and learned man (Sir H. Yelverton) writes of ſome of his laſt words:—"*That he ſeriously lamented "the unnecessary troubles he had caused in the Church, by the schism he "had been the great fomenter of, and wished to begin his life again, that "he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways:*" and in this opinion he died. (*Strype's Life of Whitgift, p.* 554.)

[d] WALTER TRAVERS, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was called by Fuller, "the Neck," as Cartwright was termed by him "the Head, of the Preſbyterian party." They were intimate friends and joint preachers to the Engliſh Factory at Antwerp. When Travers came into England, he was appointed chaplain to Lord Burghley, through whoſe influence he was made Lecturer at the Temple. He is the ſuppoſed author of the book "De Diſciplinâ Eccleſiaſticâ," written in Latin againſt the government of the Church of England, and containing the ground and model of the Puritan diſcipline. Archbiſhop Whitgift, in a letter to the Queen, to whom Travers was recommended as a proper perſon to be choſen Maſter of the Temple, on the death of Father Alvy, deſcribes him as "one of the chief and principal authors "of diſſenſion in the church, a contemner of the book of prayers and "other orders by authority eſtabliſhed; an earneſt ſeeker of innovation; "and either in no degree of the miniſtry at all, or elſe ordered beyond "the ſeas not according to the form in this Church of England uſed." Mr. Travers was ordained at Antwerp, May 8, 1578, by Cartwright, Villers, and others, the heads of a congregation there.

[e] Dr. RICHARD HOWLAND, Maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge,

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was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies, there was not only "Martin Mar-prelate[f]," but

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bridge, and the fourth Bishop of Peterborough, died in 1600. It does not appear that he was the preacher on this occasion.

Gunton, in his "History of the Church of Peterborough," page 73, &c. has given a circumstantial account of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, on Tuesday August 1, 1587, six months after her death, for she was beheaded in the castle of Fotheringay, February 8, in that year. He relates that the Bishop of Lincoln (Wickham) preached out of the 39th Psalm, 5, 6, 7, *Lord, let me know my end and the number of my days, &c.* In the prayer, when he gave thanks for such as were translated out of this vale of misery, he used these words:—*Let us give thanks for the happy dissolution of the high and mighty Princess Mary, late Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, of whose life and death at this time I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other. I will not enter into judgment further; but, because it hath been signified to me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation: "For," as Father Luther was wont to say, "many one that liveth a Papist, dieth a Protestant."* In the discourse of his text, he only dealt with general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh.

In the Supplement subjoined to "Gunton's History," page 331, the subject of the sermon is resumed——"Bishop Morton, in his 'Protestant Appeal,' I. iv. c. 1. hath given the best account I meet with "of that passage (which in the 'Apology of the Roman Church' is "taken out of 'Martin Mar-Prelate') in the Bishop of Lincoln's Ser- "mon at her (the Queen of Scots) funeral, which made so great noise "among factious people, who reported that *he prayed his soul and the "souls of all there present might be with the soul of the Queen deceased.* "But the truth of the story, he says, is this, that the reverend Bishop "now mentioned, understanding how that great and honourable per- "sonage in the last act of her life renounced all presumption of her own "inherent righteousness, and wholly affianced her soul unto Christ, in "belief to be justified only by his satisfactory justice, did therefore con- "ceive hope of her salvation by virtue of that cordial prescribed by the "holy Apostle, viz. *that where sin aboundeth, the grace of God doth super- "abound.* Which the Apostle hath ministered for the comfort of every "Christian, who, erring by ignorance, shall (by sincere repentance, "especially for all known sins) depart from this mortal life, having "the heel or end of it shod with this preparation of the gospel of "peace: not of the new Romish, but of the old Catholic faith, which "is the faith of all Protestants. And this consideration of that our "preacher cannot but now worthily condemn the Apologists of partial "prejudice, who chose rather to be informed concerning that sermon "by (as they confess) a reproachful traducer and libeller, than (which "they might easily have done) by testimony of a thousand temperate "and indifferent hearers then present."

[f] In 1588 many libels, full of low scurrility, and petulant satire, were published against the Bishops. They were principally written by a society of men, assuming the name of "Martin Mar-Prelate." They appeared under various titles, as "Diotrephes;" "The Minerals;" "The Epistle to the Confocation House;" "Have you any Work for a Cooper?" in answer to what Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, had written

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other venomous books daily printed and diſperſed; books that were ſo abſurd and ſcurrilous, that the graver divines diſdained them an anſwer. And yet theſe were grown into high eſteem with the common people, till Tom Naſh[g] appeared againſt them all, who was a man of a ſharp wit, and the maſter of a ſcoffing, ſatirical, merry pen, which he employed to diſcover the abſurdities of thoſe blind, malicious, ſenſeleſs pamphlets, and ſermons as ſenſeleſs as they. Naſh's anſwers being like his books, which bore theſe titles, "*An Almond for a Parrot;*"

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written in vindication of the Biſhops and Church of England; "More Work for a Cooper," &c. &c. The authors of theſe publications were John Penry, a Welſhman, John Udal, and other miniſters.

John Penry, or John ap Henry, was in 1593 arraigned at the King's Bench, Weſtminſter, upon the ſtatute of the 23 Eliz. c. 2. made *againſt ſeditious words and rumours uttered againſt the Queen*, and ſoon after executed haſtily, being brought in an afternoon out of the King's Bench priſon, in Southwark into St. Thomas Waterings, a place of execution, on that ſide the river Thames, and there hanged. *(Strype.)*

We are informed by Dr. Heylin in his "Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians," that the men who aſsumed this name of "Martin Mar-Prelate" called the Archbiſhop "Pope of Lambeth;" "the Canterbury Caiaphas;" "Eſau;" "a monſtrous Antichriſtian Pope." The Biſhops were named "Petty Popes," "Petty Antichriſts," "Incarnate Devils," &c. whilſt the inferior clergy were "Popiſh Prieſts," "Monks," "Ale-hunters," &c.

What effects were produced by theſe writings we learn from "Brightman upon the Revelation," p. 149. "There was," ſays he, "one that "called himſelf by the name of 'Martin Mar-Prelate,' who ſet forth "books wherein he dealt ſomewhat roundly with the angel, i. e. the "Biſhops of the Church of England. How were thoſe bitter jeſts of his "favoured among the people? how willingly, greedily, and with what "great mirth were they every where entertained? There is no man ſo "rude and unſkilful, but that pondering that time in his mind would ſay "thus to himſelf, and that not without cauſe, *Truly the Lord hath poured "out contempt upon Princes; thoſe that honour him doth he honour, and "thoſe that deſpiſe him ſhall be deſpiſed. He hath made our prieſts "contemptible to the whole people, becauſe they have broken their co-"venant.*"

[g] The three titles mentioned by Walton belong all to one pamphlet, which Gabriel Hervie ſuppoſes to be written by Lylly.—Mr. THOMAS NASH, a man of a facetious and ſarcaſtic diſpoſition, was the author of numerous tracts to which he gave quaint names, as "*The Apology of Pierce Pennileſs;* or, *Strange News,*" &c.—"*Have with you to Saffron Walden:*"—"*Pappe with a Hatchet; alias, a Fig for my Godſon;* or, *Cracke me this Nutt;* or, *a Country Cuffe, that is, a ſound Box of the Ear for the Idiot Martin to hold his Peace; written by one that dares call a Dog a Dog.*" He wrote with great pleaſantry and wit againſt a ſet of men, who at that time boldly pretended to prognoſtications and aſtronomical predictions,

"——————————Ridiculum acri
"Fortiùs ac meliùs magnas plerumque ſecat res." HOR.

From the various tracts written by Naſh, the commentators on Shakeſpear have happily elucidated and explained ſeveral obſcure paſsages of their great poet.

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"*A Fig for my Godſon;*" "*Come crack me this Nut,*" and the like; ſo that his merry wit made ſuch a diſcovery of their abſurdities, as (which is ſtrange) he put a greater ſtop to theſe malicious pamphlets than a much wiſer man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvy, who was Maſter of the Temple, this Walter Travers was Lecturer there for the evening ſermons, which he preached with great approbation, eſpecially of the younger gentlemen of that ſociety, and for the moſt part approved by Mr. Hooker himſelf, in the midſt of their oppoſitions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, of a blameleſs life. But he had taken orders by the Preſbyters in Antwerp [h], and if in any thing he was tranſported, it was in an extreme deſire to ſet up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which he had a correſpondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva [i], and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefeſt aſſiſtants to Mr. Cartwright in this deſign.

Mr. Travers had alſo a particular hope to ſet up this government in the Temple, and to that end uſed his endeavours to be Maſter of it; and his being diſappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved ſome occaſion of his oppoſition of Mr. Hooker's ſermons publicly in the pulpit: Many of which were concerning the doctrine, diſcipline, and ceremonies of this church; and Mr. Hooker again publicly juſtified his doctrine againſt the other's exceptions: inſomuch, that as St. Paul withſtood St. Peter to his face, ſo did they. For as one hath pleaſantly expreſſed it, "the forenoon ſermons ſpeak Canterbury, and the after-"noon's Geneva."

In theſe ſermons there was little of bitterneſs, but each party brought all the reaſons he was able to prove his adverſary's opinions erroneous. And thus it continued for a time till the oppoſitions became ſo high, and the conſequences ſo dangerous, eſpecially in that place, that the prudent Archbiſhop put a ſtop to Mr. Travers's preaching by a poſitive prohibition [k]; againſt

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[h] The teſtimonial of his ordination at Antwerp, May 14, 1578, is inſerted in "Fuller's Church Hiſtory," B. IX. p. 214.

[i] Strype has drawn a compariſon between theſe two rival preachers.—"Hooker was a true man to the church as eſtabliſhed: Travers was not "ſo. Hooker was for univerſal redemption, and taught the decrees of "God concerning the ſalvation of mankind by Jeſus Chriſt in more la-"titude: Travers was for the more rigid way, for abſolute excluſion of "the greateſt part of mankind from it, and to be ſhut up under a de-"cree of reprobation and rejection. Theſe and other opinions cauſed "different doctrines to be preached in the ſame pulpit morning and af-"ternoon."

[k] That prohibition was chiefly becauſe of his foreign ordination. Their different characters as preachers are thus delineated by Dr. Gauden:—

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which Mr. Travers appealed and petitioned[1] her Majeſty and her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many aſsiſting powerful friends; but they were not able to prevail with or againſt the Archbiſhop, whom the Queen had entruſted with all church-power; and he had received ſo fair a teſtimony of Mr. Hooker's principles and of his learning and moderation, that he withſtood all ſolicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleaſant to divers of his party, and the reaſonableneſs of it became at laſt to be ſo magnified by them and many others, as never to be anſwered: ſo that intending the Biſhop's and Mr. Hooker's diſgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and ſcattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear as publicly, and print an anſwer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbiſhop; and it proved ſo full an anſwer, to have in it ſo much of clear reaſon, and writ with ſo much meekneſs and majeſty of ſtyle, that the

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den:—"Mr. Travers was a more plauſible and profitable preacher to "vulgar auditors, as well as more popular, having much more of the "oratorian decoy, a pleaſing voice, a pathetic pronunciation, and an "inſinuating faſhion or geſture to captivate his auditors by his agree-"able preſence, vigorous ſpeech, and graceful activity; nor were his "texts and matter uſually ill-choſen, or impertinently or dully handled, "upon practical heads and common places of divinity. Mr. Hooker "was more profound, and the other more fluent: different gifts they "had from the ſame Spirit, for ſeveral uſes of the church, to the ſame "end of God's glory and ſouls' good, though in different ways of mi-"niſtration." *(Hooker's Life, p. 30.)*

According to Fuller, the manner of ſilencing Travers gave great offence. "For all the congregation on a Sabbath in the afternoon were "aſsembled together, their attention prepared, the cloth, as I may ſay, "and napkins were laid, yea the gueſts ſet, and their knives drawn for "their ſpiritual repaſt, when ſuddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up to "the pulpit, a ſorry fellow ſerved him with a letter, prohibiting him to "preach any more. In obedience to authority, the mild and conſtant "ſubmiſsion whereunto won him reſpect with his adverſaries, Mr. Tra-"vers calmly ſignified the ſame to the congregation, and requeſted them "quietly to depart to their chambers. Thus was our good Zacharias "ſtruck dumb in the Temple, but not for infidelity; unpartial people "accounting his fault at moſt but indiſcretion. Meantime his auditory "(pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him preach ſhould ſo "publicly prove abortive, and ſent ſermonleſs home) manifeſted in their "variety of paſsion, ſome grieving, ſome frowning, ſome murmuring, "and the wiſeſt ſort, who held their tongues, ſhaked their heads, as "diſliking the managing of the matter." *(Fuller's Church Hist. B. IX. p. 217.)*—Upon his expulſion from the Temple he was appointed Provoſt of Trinity College in Dublin, at the inſtance of his old friend and fellow collegian Adam Loftus, Archbiſhop of Dublin. He afterward reſigned that office, and returned to England, where he lived many years in obſcurity, but with much quiet and contentment.

[1] "The Supplication made to the Council by Mr. Walter Travers," and "Mr. Hooker's Anſwer to it, addreſsed to my Lord of Canterbury his Grace," are uſually printed with Mr. Hooker's works.

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Biſhop began to wonder at the man, to rejoice that he had appeared in his cauſe, and diſdained not earneſtly to beg his friendſhip; even a familiar friendſhip with a man of ſo much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers diſſented (all or moſt of which I have ſeen written), would prove at leaſt tedious; and therefore I ſhall impoſe upon my reader no more than two, which ſhall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the reſt.

Mr. Travers excepted againſt Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his ſermons he declared, "That the aſſurance of what we believe by the word of God is not to us ſo certain, as that which we perceive by ſenſe." And Mr. Hooker confeſſeth he ſaid ſo, and endeavours to juſtify it by the reaſons following:

"Firſt: I taught that the things which God promiſes in his word are not ſurer to us than that we touch, handle or ſee: but are we ſo ſure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our ſenſible experience? for we muſt be ſurer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwiſe it is no proof. For example, how is it that many men looking upon the moon at the ſame time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth? but many believing one and the ſame promiſe have not all the ſame fulneſs of perſuaſion. For how falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe can be no ſurer of it than they are; when as the ſtrongeſt in faith that liveth upon the earth has always need to labour, ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpiritual things may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?"

The ſermon that gave him the cauſe of this his juſtification makes the caſe more plain, by declaring, "that there is, beſides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence[m]." In which, having moſt excellently demonſtrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable uſe of it: "Comfortable," he ſays, "as to weak believers, who ſuppoſe themſelves to be faithleſs, not to believe, when notwithſtanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh ſecretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward teſtimony of it."

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a ſad ſenſe of his ſin; to one that, by a too ſevere judging of himſelf, concludes that he wants faith, becauſe he wants the com-

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m The diſcourſe alluded to is entitled "A learned and comfortable Sermon of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect, eſpecially of the Prophet Habakkuk's Faith. Habak. i. 4. Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this Cogitation into his Mind, *The Law doth fail*, did thereby ſhew himſelf an Unbeliever."

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fortable aſsurance of it; and his anſwer will be, "Do not per-
"ſuade me, againſt my knowledge, againſt what I find and
"feel in myſelf: I do not, I know I do not believe." (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) "Well then, to favour ſuch
"men a little in their weakneſs, let that be granted which they
"do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promiſes,
"but are faithleſs and without belief. But are they not grieved
"for their unbelief? They confeſs they are. Do they not wiſh
"it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherwiſe? We know
"they do. Whence cometh this but from a ſecret love and
"liking, that they have of thoſe things believed? For no man
"can love thoſe things which in his own opinion are not; and
"if they think thoſe things to be, which they ſhew they love,
"when they deſire to believe them; then muſt it be, that, by
"deſiring to believe, they prove themſelves true believers: for
"without faith no man thinketh that things believed are:
"which argument all the ſubtilties of infernal powers will never
"be able to diſsolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reaſons he gives for his juſtification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted againſt by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was alſo accuſed by Mr. Travers, for that he, in one of his ſermons[n], had declared, "That he doubted not but
"that God was merciful to ſave many of our forefathers living
"heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtition, for as much as they ſinned
"ignorantly[o];" and Mr. Hooker in his anſwer profeſseth it to be his judgment, and declares his reaſons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth;

But firſt (becauſe Travers's argument againſt this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be ſaved becauſe they ſought to be juſtified by the merit of their works, and ſo overthrew the foundation of faith) he ſtates the queſtion about juſtification and works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown; and then he proceeds to diſcover that way which natural men and ſome others have miſtaken to be the way, by

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[n] "A learned Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the Foundation of Faith is overthrown. Habakkuk i. 4. *The Wicked doth compaſs about the Righteous; therefore perverse Judgment doth proceed.*"

[o] "Mr. Hooker affirmed the Church of Rome to be, though not a
"pure, ſound, and perfect church, yet a true one, in which the neceſ-
"ſary and fundamental means of ſalvation are preſerved, but much
"diſeaſed and obſcured by ſuperſtitious ſuperſtructure, to the great dan-
"ger of people's ſouls, and detriment, as well as diſhonour, of the
"Chriſtian religion, in its holy inſtitutions, morals, and myſteries. Mr.
"Travers, on the other ſide, earneſtly contended againſt the Church of
"Rome, as no church of Chriſt, but wholly a ſynagogue of Satan, and
"the ſeat of Antichriſt, denying ſalvation to all thoſe that held com-
"munion with her. Thus charity in the one, and zeal in the other,
"both Chriſtian and commendable graces, carried them far from each
"other." *Dr. Gauden's Life of Hooker, p. 30.*

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which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus (they be his own words that follow): "That, the way of nature; this, "the way of grace: the end of that way salvation merited, "presupposing the righteousness of men's works: their righte- "ousness a natural ability to do them; that ability, the good- "ness of God which created them in such perfection. But "the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: "presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of "their unrighteousness, justification; their justification, not "their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for "not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whose sake not "doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, "the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost "children; their election, a mediator in whom to be elect: "this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing "their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself "mediator."

And he also declareth, "there is no meritorious cause for "our justification but Christ; no effectual but his mercy;" and says also, "we deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we "abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if "by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting "life, or can be worthy of it." This belief, he declareth, is to destroy the very essence of our justification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet "nevertheless," and for this he was accused, "considering "how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and mar- "tyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this "was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends "by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves:" because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, "Such men are damned, there "is for them no salvation?" St. Austin says, "Errare possum, "hæreticus esse nolo." And except we put a difference be- twixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately per- sist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? give me a Pope or a Cardinal[p], whom great afflictions

[p] "I do not," says Mr. Hooker, "propose to you a Pope with the "neck of an Emperor under his feet, a Cardinal riding his horse to the "bridle in the blood of Saints, but a Pope or a Cardinal sorrowful, peni- "tent, disrobed, stript not only of usurped power, but also delivered and "recalled from error and Antichrist; converted, and lying prostrate at "the foot of Christ; and shall I think that Christ will spurn at him; "and shall I cross and gainsay the merciful promises of God, generally "made unto penitent sinners, by opposing the name of a Pope or a "Cardinal." (*Hooker's Works, Vol. III. p.* 485.)

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have made to know himſelf, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with a love of Chriſt and his goſpel; whoſe eyes are willingly open to ſee the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and becauſe he wanteth, trembleth, and is diſcouraged, and yet can ſay, "Lord, cleanſe me from all ſecret ſins!" Shall I think, becauſe of this, or a like error, ſuch men touch not ſo much as the hem of Chriſt's garment? if they do, wherefore ſhould I doubt, but that virtue may proceed from Chriſt to ſave them? No, I will not be afraid to ſay to ſuch a one, "You err in your opinion, but be of good comfort; you have "to do with a merciful God, who will make the beſt of that "little which you hold well, and not with a captious ſophiſter, "who gathered the worſt out of every thing in which you are "miſtaken."

But it will be ſaid, "The admittance of merit, in any de-"gree, overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope "of mercy, from all poſsibility of ſalvation." (And now Mr. Hooker's own words follow):

"What though they hold the truth ſincerely in all other "parts of Chriſtian faith? although they have in ſome meaſure "all the virtues and graces of the ſpirit? although they have "all other tokens of God's children in them? although they "be far from having any proud opinion that they ſhall be ſaved "by the worthineſs of their deeds? although the only thing "that troubleth and moleſteth them be a little too much de-"jection, ſomewhat too great a fear, ariſing from an erroneous "conceit, that God will require a worthineſs in them, which "they are grieved to find wanting in themſelves? although "they be not obſtinate in this opinion? although they be wil-"ling, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were "brought ſufficient to diſprove it? although the only cauſe "why they do not forſake it ere they die, be their ignorance of "that means by which it might be diſproved? although the "cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the "want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not to "remove it? Let me die," ſays Mr. Hooker, "if it be ever "proved, that ſimply an error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal "in ſuch a caſe utterly from the hope of life. Surely, I muſt "confeſs, that if it be an error to think that God may be mer-"ciful to ſave men, even when they err, my greateſt comfort "is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I "would never wiſh to ſpeak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of theſe two points, as ſuppoſing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they prove uſeful to my reader; as alſo that the anſwers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reaſon, and equal charity. Other exceptions were alſo made againſt him, as, "that he prayed before, and not after his ſermons; that in his

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"prayers he named Biſhops; that he kneeled both when he "prayed, and when he received the ſacrament; and," ſays Mr. Hooker, in his defence, "other exceptions ſo like theſe, as "but to name, I ſhould have thought a greater fault than to "commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of ſo great a controverſy, a ſharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occaſion of exceptions, to which his anſwer was, "Your next argument conſiſts of railing and of rea- "ſons; to your railing I ſay nothing; to your reaſons I ſay "what follows." And I am glad of this fair occaſion, to teſtify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchleſs man. Doubtleſs, if Almighty God had bleſt the diſſenters from the ceremonies and diſcipline of this church, with a like meaſure of wiſdom and humility, inſtead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kiſſed each other; then peace and piety had flouriſhed in our nation, and this church and ſtate had been bleſt like "Jeruſalem, that is at unity with itſelf;" but that can never be expected, till God ſhall bleſs the common people with a belief, "that ſchiſm is a ſin, and that there may "be offences taken which are not given; and that laws are not "made for private men to diſpute, but to obey."

And this alſo may be worthy of noting, that theſe exceptions of Mr. Travers, againſt Mr. Hooker, were the cauſe of his tranſcribing ſeveral of his ſermons, which we now ſee printed with his books; of his "Anſwer to Mr. Travers's Supplication;" and of his moſt learned and uſeful "Diſcourſe of Juſtification, "of Faith, and Works;" and, by their tranſcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preſerved them from being loſt, as too many of his other matchleſs writings have been; and from theſe I have gathered many obſervations in this diſcourſe of his life.

After the publication of his "Anſwer to the Petition of Mr. Travers," Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the moſt learned and wiſe of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his church-diſcipline; inſomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place [q], yet the ſeeds of diſcontent could not be rooted out of that ſociety, by the great reaſon, and as great meekneſs of this humble man: for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he

q It redounds much to the credit both of Cartwright and Travers, that in the evening of their lives they became more moderate in their conduct. There is no doubt but that many of the younger part of his audience were extremely attached to the perſon and doctrine of Travers. Hence they contracted an utter averſion to the Engliſh hierarchy, and thoſe of them who afterwards ſat in the Houſe of Commons diſcovered great partiality to the Puritans.

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there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Mr. Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief; and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate and sober treatise on the church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them; as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to show such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it; and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon; than which none was ever more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might after his death justly say, "What "admirable height of learning and depth of judgment dwelt in "the lowly mind of this truly humble man; with what gravity "and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly "mysteries; whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were al-"ways cast down to the ground: how all things that pro-"ceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love; "as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had "wanted gall; let those, who knew him not in his person, "judge by these living images of his soul, his writings[r]."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and therefore solicited the Archbishop for a remove, to whom he spake to this purpose: "My Lord, when I lost the freedom "of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree "of it in my quiet country parsonage; but I am weary of the "noise and oppositions of this place, and indeed God and Na-"ture did not intend me for contentions, but for study and "quietness. And, my Lord, my particular contests here with "Mr. Travers have proved the more unpleasant to me, because "I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occa-"sioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his "opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the holy Scrip-"ture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the "conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be "so far complied with by us, as to alter our frame of church-"government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and "praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as "their tender consciences shall require us. And, in this exa-

r. See Dr. Spencer's Address to the Reader, prefixed to the first editions of "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity."

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" mination, I have not only ſatisfied myſelf, but have begun a " treatiſe, in which I intend the ſatisfaction of others, by a de- " monſtration of the reaſonableneſs of our laws of eccleſiaſtical " polity; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the church's " peace; and, ſo as not to provoke your adverſary Mr. Cart- " wright, nor Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine (but not " mine enemy), God knows this to be my meaning. To which " end I have ſearched many books, and ſpent many thoughtful " hours; and, I hope not in vain; for I write to reaſonable " men. But, my Lord, I ſhall never be able to finiſh what I " have begun, unleſs I be removed into ſome quiet country " parſonage, where I may ſee God's bleſsings ſpring out of my " mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy[s]. " A place where I may, without diſturbance, meditate my ap- " proaching mortality, and that great account, which all fleſh " muſt at the laſt great day give to the God of all ſpirits.

" This is my deſign; and, as theſe are the deſires of my " heart, ſo they ſhall, by God's aſsiſtance, be the conſtant en- " deavours of the uncertain remainder of my life. And there- " fore, if your Grace can think me and my poor labours worthy " ſuch a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have " begun; which is a bleſsing I cannot hope for in this place."

About the time of this requeſt to the Biſhop, the parſonage or rectory of Boſcum[t], in the dioceſe of Sarum, and ſix miles from that city, became void. The Biſhop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that ſee (which was three years betwixt the death of Biſhop Pierce[u], and Biſhop Caldwell's[x] admiſsion into it), the diſpoſal of that, and all benefices belonging to it during the time of this ſaid vacancy, came to be

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[s] Mr. Maſon has happily applied this paſsage in an elegy to the Rev. Mr. Hurd, the preſent Biſhop of Worceſter:

" Whoſe equal mind could ſee vain Fortune ſhower
" Her ſlimſy favours on the fawning crew,
" While in low Thurcaſton's ſequeſter'd bower
" She fixt him diſtant from promotion's view.
" Yet ſhelter'd there by calm Contentment's wing,
" Pleas'd he could ſmile, and with ſage Hooker's eye
" *See from his mother-earth God's bleſsings ſpring,*
" *And eat his bread in peace and privacy.*"

[t] Boſcombe R. St. Andrew's, in the deanery of Ameſbury, in the archdeaconry of Sarum.

[u] Or rather as it is in the earlier editions, " Betwixt the tranſlation of " Biſhop Pierce to the ſee of York, and Biſhop Caldwell's admiſsion into " it. Dr. John Pierce, Biſhop of Saliſbury, was elected to the ſee of " York, Feb. 1, 1588, confirmed Feb. 17, and enthroniſed by proxy " the 27th of the ſame month. He died Sept. 28, 1594." *(Le Neve.)*

[x] JOHN CALDWELL, M. D. of St. John's College in Cambridge, was in 1591 promoted from the deanery of Rocheſter to the ſee of Saliſbury, after it had been vacant three years. He died in 1596.

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diſpoſed of by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and he preſented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was alſo in this ſaid year inſtituted (July 17) to be a minor prebendary of Saliſbury, the corps to it being Netherhavin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church[y]. In this Boſcum he continued till he had finiſhed four of his eight propoſed books of "The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity," and theſe were entered into the regiſter-book in Stationers'-hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not printed till the year 1594, and then with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface which he directs to them that ſeek (as they term it) the reformation of the laws and orders eccleſiaſtical in the church of England; of which books I ſhall yet ſay nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finiſh the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter); but at Boſcum he finiſhed and publiſhed but only the firſt four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boſcum in the year 1595, by a ſurrender of it into the hands of Biſhop Caldwell, and he preſented Benjamin Ruſſel, who was inſtituted into it, the 23d of June in the ſame year.

The parſonage of Biſhop's-Borne, in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbiſhop's gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was

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[y] He became prebendary of Netherhavin, and ſubdean of the church of Saliſbury, on the reſignation of Dr. Nicholas Balguy, who ſucceeded him in the Maſterſhip of the Temple. This prebend remains charged in the King's books at 28l. 19s, 2d. and has moreover the patronage of the vicarage of Netherhavin. The preferment for which it was intended to qualify him was a reſidentiaryſhip of Sarum, the canons reſidentiary of that church, ſix in number, being elected out of the prebendaries.

In Queen Elizabeth's time, the form of ſubſcription, required from thoſe who were preferred in the Church, was in theſe words: "We, "whoſe names are underwritten, do declare and unfainedly teſtify our "aſſent to all and ſingular the Articles of Religion, and the Confeſſion "of the true Chriſtian faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacrament, com-"priſed in a book, intituled 'Articles whereupon it was agreed by the "Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, "in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God "1562, according to the Computation of the Church of England, for "the avoiding of the Diverſities of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of "Conſent touching true Religion, put forth by the Queen's Authority.' "And in teſtimony of ſuch our aſſents, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our "names, with our own proper hands, as hereafter followeth."

Among thoſe who ſubſcribed to this form, "it pleaſed me," ſaith Dr. Bernard, "to find the hand of the reverend and learned Mr. Hooker "thus ſubſcribing: 'Per me RICHARDUM HOOKER, Clericum, in Arti-"'bus Magiſtrum, præſentatum ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de "'Nether-haven, in Eccleſiâ cathedrali Sarum, 17 Julii, 1591.'"

(Clavi Trabales.)

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made Biſhop of Norwich; by which means the power of preſenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and ſhe preſented Richard Hooker, whom ſhe loved well, to this good living of Borne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I ſhall only give ſome account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parſonage of Borne, and then give a reſt both to myſelf and my reader.

His firſt four books and large epiſtle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boſcum, anno 1594[a]. Next I am to tell, that at the end of theſe four books, there is printed this advertiſement to the reader:—"I have for ſome cauſes thought "it at this time more fit to let go theſe firſt four books by themſelves, than to ſtay both them and the reſt, till the whole "might together be publiſhed. Such generalities of the cauſe in "queſtion as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiſs to "conſider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that "are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the "reader is requeſted to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his firſt four) was firſt alſo printed by itſelf, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he choſe none) the Archbiſhop. Theſe books were read with an admiration of their

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[a] Mr. Hooker ſent a written copy of his book, in 1592, to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, accompanied with the following letter:

"My duty in moſt humble manner remembered. So it is, my good "Lord, that manitimes affection cauſes thoſe things to be don, which "would rather be forborn, if men were wholly guided by judgment. "Albeit, therefore, I muſt needs in reaſon condemne myſelf of over-"great boldneſs for thus preſuming to offer to your Lordſhip's view my "poor and ſlender labours: yet, becauſe that which moves me ſo to do "is a dutiful affection ſome way to manifeſt itſelf; and glad to take "this preſent occaſion for want of other more worthy your Lordſhip's "acceptation. I am in that behalf not out of hope your Lordſhip's "wiſdom wil the eaſier pardon my fault; the rather becauſe myſelf am "perſuaded that my faultineſs had been greater, if theſe writings con-"cerning the nobler part of thoſe laws under which we live ſhould not "have craved, with the firſt, your Lordſhip's favourable approbation. "Whoſe painful care to uphold all laws, and eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical, "hath by the ſpace of ſo many years ſo apparently ſhewed itſelf: that "if we who enjoy the benefit thereof did diſſemble it, they whoſe malice "doth moſt envy our good therein, would convince our unthankfulneſs. "Wherefore ſubmitting both myſelf, and theſe my ſimple doings into "your Lordſhip's moſt wiſe judgment, I here humbly take my leave. "London, the 13th of March, 1592.

"Your Lordſhip's moſt willingly at commandment,

"RICHARD HOOKER."

(From Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, Appendix, B. IV. N. XVII.)

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excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that Cardinal Allen [a], or learned Dr. Stapleton [b] (both Englishmen, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed), meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the reformed and the learned of their own church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for; and after reading of them boasted to the Pope (which was then Clement the Eighth), "That "though he had lately said, he never met with an English book "whose writer deserved the name of an author; yet there now "appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holi-"ness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had "wrote four such books of laws and church-polity, and in a style "that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear "demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had "not met with any that exceeded him:" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin, which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searched "into; nothing too hard for his understanding: This man in-"deed deserves the name of an author; his books will get re-

[a] See "Collier's Eccles. Hist." Vol. II. p. 643. "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. p. 268, and the inscription on Cardinal Allen's monument in the chapel of the English College at Rome. "Biograph. Brit." Vol. I. p. 80. [H.]

He was for some time Fellow of Oriel College, and Principal of St. Mary Hall. He displayed the most ardent zeal in defending the religion of his ancestors, left his country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and fled to France. Here he distinguished himself by taking under his protection the English refugees, many of whom he placed in two seminaries at Douay and Rheims. He was rewarded by Pope Sixtus V. with a Cardinal's hat in 1587, with the title of Cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount. In 1589, he was appointed Archbishop of Mechlin in Brabant, and died about 1594. Pope Gregory XIII. entertained so high an opinion of him, that he introduced him to his Cardinals in these words, "Venite, fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum."

[b] We learn from the letter of King, Bishop of Chichester, to Mr. Isaac Walton, that Dr. Stapleton was the person who named "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity" to Pope Clement VIII. Thomas Stapleton, D. D. descended from a noble and ancient family in the county of Sussex, left England on account of his religion, and retired into Flanders. He read lectures in divinity at Douay, and afterward, at the express invitation of the King of Spain, filled the Professor's chair at Louvain. He was esteemed for his virtues and his learning, being classed second to Bellarmine in controversial skill. He was born in 1535, and died at Louvain in 1598. His works were printed at Paris in 1620, in four volumes folio. (*Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p. 292.*)

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" verence by age, for there is in them ſuch ſeeds of eternity, " that if the reſt be like this, they ſhall laſt till the laſt fire ſhall " conſume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only teſtimony and commendations given to his books; for at the firſt coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbiſhop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-polity; to which the anſwer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the ſad news of his death with very much ſorrow; to which the King replied, " And I receive it with no " leſs, that I ſhall want the deſired happineſs of ſeeing and diſ- " courſing with that man, from whoſe books I have received " ſuch ſatisfaction: Indeed, my Lord, I have received more " ſatisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, " though it were but about the faſhion of churches[c], or church- " muſic[d], or the like, but eſpecially of the ſacraments[e], than I " have had in the reading particular large treatiſes written but of " one of thoſe ſubjects by others, though very learned men: " and, I obſerve, there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language; " but a grave, comprehenſive, clear manifeſtation of reaſon; " and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fa- " thers, and ſchoolmen, and with all law both ſacred and civil. " And though many others write well, yet in the next age they " will be forgotten; but doubtleſs there is in every page of " Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine ſoul, ſuch pictures " of truth and reaſon, and drawn in ſo ſacred colours, that they " ſhall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is ſo truly true, that the King thought what he ſpake; that, as the moſt learned of the nation have and ſtill do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; ſo he alſo did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his ſon, our late King Charles I[f]. ever mention him but with the ſame reverence, enjoining his ſon, our now gracious King, to be ſtudious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden, in his " Annals of Eliz." men-

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[c] " Eccleſ. Polit." B. v. Sect. 14.

[d] This ſubject is moſt excellently diſcuſſed in " Eccleſ. Polit." B. v. Sect. 38.

[e] " Eccleſ. Polit." B. v. Sect. 50.

[f] Charles I. a few days before his death, recommended to his deareſt children the diligent reading of the firſt five books of " The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity," even next the Bible, as an excellent means to ſatisfy private ſcruples, and ſettle the public peace of this church and kingdom. And in his will he bequeathed to the Princeſs Elizabeth, his daughter, the Sermons of Biſhop Andrews; Archbiſhop Laud's book againſt Fiſher, which, he ſaid, would ground her againſt Popery; and Mr. Hooker's " Eccleſiaſtical Polity."

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tioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, "that, for the honour of "this and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the "universal language[g]." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earle[h], now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be con-

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[g] "Richardi Hooker scripta ante annos multos vidi, et quanquam in "sermone mihi non percognito facilè cognovi exactissimi operis utili-"tatem: quæ tanta est, ut hunc quoque librum verti, sed in Latinum "sermonem, pervelim." *(Grotius in Epistolâ ad Mer. Casaubonum.)*—See also "Kennet's Complete History of England," Vol. II. p. 619.

[h] Dr. JOHN EARLE, author of "The World displayed; or, several Essays, consisting of the various Characters and Passions of its principal Inhabitants," was first of Christ Church, and then of Merton College in Oxford, tutor to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. In 1643, he was elected one of the Assembly of Divines; but he refused to act, and lost all he had for his loyalty. After the Restoration, he was Dean of Westminster, and successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury. He was one of the coadjutors in the revisal of our present Liturgy. He is described as a very genteel man, yet religious and a contemner of the world: in his youth an excellent orator and poet, in his advanced years an admirable preacher and disputant. By the testimony of an enemy, he was a person of the sweetest and most obliging good-nature that lived in his age; and none since has lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, primitive, peaceable temper. He attended the Court when they retired to Oxford from the plague, and died Nov. 17, 1665, and was buried on the 25th of that month, near the high altar in Merton College church. His body was attended to the grave from the public schools by a herald of arms, and the principal persons of the Court and University.—*See the Preface to "the World displayed."*

His "Translation of the Ecclesiastical Polity" was never printed. That of the Εικων βασιλικη was published under the title of "Imago Regis Caroli Primi, in Ærumnis et Solitudine." Hag. Com. 1649. 12mo.

"Ille qui Hookeri ingentis 'Politiam Ecclesiasticam,'
"Ille qui Caroli Martyris Εικονα βασιλικην
"(Volumen quo post Apocalypsin divinius nullum)
"Legavit orbi sic Latinè redditas,
"Ut uterque unius fidei defensor
"Patriam adhuc retineat majestatem.
"Si nomen ejus necdum tibi suboleat, lector,
"Nomen ejus, ut unguenta pretiosa,
"JOHANNES EARLE, EBORACENSIS," &c.
(Inscription on Dr. Earle's monument in the choir and chancel of Merton College.)

In "The Musæ Anglicanæ," vol. i. p. 286, is a copy of elegant Latin verses written by him, on the return of the Prince from Spain; and we are informed by Lord Clarendon, that he was an excellent poet, both in Latin, Greek, and English.

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cealed from poſterity, or thoſe that now live and yet know him not), that ſince Mr. Hooker died none have lived whom God hath bleſsed with more innocent wiſdom, more ſanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper; ſo that this excellent perſon ſeems to be only like himſelf, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little iſland[i].

There might be many more and juſt occaſions taken to ſpeak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and haſten to an account of his Chriſtian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his cuſtomary rules of mortification and ſelf-denial; was much in faſting, frequent in meditation and prayers; enjoying thoſe bleſsed returns, which only men of ſtrict lives feel and know; and of which men of looſe and godleſs lives cannot be made ſenſible; for ſpiritual things are ſpiritually diſcerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendſhip was much ſought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia[k], then one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and ſometimes a paſtor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had ſtudied and well conſidered the controverted points concerning Epiſcopacy and ſacrilege, and in England had a juſt occaſion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren miniſters in the

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[i] This character of Mr. Hooker's Works is confirmed by the approbation of our beſt writers.

[k] Dr. HADRIAN SARAVIA, the boſom friend of Whitgift, as well as of Mr. Hooker, was of Spaniſh extraction, and born at Hedin in Artois. He was a miniſter of the reformed church in Holland. Having taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Leyden, he was afterward incorporated in the ſame faculty at Oxford. He came into England in 1587 or 1588. He had firſt removed himſelf to Jerſey, where he taught a ſchool, and preached to his countrymen who were exiles there. He was appointed maſter of the free grammar-ſchool at Southampton, where Mr. Nicholas Fuller, the moſt renowned critic of his age, received his education principally under him. By him alſo was educated Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State to King James I. who ſaid of him, "that "he was a miniſter of ſtate fit to ſerve the greateſt prince in Europe." He was ſucceſsively promoted to a Prebend in the churches of Glouceſter, Canterbury, and Weſtminſter. He diſplayed great learning in defence of Epiſcopacy againſt Beza, when that divine, interfering with the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Scotland, adviſed the Chancellor of that kingdom to abrogate Epiſcopacy. He lived to the age of eighty-two years, and died in 1613. In the inſcription on his monument, in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, he is ſtyled, "Vir in omni literarum genere "eximius, pietate, probitate, gravitate, et ſuavitate morum inſignis, "ſcriptis clarus, fide plenus, et bonis operibus dives valde." He muſt have acquired a very conſiderable knowledge of the Engliſh language, as we find his name in the firſt claſs of thoſe whom King James I. employed to make a new and more correct verſion of the Bible. (*See Strype's Life of Whitgift, p.* 422.)

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Low Countries, which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three; one of the Degrees of Ministers[l], and of the Bishops' Superiority over the Presbytery; a second against Sacrilege; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus[m], the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy (which he calls divine, human, and Satanical): this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop; and printed about the year in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his four books of "Ecclesiastical Polity."

This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Bishop's-Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the church; still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

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[l] 1. "De diversis Gradibus Ministrorum Evangelii." 2. "De Honore Præsulibus et Presbyteris debito." 3. "De Sacrilegis et Sacrilegorum Pœnis." The first of these tracts was written against those of the church of Geneva, who maintained the doctrine of the equality of the ministers of the gospel and a ruling presbytery. These tracts, originally written in Latin, were translated into English, and published under the titles "1. Of the diverse Degrees of the Ministers of the Gospell." 2. "Of the Honor due unto the Priestes and Prelates of the Church." 3. "Of Sacrilege, and the Punishment thereof. Job viii. 8, 9, 10." 1591. 4to.

[m] A most learned Jesuit, and the ablest controvertist of his age. He read a course of theological lectures with great reputation at Ingolstadt, where he died in 1625, aged 63 years. His works were published at Ratisbon, in 1734, in thirteen volumes folio. *(Dictionnaire Historique.)*

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This parſonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parſonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and ſanctity of his life became ſo remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (ſcholars eſpecially) went purpoſely to ſee the man, whoſe life and learning were ſo much admired; and alas! as our Saviour ſaid of St. John Baptiſt, "What went they out to ſee! "a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obſcure harmleſs man; a man in poor clothes, his loins uſually girt in a coarſe gown, or canonical coat; of a mean ſtature, and ſtooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his ſoul: his body worn out, not with age, but ſtudy and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and ſedentary life [a]. And to this true character of his perſon, let me add this of his diſpoſition and behaviour; God and nature bleſsed him with ſo bleſsed a baſhfulneſs, that as in his younger days his pupils might eaſily look him out of countenance; ſo that neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of ſo mild and humble a nature, that his poor pariſh-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the ſame time [b]; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind; yet he was ſhort or weak-ſighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his ſermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe that his modeſty and dim-ſight were ſome of the reaſons why he truſted Mrs. Churchman to chooſe a wife for him.

This pariſh-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to ſee the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who ſtill lives); and the poor clerk had many rewards for ſhowing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his ſaid monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and obſervations of his humility and holineſs: in all which diſcourſes the poor man was ſtill more confirmed in his opinion

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[a] When Juſtus Lipſius had acquired great literary reputation, not by his elegant Latinity, for his ſtyle is full of affectation, novelty, and conceit, but by his vaſt and extenſive erudition, ſeveral foreigners came from diſtant countries to viſit him. They were much diſappointed at ſeeing him a plain man, mean in his behaviour, dreſs, and converſation.
(Bayle's Dictionary.)

[b] The ſtrongeſt adamant that draws our reverence and love to this excellent man is his humility. He baniſhed from his boſom every appearance of that pride which is invariably inconſiſtent with the virtuous character.

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of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning; but it ſo fell out, that about the ſaid third or fourth year of the Long Parliament[p], the preſent parſon of Borne was ſequeſtered (you may gueſs why), and a Genevian miniſter put into his good living. This, and other like ſequeſtrations, made the clerk expreſs himſelf in a wonder, and ſay, "They had ſequeſtered ſo many good men, "that he doubted if his good maſter, Mr. Hooker, had lived "till now, they would have ſequeſtered him too."

It was not long before this intruding miniſter had made a party in and about the ſaid pariſh, that were deſirous to receive the ſacrament as in Geneva; to which end the day was appointed for a ſelect company, and forms and ſtools ſet about the altar or communion-table for them to ſit and eat and drink: but when they went about this work, there was a want of ſome joint-ſtools, which the miniſter ſent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cuſhions. When the clerk ſaw them begin to ſit down, he began to wonder; but the miniſter bade him "ceaſe won-"dering and lock the church-door:" To whom he replied, "Pray, take you the keys and lock me out, I will never come "more into this church; for all men will ſay my Maſter Hooker "was a good man and a good ſcholar, and I am ſure it was "not uſed to be thus in his days:" And report ſays, the old man went preſently home and died; I do not ſay died immediately, but within a few days after[q].

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himſelf, continuing our obſervations of his Chriſtian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleaſures and allurements of earth; poſſeſſing his ſoul in a virtuous quietneſs, which he maintained by conſtant ſtudy, prayers, and meditations: his uſe was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechiſe after the ſecond leſſon in the evening prayer. His ſermons were neither long nor earneſt, but uttered with a grave zeal and humble

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p "Of thoſe *great* and *wiſe* men who compoſed this Parliament of "1641, and greater and wiſer, or more of them at one time, England "never ſaw." *(Preface to the first edition of the Confessional, p. xxviii.)*

Thus has the author of "The Confeſſional" characteriſed that Parliament, which involved three enſlaved kingdoms in confuſion and ruin; which, under the vain pretence of reformation, deſtroyed one of the beſt of our Kings, and laid waſte the church of England; that church, which under God hath been long the ornament and ſupport of the Proteſtant religion.

q Our biographer has lamented that it was not in his power to recover the name of Mr. Hooker's worthy ſchoolmaſter. That of his grateful pariſh-clerk was Sampſon Horton. It appears from the pariſh-regiſter of Biſhop's-Borne, that "Sampſon Horton was buried the 9th of May "1648, an aged man, who had bin clarke to this piſh, by his own relation, "threeſcore yeares."

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voice; his eyes always fixed on one place[r], to prevent his imagination from wandering; insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to show reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety: studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted), as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and sub-distinctions to amuse his hearers and get glory to himself, but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, "was as discernible in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty[s]."

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[r] "He was," says Dr. Gauden, "so confident of the sacred power and "efficacy of the matter he delivered, that he thought it needed no great "setting off: This made him so far from any life in his looks, gestures, "or pronunciations, that he preached like a *living* but scarce *moving* "statue, his eyes steadfastly fixed on the same place from the beginning to "the end of his sermons, his body unmoved, his tone much to an unison, "and very unemphatic; so variously doth God distribute his gifts."
(*Life of Hooker*, p. 30.)

[s] In the printed sermons of Mr. Hooker there are, indeed, many instances of just and animated application. In his discourse on "the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect," there are few who will not admire the following passage: "It was not the meaning of our "Lord and Saviour in saying, *Father, keep them in thy name*, that we "should be careless to keep ourselves. To our own safety our own "sedulity is required. And then blessed for ever and ever be that mo-"ther's child whose faith hath made him the child of God. The earth "may shake, the pillars of the world may tremble under us; the coun-"tenance of heaven may be appalled, the sun may lose his light, the "moon her beauty, the stars their glory; but concerning the man that "trusted in God, if the fire have proclaimed itself unable as much as to "singe a hair of his head; if lions, beasts ravenous by nature and keen "with hunger, being set to devour, have, as it were, religiously adored "the very flesh of the faithful man; what is there in the world that "shall change his heart, overthrow his faith, alter his affection towards "God or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who shall "make a separation between me and my God? *Shall tribulation, or "anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?* "*No: I am persuaded, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor perse-"cution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, nor death, nor "life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor "things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall ever "prevail so far over me: I know in whom I have believed;* I am not ig-"norant whose precious blood hath been shed for me; I have a shep-"herd full of kindness, full of care, and full of power; unto him I com-"mit myself; his own finger hath engraven this sentence on the tables "of my heart. *Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have "prayed that thy faith fail not:* therefore the assurance of my hope I "will labour to keep as a jewel, unto the end; and by labour, through "the gracious mediation of his prayer, I shall keep it."

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He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for the last; saying often, "that the life "of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing "that the most godless men (though they would not deny "themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet se-"cretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually, every Ember-week, take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness and mutual kindnesses and love; because "Love thinks not evil, but covers "a multitude of infirmities[t]."

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any way distressed, and would often visit them unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having, by pious reasons and prayers, moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions; and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live

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[t] It was among the injunctions given by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, on the abolition of those ceremonies, which attended the Popish processions, "that the parishioners shall once in the year, at the time accus-"tomed, with the curate and the substantial men of the parish, *walke* "*about the parishes* as they were accustomed, and at their returne to the "church make their common prayers." Many reasons concur to evince the necessity of reviving the custom of holding these perambulations frequently and regularly. See in "The Book of Homilies," p. 314 (Oxford edit. 1683), an exhortation to be spoken to such parishes where they use their perambulation in Rogation-week for the oversight of the bounds and limits of their town.

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in love, becauſe (as St. John ſays) "he that lives in love lives "in God; for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love, conſtantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was *to watch and pray*, and always keep themſelves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often: for it was both a confirming and a ſtrengthening of their graces. This was his advice, and at his entrance or departure out of any houſe, he would uſually ſpeak to the whole family, and bleſs them by name; inſomuch, that as he ſeemed in his youth to be taught of God, ſo he ſeemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him in all holineſs and humility; making each day a ſtep towards a bleſsed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world ſuch examples are become barren, and almoſt incredible; yet let his memory be bleſsed with this true recordation, becauſe he that praiſes Richard Hooker praiſes God, who hath given ſuch gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become ſuch a pattern as may invite poſterity to imitate his virtues[u].

This was his conſtant behaviour at Borne; thus as Enoch, ſo he, walked with God; thus did he tread in the footſteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekneſs and purity, even our bleſsed Jeſus, was not free from falſe accuſations, no more was this diſciple of his, this moſt humble, moſt innocent, holy man. His was a ſlander parallel to that of chaſte Suſannah's by the wicked elders; or that againſt St. Athanaſius[x], as it is recorded in his life (for that holy man had he-

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[u] We may ſurely apply to this good man theſe lines of Mr. Cowley:

"——————— his harmleſs life
"Does with ſubſtantial bleſsedneſs abound,
"And the ſoft wings of Peace cover him round."

The Editor of this Work reads this deſcription with inexpreſsible ſatisfaction, as it recalls to his remembrance the character of a much-honoured parent, the Rev. Charles Zouch, M. A. Vicar of Sandal Magna, near Wakefield, Yorkſhire; who, in the inſtances of duty here related, literally trod in the ſteps of good Mr. Hooker; a bright example of primæval piety, adorning all the acquirements of a ſcholar and a divine with an unblemiſhed ſanctity of life and manners.

"Nil me pœniteat ſanum patris hujus." HOR.

[x] "Scribit Theodoretus (lib. i. cap. 3.) ſubornatam ab Arianis mu-"lierem poſtulaſſe Athanaſium illati ſibi per vim ſtupri, cum illum ſuſce-"piſset hoſpitio. Cum igitur mulier in Athanaſium ſuas querelas pro-"poneret, progrediens Timotheus Preſbyter, *Egone*, ait, *mulier, vim tibi "et ſtuprum intuli?* Tum ipſa credens eſse ſibi ignotum Athanaſium, "convitiis ſacerdotem excipiens, rem præfractiùs aſseverat, et judicum "fidem contra Timotheum obteſtatur ad ſceleris vindictam."

(*Notitia Conciliorum, &c. p.* 123.)

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retical enemies), and which this age calls trepanning [y]. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was falſe needs no other teſtimony than the public puniſhment of his accuſers, and their open confeſsion of his innocency. It was ſaid, that the accuſation was contrived by a diſsenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's ſake, which he was not able to anſwer; and his name hath been told me; but I have not ſo much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a ſcandal on him to poſterity; I ſhall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accuſation, and kept it ſecret to himſelf for many months; and, being a helpleſs man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave ſuch an accidental occaſion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwyn Sandys and George Cranmer, who were ſo ſenſible of their tutor's ſufferings, that they gave themſelves no reſt, till by their diſquiſitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accuſers did confeſs they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpoſe, "The Lord "forgive them; and the Lord bleſs you for this comfortable "news [z]. Now I have juſt occaſion to ſay with Solomon,

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y "——— as if one eye
"Upon the other were a ſpy;
"That to *trepan* the one to think
"The other blind, both ſtrove to blink."
(HUDIBRAS, *Part III. Canto II. ver.* 356.)

"*Trepann'd* the ſtate, and fac'd it down,
"With plots and projects of our own." *Ib. ver.* 832.

z "A certain lewd woman came to his chamber, and ſolicited his "charity under this cogent argument, 'that if he ſhould deny her, ſhe "'would lay baſe attempts to his charge;' and by this means, at ſeveral "times, ſhe had gotten money from him; until at laſt Providence was "pleaſed to concern itſelf for the righting wronged innocence. It ſo "fell out, that this woman came to him when his two dear friends Mr. "Sandys and Mr. Cranmer were with him: wondering to ſee ſuch a "perſon come with ſo much confidence, they inquired of their tutor the "occaſion of it, who in a little time tells them the truth of the whole "abuſe. Upon which they contrive a way to be preſent in his chamber, "where they might hear the whole diſcourſe at her next coming. An "opportunity ſoon offered, and the lewd woman perſiſting in her threats "of laying ill things to his charge, if ſhe was denied what ſhe came for, "money, his two friends ſtepped forth from behind the curtains to her "confuſion and the ſhame of thoſe who had employed her in ſo vile an "action; for his ſlanderers were puniſhed for this their vile attempt, who "at their ſuffering ſhowed a penitent behaviour, and made an open con-"feſsion." (*Prince's Worthies, &c. p.* 396.)

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" *Friends are born for the days of adversity*, and such you have " proved to me: and to my God I say, as did the mother of " St. John Baptist, *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day* " *wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.* " And, O my God, neither my life, nor my reputation are safe " in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me " when I yet hanged on my mother's breast. Blessed are they " that put their trust in thee, O Lord; for when false witnesses " were risen up against me; when shame was ready to cover " my face; when I was bowed down with an horrible dread, " and went mourning all the day long; when my nights were " restless, and my sleeps broken with a fear worse than death; " when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth " for the rivers of water; then thou, Lord, didst hear my com- " plaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deli- " verer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this " manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me " over as a prey to mine enemies. O blessed are they that put " their trust in thee; and no prosperity shall make me forget " those days of sorrows, or to perform those vows that I have " made to thee in the days of my fears and affliction; for with " such sacrifices thou, O God, art well pleased; and I will pay " them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation), Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, " Vengeance " is mine:" and though this be said by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be own executioner of it. And yet, nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, " That, however, " he would fast and pray, that God would give them repentance " and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, " O with what quietness did I enjoy " my soul, after I was free from the fears of my slander! And

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"how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires "of revenge[a]."

In the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which, he was never recovered; for till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights; but a submission to his will that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life), "That he did not beg a long life of God, for any other reason, "but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and "then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the benefit of them as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts, and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and wrote. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him, that his years were past away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst[b].

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" and being answered that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters "not, for no other loss can trouble me."

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[a] "When an unworthy aspersion was cast on Mr. Hooker—(If Christ "was dasht, shall Christians escape in their journey to heaven?)—Mr. "Travers being asked of a private friend what he thought of the truth "of the accusation; '*In truth*,' said he, '*I take Mr. Hooker to be a* "'*holy man*.' A speech which, coming from an adversary, sounds no "less to the commendation of his charity who spoke it, than to the praise "of his piety of whom it was spoken." (*Fuller.*)

[b] "The chamber where the good man meets his fate
"Is privileg'd beyond the common walk
"Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven.
"Fly, ye profane! if not, draw near with awe,
"Receive the blessing, and adore the chance
"That threw in this Bethesda your disease;
"If unrestor'd by this, despair your cure."
(YOUNG'S *Night Thoughts.*)

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About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the church's absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the Doctor gave him and some of those friends that were with him the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch, that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him: yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts: to which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and "nature of angels[c], and their blessed obedience and order, "without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh! that "it might be so on earth!" After which words, he said, "I "have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and "I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort "for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which "I now apprehend to be near: And though I have by his grace "loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and la-"boured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to "all men; yet if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I "have done amiss, who can abide it? And, therefore, where I "have failed, Lord, show mercy to me; for I plead not my "righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for "his merits who died to purchase a pardon for penitent sinners. "And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and "then take thine own time; I submit to it! Let not mine, O "Lord, but let thy will be done!" With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions; for I am "at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from

[c] That Mr. Hooker in the full vigour of his understanding did lift up his eyes as it were from the footstool to the throne of God to consider the state of heavenly and divine creatures, see "*Eccles. Polity*," B. I. § iv. "The subject which engaged Mr. Hooker's dying thoughts ought constantly to engage our living ones; since in the prayer composed and delivered out to his disciples by our Lord and Saviour, the obedience "of the angels is proposed as the pattern to be imitated by us, as the "copy after which we should diligently write, *Thy will be done on earth "as it is in heaven.*" (*Bishop Horne's Sermons, Vol. IV. p.* 322.)

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"which blefsed aſsurance, I feel that inward joy which this world "can neither give nor take from me." More he would have ſpoken, but his ſpirits failed him; and, after a ſhort conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet ſigh put a period to his laſt breath, and ſo he fell aſleep[d].

And here I draw his curtain, till with the moſt glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apoſtles, the moſt noble army of Martyrs and Confeſsors, this moſt learned, moſt humble, holy man, ſhall alſo awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Chriſtians ſhall be made partakers of. In the mean time, *Bleſs, O Lord! Lord, bleſs his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with ardent deſires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekneſs, his godly ſimplicity, and his Chriſtian moderation: for theſe are praiſe-worthy; theſe bring peace at the laſt! And let the labours of his life, his moſt excellent writings, be bleſſed with what he deſigned when he undertook them: which was glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy church, and good will to mankind.* Amen, Amen.

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[d] He died Nov. 2, 1600. Thus the day of his death was noted by Archbiſhop Laud, in the title-page of his copy of "The Eccleſiaſtical Polity."

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APPENDIX

TO THE LIFE OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

AND now having by a long and laborious ſearch ſatisfied myſelf, and I hope, my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am deſirous to acquaint him with ſome obſervations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be ſpoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And firſt, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-ſeventh, if not in the forty-ſixth year of his age; which I mention, becauſe many have believed him to be more aged; but I have ſo examined it, as to be confident, I miſtake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inſcription of his monument[e], ſet up at the

[e] The following is an accurate copy of the inſcription on Mr. Hooker's monument:——

SUNT MELIORA MIHI.

RICHARDUS HOOKER EXONIENSIS SCHOLARIS SOCIUSQ; COLLEGII CORP. XTI OXON: DEINDE LONDINIIS TEMPLI INTERIORIS IN SACRIS MAGISTER RECTORQ; HUJUS ECCLÆ. SCRIPSIT VIII LIBROS POLITIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ ANGLICANÆ, QUORUM TRES DESIDERANTUR, OBIIT ANº. DOM. MDC ÆTATIS SUÆ L. iij

POSUIT HOC PIISSIMO VIRO MONUMENTUM ANº. DOM. MDCXXXIII. GULIELMUS COWPER ARMIGER IN CHRISTO JESU QUEM GENUIT PER EVANGELIUM, 1 *Cor.* iv. 15.

Sir William Cowper, who erected this monument, was the great grandfather of William, the firſt Earl Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. He was created firſt a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and afterward a Baronet of England in 1641. He ſuffered impriſonment, the loſs of his ſon, and other great calamities, for his fidelity to Charles I. He outlived all his troubles, reſiding at his caſtle of Hertford, and famed for his hoſpitality, charity, and other Chriſtian virtues, often viſiting his poor neighbours at their houſes, and relieving them in private according to their neceſsities.

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charge of Sir William Cooper in Borne church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is ſaid to be anno 1603, but doubtleſs both are miſtaken; for I have it atteſted under the hand of William Somner the Archbiſhop's regiſter for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October the 26th in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following[f]. And this atteſted alſo, that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; that he left Joane

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[f] The following is extracted from the regiſtry of the Archdeacon's Court of Canterbury.

In the name of God Amen This sixe and twentieth of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and sixe hundred I Richard Hooker of Bishopsborne though sicke in bodye yet sounde in minde thankes be unto allmightye God doe ordaine and make this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge First I bequeth my soule unto Allmightye God my creator hopinge assuredly of my salvation purchased thorough the death of Christ Jesus and my bodye to the earth to be buried at the discretion of mine executor Item *I give and bequeth unto my daughter Alice Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be paide unto her at the daye of her marriage* Item *I give and bequeth unto my daughter Cicilye Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe moneye to be paid unto her at the daye of her marriage* Item *I give and bequethe unto my daughter Jane Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage* Item *I give unto my daughter Margaret Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe moneye to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage And if it shall happen any of my said daughters to departe this life before the daye of their said marriage then I will that her or their portion so dieinge shal be equally divided amonge her or their sisters survivinge* Item *I give and bequeth unto the poor of the pishe of Barha five pounds of lawful money to be paid unto them by mine executor* Item *I give unto the poor of the pishe of Bishopesborne fiftye shillings of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto them by mine executor* Item *I give and bequeth three pounds of lawful Englishe money towards the buildinge and makeing of a newe and sufficient pulpett in the pishe church of Bishopesborne The residue of goods and chattells whatsoever unbequethed my funeral debts and legacies discharged and paid I give unto Joane Hooker my welbeloved wife whom I ordaine and make sole executor of this my last will and testament And I ordaine and make my welbeloved father Mr John Churchman and my assured good frende Mr Edwin Sandes my overseers By me Richard Hooker Sealed and delivered in the presence of these whose names are subscribed Robert Rose Daniel Nichols Avery Cheston.* ||.

Proved the third day of December 1600, *before the Reverend James Bissel Clerk Surrate to Revd. George Newman Doctor of Laws Commissary General of the city and diocese of Canterbury by the oath of Joane Hooker widow the relict and executrix named in the said will, &c*

£. s. d. THOS. BACKHOUSE, Regiſtrar.
Inv 1092 9 2
Exd WM. CULLEN.

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his wife his ſole executrix; and that by his inventory his eſtate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092l. 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himſelf worth; and which was not got by his care, much leſs by the good houſewifery of his wife, but ſaved by his truſty ſervant Thomas Lane, that was wiſer than his maſter in getting money for him, and more frugal than his miſtreſs in keeping it: of which will I ſhall ſay no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, of whom I have ſpoken, and ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, was one of the witneſſes to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, ſometime a ſchoolmaſter in Chicheſter, and both dead long ſince. Margaret, his youngeſt daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Clark, Bachelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about ſixteen years paſt, and had a ſon Ezekiel, now living and in Sacred Orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron in Suſsex; ſhe left alſo a daughter, with both whom I have ſpoken not many months paſt, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding; and theſe two atteſted unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a ſiſter, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-one years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife ſhe was ſo unlike Jephtha's daughter, that ſhe ſtaid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her ſecond marriage; for which doubtleſs ſhe would have found cauſe, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But ſhe is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his eſtate, his wife and his children: I am next to ſpeak of his books, concerning which I ſhall have a neceſsity of being longer, or ſhall neither do right to myſelf nor my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he propoſed eight books, and that his firſt four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book firſt printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finiſh the remaining three of the propoſed eight; but whether we have the laſt three as finiſhed by himſelf, is a juſt and material queſtion; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almoſt forty years paſt, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Biſhop Whitgift, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her huſband; of which ſhe would not or could not give any account; and I have been told, that about three months after

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the Biſhop procured her to be ſent for to London, and then by his procurement ſhe was to be examined by ſome of her Majeſty's Council, concerning the diſpoſal of thoſe books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Biſhop invited her to Lambeth; and, after ſome friendly queſtions, ſhe confeſsed to him, "that one Mr. Chark[s], and another mi-"niſter that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and deſired "that they might go into her huſband's ſtudy, and look upon "ſome of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore "many of them, aſsuring her, that they were writings not fit "to be ſeen, and that ſhe knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-ſtreet, in Weſtminſter, where ſhe was found next morning, dead in her bed, and her new huſband ſuſpected and queſtioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare alſo, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker) who was of Mr. Hooker's College, and of his time there; and betwixt whom there was ſo friendly a friendſhip, that they continually adviſed together in all their ſtudies, and particularly in what concerned theſe books of Polity: This Dr. Spencer (the three firſt books being loſt) had delivered into his hands (I think by Biſhop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or firſt rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was beſt acquainted with his intentions. A fair teſtimony of this may appear by an epiſtle firſt and uſually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the laſt impreſsion of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publiſhers ſeem to impoſe the three doubtful, as the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker) with theſe two letters J. S. at the end of the ſaid epiſtle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which epiſtle the reader may find theſe very words, which may give ſome authority to what I have here written.

"And though Mr. Hooker haſtened his own death by haſten-"ing to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to "behold theſe Benjamins, theſe ſons of his right hand, though "to him they proved *Benonies*, ſons of pain and ſorrow: but

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[s] The perſon here meant was probably Mr. William Charke, a noted Puritan, deprived of his Fellowſhip at Peterhouſe in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and baniſhed from the Univerſity for having aſserted in a Latin ſermon, preached at St. Mary's, Dec. 3, 1572, "that the ſtates of "Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Metropolitans (Patriarchs), and laſtly of Popes, "were introduced into the church by Satan; and that among the "miniſters of the church one ought not to be ſuperior to another."
(*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 43.)

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" ſome evil-diſpoſed minds, whether of malice or covetouſneſs, " or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as ſoon as they were " born, and their father dead, ſmothered them; and, by con- " veying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old, " imperfect, mangled draughts, diſmembered into pieces: no " favour, no grace, not the ſhadow of themſelves remaining in " them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, " he might rightly have named them *Benonies*, the ſons of ſor- " row; but being the learned will not ſuffer them to die and " be buried, it is intended the world ſhall ſee them as they are: " the learned will find in them ſome ſhadows and reſemblances " of their father's face. God grant, that as they were with their " brethren dedicated to the church for meſſengers of peace, ſo, in " the ſtrength of that little breath of life that remaineth in " them, they may proſper in their work, and that, by ſatisfy- " ing the doubts of ſuch as are willing to learn, they may help " to give an end to the calamities of theſe our civil wars!

" J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epiſtle of Dr. Spencer's was writ, and firſt printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent ſearch had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expreſsed by the ſaid Dr. Spencer, ſince whoſe death it is now fifty years.

And I do profeſs, by the faith of a Chriſtian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and ſiſter to George Cranmer, of whom I have ſpoken) told me forty years ſince, in theſe, or in words to this purpoſe; " that her huſband had made up or " finiſhed Mr. Hooker's laſt three books; and that upon her " huſband's death-bed, or in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave them into " her hand, with a charge they ſhould not be ſeen by any man, " but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbiſhop " of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, " Biſhop of London; and that ſhe did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers tranſcripts, and were to be found in ſeveral places, as namely, in Sir Thomas Bodlie's library, in that of Dr. Andrew's late Biſhop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's, and in the Biſhop of Armagh's, and in many others; and moſt of theſe pretended to be the author's own hand, being much diſagreeing; being, indeed, altered and diminiſhed, as men have thought fitteſt to make Mr. Hooker's judgment ſuit with their fancies or give authority to their corrupt deſigns; and, for proof of a part of this, take theſe following teſtimonies:

Dr. Barnard, ſometime chaplain to Dr. Uſher, late Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called

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"Clavi Trabales[h]," printed by Rich. Hodgkinſon, anno 1661, that in his ſearch and examination of the ſaid Biſhop's manuſcripts, he there found the three written books, which were the ſuppoſed ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, of Mr. Hooker's books of "Eccleſiaſtical Polity;" and that, in the ſaid three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's), there are ſo many omiſsions that they amount to many paragraphs; and which cauſe many incoherencies; the omiſsions are by him ſet down at large in the ſaid printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to inſert this following ſhort part of them:

"Firſt, As there could be in natural bodies no motion of any "thing, unleſs there were ſome firſt which moved all things, "and continued unmoveable; even ſo in politic ſocieties there "muſt be ſome unpuniſhable, or elſe no man ſhall ſuffer pu- "niſhment; for, ſith puniſhments proceed always from ſupe- "riors, to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice belongeth, which "adminiſtration muſt have neceſsarily a fountain that deriveth "it to all others, and receiveth not from any, becauſe other- "wiſe the courſe of juſtice ſhould go infinitely in a circle, "every ſuperior having his ſuperior without end, which cannot "be, therefore, a well ſpring; it followeth, there is a ſupreme "head of juſtice whereunto all are ſubject, but itſelf in ſubjec- "tion to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if ſome ought "to have in a kingdom, who but the King ſhall have it? "Kings, therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to "judge.

"If private men offend, there is the Magiſtrate over them "which judgeth; if Magiſtrates, they have their Prince; if "Princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal, before which they "ſhall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any."— 'Here,' ſays the Doctor, 'it breaks off abruptly.'

And I have theſe words alſo atteſted under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips[i], a man of note for his uſeful books:

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[h] Or, "Nails faſtened by ſome great Maſters of Assemblies," &c. publiſhed by Nich. Bernard, D. D. London, 1661. It is a collection made by Archbiſhop Uſher of tracts written by himſelf, Mr. Richard Hooker, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Adrian Saravia, &c. with a preface by Biſhop Sanderſon. This volume contains the Lord Primate's Original of Biſhops and Metropolitans; wherein he proves from Scripture, as alſo from the moſt ancient writings and monuments of the church, that they owe their original to no leſs authority than that of the Apoſtles; ſo that there never was any Chriſtian church founded in the primitive times without Biſhops: which diſcourſe was not then, nor perhaps ever will be, anſwered by thoſe of a contrary judgment.

(See Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, p. 41.)

[i] A barriſter of ſome eminence in his profeſsion, and noted for his loyalty. From his diligent ſearch of records and papers depoſited in the public offices, he obtained a moſt extenſive knowledge of the hiſtory and

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" I will make oath if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson " the late Bishop of Lincoln did, a little before his death, affirm " to me he had seen a manuscript, affirmed to him to be the " hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was " no mention made of the King or supreme governors being " accountable to the people; this I will make oath that that " good man attested to me. FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued), gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, " that nothing of " his, that was not already printed, should be printed after his " death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, as also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his recommending them to the reading of his son Charles[k], that now is our gracious King; and you may suppose that this Charles I. was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say[l],

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and antiquities of England. When the bill for taking away the tenures was depending in Parliament, he published a work highly valued by professional readers: "Tenenda non Tollenda; or, the Necessity of preserving Tenures in Capite," &c. London. 1660. 4to.——He was also the author of "Veritas Inconcussa; or, a most certain Truth asserted, that King Charles I. was no Man of Blood, but a Martyr for his People." He concludes this tract with the following extraordinary passage: "The " Seavern, Thames, Trent, and Humber, four of the greatest rivers of " the kingdom, with all their lesser running streams of the island in their " continual courses, and those huge heaps of water in the ocean and " girdle of it, in their restless agitations, will never be able to scour and " wash away the guilt and stain of it (the King's death), though all the " rains which the clouds shall ever bring forth and impart to this na- " tion, and the tears of those that bewail the loss of a King of so emi- " nent graces and perfection shall be added to it."

[k] Dr. Gauden in his dedication of Mr. Hooker's Works to Charles II. thus addresses the King: " I shall need nothing more to ingratiate this " incomparable piece to your Majesty's acceptance, and all the English " world's, than the high commendations it hath ever had from your " Majesty's royal father; who, a few days before he was crowned with " martyrdom, commended to his dearest children the diligent reading " of Mr. Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' even next the Bible; as an " excellent means to settle them in the truth of religion, and in the " peace of the church, as much Christian and as well reformed as any " under heaven: as if God had reserved this signal honour to be done " by the best of kings and greatest of sufferers for this church, to him who " was one of the best writers and ablest defenders of it."

[l] A close and ambitious man, an enemy to the church of England, and desirous of its dissolution. His violent speech against Bishops is inserted in "Nalson's Collections," &c. Vol. II. page 266; and that against

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when the ſaid Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, becauſe it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books), the King replied, "they "were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; but however "he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and conſent to "what his Lordſhip propoſed to prove out of thoſe doubtful "books, if he would but conſent to the judgment of Mr. "Hooker, in the other five, that were the undoubted books of "Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning theſe three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker, my purpoſe was to inquire, then ſet down what I obſerved and know, which I have done, not as an engaged perſon, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give ſentence, for their legitimation, as to himſelf, but ſo as to leave others the ſame liberty of believing, or diſbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's. And it is obſervable, that as Mr. Hooker adviſed with Dr. Spencer, in the deſign and manage of theſe books, ſo alſo, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whoſe ſiſter was the wife of Dr. Spencer), of which this following Letter may be a teſtimony; and doth alſo give authority to ſome things mentioned both in the Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker; and is therefore added.

againſt Archbiſhop Laud, with the Archbiſhop's Anſwer in "Laud's Hiſtory of his Troubles," page 470. Nathaniel Fiennes, his favourite ſon, was a moſt violent enemy to Epiſcopacy and Monarchy, being one of thoſe called *Root and Branch Men*. Though this nobleman was the principal fomenter of the civil war, and entertained the moſt extravagant ideas of civil liberty, he found himſelf ſo unhappy under the new government, that he retired voluntarily to the iſle of Lundy, and exerted himſelf in promoting the reſtoration of Charles II. He afterward received a reward much ſuperior to his merit--the privy ſeal; the appointment to which gave great offence to many of the cavaliers.

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CONCERNING

THE NEW CHURCH DISCIPLINE;

AN EXCELLENT

LETTER,

WRITTEN BY MR. GEORGE CRANMER TO MR. R. H[m],

FEBRUARY MDXCVIII[n].

WHAT poſterity is likely to judge of theſe matters concerning church diſcipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within a few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the ſame. It may be remembered that at firſt, the greateſt part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way[o]. The books then written for the moſt part favoured of the diſciplinary ſtyle; it ſounded every where in pulpits, and in the common phraſe of men's ſpeech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong courſe, many which impugned the diſcipline, yet ſo impugned it, not as being the better form of government, but as not ſo convenient for our ſtate, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby likely to grow. One man alone[p] there was to ſpeak (whom let no ſuſpicion of flattery deprive of his deſerved commendation), who, in the diffidence of the one part, and courage of the other, ſtood in the gap, and gave others reſpite to prepare themſelves to their defence; which by the ſudden eagerneſs and violence of their adverſaries had otherwiſe been prevented.—Wherein God hath made good unto him his own empreſs, "Vincit qui patitur:"

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[m] This letter is reprinted from the original edition in 1642.

[n] Anthony Wood tells us, that he was informed by Mr. Iſaac Walton, that Mr. George Cranmer had written many other things beſides this letter, but that they were kept private, to the great prejudice of the public. (*Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col.* 306.)

[o] Namely, the diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Calvin in the church of Geneva.

[p] Archbiſhop Whitgift.

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for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands ſuſtained, the world is witneſs; and what reward of honour above his adverſaries God hath beſtowed upon him, themſelves (though nothing glad thereof) muſt needs confeſs. Now of late years the heat of men towards the diſcipline is greatly decayed; their judgments begin to ſway on the other ſide; the learned have weighed it and have found it light; wiſe men conceive ſome fear, leſt it prove not only not the beſt kind of government, but the very bane and deſtruction of all government. The cauſe of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, diſguiſed and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to poſſeſs men at firſt; but afterward, the weakneſs thereof being by time diſcovered, to loſe that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outſide of a houſe the paſſers by are oftentimes deceived, till they ſee the conveniency of the rooms within; ſo, by the very name of diſcipline and reformation, men were drawn at firſt to caſt a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themſelves only to paſs by and behold afar off the forefront of this reformed houſe; they have entered in, even at the ſpecial requeſt of the maſter workmen and chief builders thereof: they have peruſed the rooms, the lights, the conveniences; they find them not anſwerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived. So as now the diſcipline, which at firſt triumphed over all, being unmaſked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cauſe of change in opinion concerning the diſcipline is proper to the learned, or to ſuch as by them have been inſtructed. Another cauſe there is more open and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the courſe of practice which the reformers[q] have had with us from the beginning. The firſt degree was only ſome ſmall difference about cap and ſurplice, but not ſuch as either bred diviſion in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government then eſtabliſhed. This was peaceable; the next degree more ſtirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory ſort againſt our whole form of regiment. In defence of them volumes were publiſhed in Engliſh, in Latin: Yet this was no more than writing. Devices were ſet on foot to erect the practice of the diſcipline without authority; yet herein ſome regard of modeſty, ſome moderation was uſed. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, firſt in writing by Martin[r]: in whoſe kind of

[q] The Preſbyterian party, who ſeemed at that time to take their only meaſure of truth from oppoſition to and diſtance from the church of Rome, thinking nothing good therein; or, if there was, yet ſtill to be rejected on account of what therein was evil.

[r] Mr. Hooker, when he is ſpeaking "of the ſcurrilous and more than "ſatirical immodeſty of Martiniſm," tells his reader that "the firſt "publiſhed

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dealing theſe things may be obſerved: 1. That whereas T. C.[s] and others his great maſters, had always before ſet out the diſcipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God, he contrariwiſe, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the ſtage[t]. 2. Which conceit of his was grounded (as may be ſuppoſed) upon this rare policy, that ſeeing the diſcipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in ſecret corners hunted out and deſcried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly moſt plauſible) the ſtate eccleſiaſtical might have been drawn into ſuch contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof ſhould have been moſt grateful to all men, and in a manner deſired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myſelf to be true) how ſome of them, although they could not for ſhame approve ſo lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cauſe, acknowledging therein the ſecret judgments of God againſt the Biſhops, and hoping that ſome good might be wrought thereby for his church, as indeed there was, though not according to their conſtruction. For, 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing ſpirit did not only not further, but extremely diſgrace and prejudice their cauſe, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction at firſt, to what outrage of contumely and ſlander they were at length proceeded, and were alſo likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in fact: Certain prophets[u] did ariſe, who deeming it not poſsible that God ſhould ſuffer that undone which they did ſo fiercely deſire to have done, namely that his holy ſaints, the favourers and fathers of the diſcipline ſhould be enlarged, and delivered from perſecution; and, ſeeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to perſuade themſelves that God muſt needs raiſe ſome extraordinary means: and being perſuaded of none ſo well as of themſelves,

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"publiſhed ſchedules thereof being brought to the hands of a very grave "and very honourable Knight, with ſignification given, that the book "would refreſh his ſpirits, he took it, ſaw what the title was, read over an "unfavourie ſentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this an"ſwer, 'I am ſorie you are of the mind to bee ſolaced with theſe ſports, "'and ſorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your "'own.'" *(Hooker's Epist. Dedic. to Archbishop Whitgift.)*

[s] THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, the author and publiſher of "The Admonition to the Parliament," printed in 1572, with the approbation and aſsistance of the whole party, and fully anſwered and confuted paragraph by paragraph by Dr. Whitgift in the ſame year.

[t] Vice was the fool of the old moralities, with his dagger of lath, a long coat, and a cap with a pair of aſs's ears.
(See Shakespear's Twelfth Night, Act IV. Sc. iv.)

[u] William Hacket, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington.

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they forthwith muſt needs be the inſtruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themſelves an aſſured hope, that upon their preaching out of a peaſe-cart all the multitude would have preſently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have aſked them, "Viri fratres, quid agimus?" whereunto it is likely they would have returned an anſwer far unlike to that of St. Peter; "Such and ſuch are men unworthy "to govern, pluck them down: ſuch and ſuch are the dear "children of God, let them be advanced." Of two of theſe men it is meet to ſpeak with all commiſeration, yet ſo that others by their example may receive inſtruction, and withal ſome light may appear what ſtirring affections the diſcipline is likely to inſpire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds. Now if any man doubt of what ſociety they were, or if the reformers diſclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let theſe points be conſidered. 1. *Whoſe aſſociates were they before their entering into this frantic paſſion? Whoſe ſermons did they frequent? Whom did they admire?* 2. Even when they were entering into it, *Whoſe advice did they require?* and, when they were in, *Whoſe approbation? Whom advertiſed they of their purpoſe? Whoſe aſſiſtance by prayers did they requeſt?* But we deal injurioufly with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they diſcloſe it to the Magiſtrate, that it might be ſuppreſſed? or were they rather content to ſtand aloof and ſee the end of it, and loath to quench the ſpirit? No doubt theſe mad practitioners were of their ſociety, with whom before, and in the practice of their madneſs, they had moſt affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book [x].

A third inducement may be to diſlike of the diſcipline, if we conſider not only how far the reformers themſelves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Browniſts in the firſt rank, their lineal deſcendants, who have ſeized upon a number of ſtrange opinions; whereof although their anceſtors, the reformers, were never actually poſſeſſed, yet by right and intereſt from them derived, the Browniſts [y] and Barrowiſts have taken poſſeſſion of

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[x] Entitled "A Survey of the pretended holy Diſcipline; to which is prefixed a Sermon preached againſt the Puritans, at St. Paul's Croſs, Feb. 9, 1588-9, from the following Text: *Dearly beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God, for many falſe Prophets have gone out into the world.* 1 *John*, iv. 1."

[y] ROBERT BROWN, a perſon of a good family in Rutlandſhire, educated at Corpus Chriſti College in Cambridge, was the founder of a ſect of Puritans, who took their name from him. He inveighed with the moſt bitter acrimony againſt the Church of England, condemning her government as Antichriſtian, her ſacraments as ſuperſtitious, and her whole liturgy as a compound of Paganiſm and Popery. His own ſyſtem of religious inſtitution was explained by him in a book entitled "A Treatiſe of Reformation." He wrote ſeveral tracts in ſupport of his opi-

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them[z]. For if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false. For upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand:

1. That because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us.

2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own.

And if the former of these be true, the latter I suppose will follow. For if above all things, men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the church there be no salvation, it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary. As also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church; not to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, that in our church there is no means of salvation, is out of the reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a

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nions, and sustained various persecutions, having been committed at different times to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at broad-day. Before his removal with his followers to Middleburg in Zealand, he became disgusted with their divisions and disputes; and though, according to Strype, he had gone a farther distance than any of the Puritans did, he renounced his principles of separation, being promoted by his relation, Lord Burghley, to a benefice, that of Achurch in Northamptonshire.——He is represented to have been unamiable in private life; And it is to be lamented that he always possessed a turbulent and unquiet disposition. He died in a prison in 1630, in the 80th year of his age, having been sent thither by a justice of the peace for assaulting a constable who was executing a warrant against him.

(Strype's Life of Whitgift, B. IV. C. I. and Appendix, No. 45. Of the Brownists, see Fuller's Church History, B. IX. p. 168, and Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 98.)

It appears from a passage in Shakespear that the Brownists were treated as objects of satire: "Policy I hate; I had as lief be a *Brownist* as a "politician." *(Twelfth Night, A. III. Sc. II.)*——"Why now thou "art a good knave, worth a hundred Brownists." *(The Puritan, A. III. Sc. VI.)*

[z] So denominated from HENRY BARROW, a layman, and noted sectary, who suffered death for publishing seditious books against the Queen and the State. He derived his doctrine principally from Cartwright; maintaining, among other things, that the church of England was not a true church; that her ministers had no lawful calling; and that the use of forms of prayer was blasphemous. *(Of this man and his opinions, see Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 58.—Kennet's History of England, Vol. II. p. 571.)*

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matter of faith, and neceſsary to ſalvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the profeſsors thereof oppreſsed. Ergo.

Again (but this reaſon perhaps is weak), every true church of Chriſt acknowledgeth the whole goſpel of Chriſt; the diſcipline, in their opinion, is a part of the goſpel, and yet by our church reſiſted. Ergo.

Again the diſcipline is eſsentially united to the church: by which term *essentially*, they muſt mean either an eſsential part, or an eſsential property. Both which ways it muſt needs be, that where that eſsential diſcipline is not, neither is there any church. If, therefore, between them and the Browniſts there ſhould be appointed a ſolemn diſputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes ſo earneſt challengers; it doth not yet appear what other anſwer they could poſsibly frame to theſe and the like arguments, wherewith they might be preſsed, but fairly to deny the concluſion (for all the premiſes are their own), or rather ingeniouſly to reverſe their own principles before laid, whereon ſo foul abſurdities have been ſo firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the diſcipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am deſirous this one ſhould be ſtrongly inforced againſt them, becauſe it wringeth them moſt of all, and is of all others (for ought I ſee) the moſt unanſwerable. You may, notwithſtanding, ſay, that you would be heartily glad theſe their poſitions might ſo be ſalved, as the Browniſts might not appear to have iſsued out of their loins; but until that be done, they muſt give us leave to think that they have caſt the ſeed whereout theſe tares are grown.

Another ſort of men there is, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor inſtruments of their own deſigns. Theſe are a ſort of godleſs politics, who, perceiving the plot of diſcipline to conſiſt of theſe two parts, the overthrow of Epiſcopal, and erection of Preſbyterial authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the deſtructive part of diſcipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other alſo they ſhall find them as ready. But when time ſhall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be releaſed from this. Theſe men's ends in all their actions is τὸ ἴδιον, their pretence and colour reformation[a]. Thoſe things, which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among miniſters, they have made way to their own purpoſes

[a] In the latter editions the ſentence is, "Theſe men's ends in all their "actions is diſtraction; their pretence and colour reformation."

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for devouring cathedral churches and Bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil state more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have fought to disgrace the clergy in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and especially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted, to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there is, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them, namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; *senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry*: for how should not men dare to impugn that which neither by force of reason nor by authority of persons is maintained: But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of Atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth.—They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing. Which humour of scoffing and turning matters most serious into merriment is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the prophet means by the *seat of scorners*, nor what the apostles by fore-telling of *scorners to come*; our own age hath verified their speech unto us. Which also may be an argument against these scoffers and Atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford; which could not be done by any other spirit save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, "Where is the promise of his coming?" Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of Atheism is sen-

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quality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life: among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour, therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body. Against which barbarous opinion their own Atheism is a very strong argument: For were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, not so much as to dispute against heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation. Which over-reaching speech of their's, because it is so open to advantage both for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did somewhat overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these:

1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two; *overthrow of Episcopal; erection of Presbyterial authority.* But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their re-

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tinue. Thoſe things, therefore, which either in the perſons, or in the laws and orders themſelves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpoſe. For what if all errors by them ſuppoſed in our liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts deſire; if non-reſidence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders, therefore, preſently authoriſed? their ſovereign eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction eſtabliſhed?

But even in their complaining againſt the outward and accidental matters in church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propoſe to themſelves. For in declaiming againſt abuſes, their meaning is not to have them redreſſed, but, by diſgracing the preſent ſtate, to make way for their own diſcipline. As, therefore, in Venice, if any ſenator ſhould diſcourſe againſt the power of their ſenate, as being either too ſovereign, or too weak in government, with purpoſe to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be ſuffered; but not ſo, if it ſhould appear he ſpake with purpoſe to induce another ſtate by depraving the preſent: ſo, in all cauſes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or of innovation; and accordingly either to ſuffer or ſuppreſs it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, *Why, may not men ſpeak againſt abuſes?* Yes, but with deſire to cure the part affected, not to deſtroy the whole. 2. A ſecond fault is in their manner of complaining, not only becauſe it is for the moſt part in bitter and reproachful terms, but alſo becauſe it is unto the common people, judges incompetent and inſufficient, both to determine any thing amiſs, and for want of ſkill and authority to amend it. Which alſo diſcovereth their intent and purpoſe to be rather deſtructive than corrective. 3dly, Thoſe very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: Some things, indeed, they accuſe as impious; which if they may appear to be ſuch, God forbid they ſhould be maintained.

Againſt the reſt it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without uſe, and that better and more profitable might be deviſed. Wherein they are doubly deceived; for neither is it a ſufficient plea to ſay, *This muſt give place, becauſe a better may be devised*; and in our judgments of better and worſe, we oftentimes conceive amiſs, when we compare thoſe things which are in deviſe with thoſe which are in practice; for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be diſcovered: the others are already manifeſt and open to all. But laſt of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am deſirous to have enlarged), they do not ſee, that for the moſt part when they ſtrike at the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, they ſecretly wound the civil ſtate. For perſonal faults, what can be ſaid againſt the church, which may not alſo agree to the

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commonwealth? In both ſtateſmen have always been, and will be always men, ſometimes blinded with error, moſt commonly perverted by paſsions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. As for abuſes which they pretend to be in the laws themſelves; when they inveigh againſt non-reſidence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil ſtate, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himſelf continually remaining in the ſouth? *He that hath an office, let him attend his office.* When they condemn plurality of livings ſpiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinite of temporal promotions? By the great philoſopher, it is forbidden as a thing moſt dangerous to commonwealths, that by the ſame man many great offices ſhould be exerciſed. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to thoſe civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of juſtice are uſed? Were it hard to argue even againſt circumciſion, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? againſt the paſsover, as being ridiculous—ſhod, girt, a ſtaff in their hand, to eat a lamb[b]?

To conclude, you may exhort the clergy (or what if you direct your concluſion, not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in, or of both Univerſities), you may exhort them to a due conſideration of all things, and to a right eſteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to ſtand: for it oftentimes falleth out, what men have either deviſed themſelves, or greatly delighted in, the price and excellency thereof they do admire above deſert. The chiefeſt labour of a Chriſtian ſhould be to know, of a miniſter to preach Chriſt crucified: in regard whereof not only worldly things, but even things otherwiſe precious, even the diſcipline itſelf is vile and baſe. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto, therefore, they are to be exhorted, to preach Chriſt crucified, the mortification of the fleſh, the renewing of the ſpirit; not thoſe things which in time of ſtrife ſeem precious, but, paſsions being allayed, are vain and childiſh.

[b] A ſtrange reading is found in all the ſubſequent editions; "Againſt "the paſsover as being ridiculous; ſhould be girt, a ſtaff in their hand, "to eat a lamb."

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THIS EPITAPH was long ſince preſented to the world in memory of Mr. HOOKER, by Sir WILLIAM COWPER; who alſo built him a fair Monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his ſpiritual father.

THOUGH nothing can be ſpoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious HOOKER; though this coſt be ſpent
On him that hath a laſting monument
In his own books; yet ought we to expreſs,
If not his worth, yet our reſpectfulneſs.
Church-ceremonies he maintained: then why,
Without all ceremony, ſhould he die?
Was it becauſe his life and death ſhould be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to aſk, why had he none?
Yet he that lay ſo long obſcurely low
Doth now preferred to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wiſe:
Humility is the true way to riſe:
And God in me this leſson did inſpire,
To bid this humble man—"Friend, ſit up higher."

W. C.

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APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

THE Works of Mr. Hooker, excluſive of the Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, the different editions of which are enumerated in a ſubſequent Page, are,

I. "ANSWER to the SUPPLICATION that Mr. TRAVERS made to the COUNCIL. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

II. "A learned DISCOURSE of JUSTIFICATION, WORKS, and how the FOUNDATION of FAITH is overthrown: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

III. "A learned SERMON of the NATURE of PRIDE: on *Habak.* ii. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

IV. "A REMEDY againſt SORROW and FEAR, delivered in a FUNERAL SERMON: on *John* xiv. 27. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

V. "A learned and comfortable SERMON of the CERTAINTY and PERPETUITY of FAITH in the ELECT: eſpecially of the PROPHET HABAKKUK's FAITH: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

VI. "TWO SERMONS upon part of St. JUDE's EPISTLES. *Epist. Jude*, ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. *Oxon.* 1613." 4to.

Theſe Sermons were originally publiſhed by Mr. Henry Jackſon, with "Wickliff's Wicket," and afterward reprinted without that tract. What reception they met with from the public we learn from one of his letters preſerved in Fulman's papers in the library of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford. "Edidi ante paucos dies tractatus quoſdam D. Richardi "Hookeri, qui omnium Applauſu, excipio Puritanos ut vocant, "ita excepti ſunt, ut neceſſe jam ſit typographo noſtro novam "Editionem parare, quæ primâ illâ emendatior meâ curâ, deo "volente, proſtitura eſt. Cùm itaque prodierit, expecta bina "exemplaria unà cùm Wiclefi Tractatu, quem edidi eodem "Tempore."

VIII. In 1641, a volume was publiſhed under the following title: "A SUMMARIE VIEW of the GOVERNMENT both of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT; whereby the EPIS-

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COPAL GOVERNMENT of CHRIST's CHURCH is vindicated," out of the rude draughts of Launcelot Andrews, late Biſhop of Wincheſter.

To this volume is prefixed, as a preamble to the whole, "A DISCOVERY of the CAUSES of theſe CONTENTIONS touching CHURCH GOVERNMENT, out of the FRAGMENTS of RICHARD HOOKER."

This volume contains certain brief treatiſes, written by divers learned men, concerning the ancient and modern Government of the Church. The treatiſes are ſeven in number, of which this poſthumous work of Mr. Hooker is one, and as it ſtands before the reſt it is therefore called a Preamble to the whole.

IX. THREE TREATISES inſerted in the "CLAVI TRABALES." viz. 1. "On the KING's POWER in Matters of RELIGION." 2. "Of his POWER in the ADVANCEMENT of BISHOPS to their ROOMS of PRELACY." 3. "The KING's EXEMPTION from CENSURE, and other JUDICIAL POWER."

It will not be improper to notice a publication of great merit, entitled "A FAITHFUL ABRIDGMENT of the WORKS of that learned and judicious Divine, Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, in eight books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, and of all the other Treatiſes which were written by the ſame Author. With an Account of his Life. By a Divine of the Church of England. *London*, 1705."

In "Fulman's Manuſcript Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford," the time and birth of Mr. Hooker, with ſome other particulars relative to him, are aſcertained.

"Richardus Hooker apud Heavy-tree juxta Civitatem Exoniam "natus eſt circa finem Martii Menſis, Anno 1554 ineunte."

"He was admitted Scholar of C. C. C. Dec. 24, 1573, being "twenty years old the Eaſter following; and admitted Pro- "bationer, Sept. 16, 1577, being 23 years old the Eaſter pre- "ceding."

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OF THE

AUTHENTICITY OF THE THREE LAST BOOKS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

THE writings of the learned and judicious Mr. Richard Hooker have ſo deſervedly obtained the character of ſuperior excellency, that it becomes a matter of no little conſequence to diſtinguiſh his genuine works from any ſuppoſitious productions that have appeared in his name. Of the authenticity of the three laſt Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, much doubt has been entertained. As I am not inclined to hope that it is in my power to throw new light upon the ſubject, I ſhall merely ſuggeſt ſome few obſervations that obviouſly occur on a plain repreſentation of the caſe.

The four firſt books of this celebrated work were firſt printed in 1594, and the fifth in 1597. While they were admired and applauded by wiſe and good men both at home and abroad, they gave great offence to that numerous band of puritanical writers, whoſe unremitting zeal, in oppoſing our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, uniformly diſplayed itſelf on all occaſions. In fact this performance of Mr. Hooker ſoon engaged the attention of thoſe writers. They treated him with much aſperity in a tract entitled "A Chriſtian Letter of certain Engliſh Proteſtants, unfained Favourers of the preſent State of Religion, authoriſed and profeſsed in England, unto that reverend and learned man Mr. R. HOO. requiring reſolution in certaine matters of doctrine (which ſeeme to overthrow the foundation of Chriſtian Religion, and of the Church among us) expreſslie contained in his five books of Eccleſiaſticall Policie. 1599." This tract is ſaid to have given that wound to Mr. Hooker, "that it was not the leaſt cauſe to procure his death." But, "it was far otherwiſe," according to Dr. Covel[c], who, with

[c] See "A Juſt and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of Eccleſiaſtical Policie, written by Mr. Richard Hooker, againſt an uncharitable Letter of certain Engliſh Proteſtants (as they tearme themſelves), craving Reſolution, &c. Written by William Covel, Doctor in Divinitie. *London*, 1603."

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equal modeſty and learning, has diſcuſsed all the poſitions advanced in *the Christian Letter*; "for he contemned it in his "wiſdom; and yet in his humilitie would have anſwered it, if "he had lived."

It cannot be denied that Mr. Hooker completed eight books[d]. The accompliſhment of this work was the wiſh neareſt to his heart. He had formed in his vaſtly comprehenſive mind a noble and magnificent plan. Having lived to ſee that plan perfected, he died with complacency and contentment.

Many circumſtances contributed to excite a ſuſpicion, that an attempt would be made to ſuppreſs or deſtroy his manuſcripts. This appears from a Letter written by Dr. Launcelot Andrews, who was then Maſter of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, to Dr. Parry[e].

"SALUTEM IN CHRISTO,

"I cannot chooſe but write though you do not: I never "failed ſince I laſt ſaw you, but dayly prayed for him till this "very inſtant you ſent this heavie news. I have hitherto "prayed, *servâ nobis hunc*: now muſt I, *da nobis alium*. Alas "for our greate loſs! And when I ſay ours, though I meane "yours and myne, yet much more the common: with the loſse "ſince they have of ſo greate a damage, the more ſad wee neede "to bewayle them and ourſelves, who knowe his workes and "his worth to be ſuch, as behind him he hath not (that I "knowe) left anie neere him. And whether I ſhall live to "knowe anie neere him, I am in greate doubt, that I care not "how manie and myſelf had redeemed his longer life to have "done good in a better ſubject than he had in hand, though "that were very good. Good brother, have a care to deal with "his executrix or executor, or (him that is like to have a greate "ſtroke in it) his father in lawe, that there be ſpecial care "and regard for preſerving ſuch papers as he left, beſides the

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[d] Of this circumſtance Dr. Gauden ſeems not to be appriſed. He tells us that they were eſteemed abortives, with ſuch lineaments of their father's virtue and vigour in them, that they may be eaſily and juſtly owned for genuine, although perhaps they had not the laſt poſiture of their parent's head: Their ſtrength ſhows them to be a legitimate progeny, however they may ſeem to want ſomething of that beauty and luſtre which always attended Mr. Hooker's conſummation.

(*Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker*, p. 14.)

[e] From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, and inſerted in the Oxford edition of Mr. Hooker's works. Dr. Henry Parry, to whom this letter ſeems to have been addreſsed, was educated in Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford. In 1607, he was appointed Biſhop of Glouceſter, and in 1610, Biſhop of Worceſter. He was reputed by all of his time, an able divine, and well read in the Fathers, a thorough-paced diſputant, and ſo eloquent a preacher, that King James I. "who did ken a man of merit as well as "any prince in Chriſtendom," always profeſsed he ſeldom heard a better. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 416.

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"three laſt books expected. By preſerving I meane, that not "only they be not embezelled, and come to nothing, but that "they come not into greate hands, whoe will only have uſe of "them *quatenus et quousque*, and ſuppreſſe the reſt, or unhappily "all: but rather into the hands of ſome of them that unfeinedly "wiſhed him well, though of the meaner ſort; who may upon "good aſsurance (very good aſsurance) be truſted with them; "for it is pitie they ſhould admit anie limitation. Do this, "and do it mature: it had bin more than time long ſince to "have bin about it, if I had ſooner knowne it. If my word or "letter would doe anie good to Mr. Churchman, it ſhould not "want. But what cannot yourſelf or Mr. Sandys doe therein? "For Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he ſhall gaine a "weeke or two before he knowe of it. Almightie God comfort "us over him! whoſe taking away I truſt I ſhall no longer "live, then with grief I remember; therefore with grief, be-"cauſe with inward and moſt juſt honour I ever honoured him "ſince I knew him.

"Your aſsured

"Poore loving Friend,

"At the Court, 7 Novr. 1600. "L. ANDREWES."

We learn from the Latin epitaph inſcribed on the monument which was erected in 1631, to the memory of Mr. Hooker, above thirty years after his death, that the ſuſpicion was not groundleſs, and that three books were actually wanting. "Scripſit octo Libros Politiæ Eccleſiaſticæ Anglicanæ, *quorum* "*tres desiderantur.*"

Within four years after the death of this venerable man, the moſt ſtrict and diligent inquiry was made after them without ſucceſs. Anthony Wood announces the publication of all the eight books, with certain tractates and ſermons, ſo early as in 1617. The title page of the edition of that year, on which he eſtabliſhes his opinion, utters a glaring falſehood; the volume containing only five books, as well in this edition of 1617, as in the ſubſequent ones of 1621 and 1631. The compilers of "The General Dictionary," and of "The Biographia Britannica," relying on the authority of Wood, have fallen into the ſame error.—Without condeſcending to examine the contents of the volume, they very injuriouſly charge Dr. Gauden with ignorance or confidence, when he inſinuates that the Seventh Book was firſt publiſhed in 1662.

The Sixth and Eighth Books were printed at London in 1648, 4to, under the title of "The Lawes of Eccleſiaſticall Politie, the Sixth and Eighth Books: By Richard Hooker. A work long expected, and now publiſhed according to the moſt authentique copies." In this edition it is aſserted that they were compared with five copies extant, in different libraries; in the Bodleian Library, in that at Lambeth, and in thoſe of Biſhop Andrews, Archbiſhop Uſher, and Lord Edward Conway. With regard

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to the degree of credit due to these copies, a profound silence is observed.

Fourteen years after, namely in 1662, the Seventh Book (touching Episcopacy, or the Primitive, Catholick, and Apostolick Government of the Church) said to be completed out of his own manuscripts, was published by Dr. Gauden, then Bishop of Exeter, along with Mr. Hooker's other works[f].

It seems reasonable to expect that the fullest and most convincing proofs should have been adduced to substantiate these books as authentic. A cautious editor, when he presents to the public light a choice and precious manuscript, that had long been buried in obscurity, will not content himself with mere assertions: He will endeavour to inform his readers when and where it was discovered: He will endeavour to establish its authority with all possible precision, so as to banish every doubt concerning its genuineness. On the present occasion nothing of this kind has been attempted. When aseverations are urged without any attendant arguments to confirm their validity, the mind is left to fluctuate in uncertainty and perplexedness. It is declared by Dr. Gauden, that "these three last books were "never finished[g]." The truth of this declaration is expressly contradicted, both by the above cited epitaph, and by Isaac Walton's narrative.

It is added, that "they had been *for many ages* suppressed." Was it not, therefore, highly requisite to advance some evidence of their originality after this long suppression; to ascertain the place where they had eluded all inquiry; to instruct us by what means they were brought from their dark abode? A treasure so inestimable, a deposit so dear to every good man, would surely have been preserved with the utmost fidelity and caution; and when ushered into the world, would have been accompanied with all the attestations necessary to enhance its worth.

He proceeds: "They are now come to light after our late "long troubles, as some buried statues or hidden monuments "are oft discovered by earthquakes." Are we to attribute the discovery of them, after a concealment for so extensive a period of time, to the distracted state of this country, amidst the horrors and confusion of a civil war? Yet what prevented their more early appearance? In the mild and peaceable reign of James I. when disquisitions on the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England were the subjects of general attention, the publication of them would have been peculiarly acceptable.

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[f] Dr. Gauden published "Hooker's Works," in 1662, fol. A second edition, with "The Life of Mr. Hooker, by Isaac Walton," appeared in 1666, fol. A third in 1676, fol. A fourth in 1682, fol. A fifth in 1723, fol. And a sixth in 1793, printed at Oxford in three volumes, 8vo.

[g] See "Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker."

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And if their genuineneſs admitted no doubt, what cauſes can poſsibly be aſsigned for ſecreting them? If they remained in the poſſeſsion of Mr. Hooker's friends, thoſe friends would eagerly and without delay have conſigned them to the preſs. If his enemies concealed them, it is ſcarce probable that from their hands they would emerge pure and uncontaminated[h].

He adds further: "Each of them is by learned critics judged "to be genuine or authentic." Who thoſe learned critics are, or upon what grounds they founded their criticiſm, we are left to conjecture. King Charles I. by whom the very name of Mr. Hooker was held in the higheſt veneration, thought otherwiſe. In his interview with Lord Say, he expreſsly maintained that the Sixth and Eighth Books were not allowed to have been written by Mr. Hooker. And this opinion was probably the reſult of his diſcourſes on the ſubject with thoſe divines, in whoſe converſation he delighted, and who were perfectly competent to decide upon the matter, being men of great candour and known integrity of mind, neither deficient in inquiſitiveneſs, nor liable to be deceived by artifice. And no recent teſtimony has been ſince adduced to enervate the evidence that ariſes from the King's aſsertion.

Of the authenticity of the Sixth Book no intelligence is communicated.

The Seventh Book is affirmed, "by comparing the writing "of it with other indiſputable papers or known manuſcripts of "Mr. Hooker, to be undoubtedly his own hand throughout." From this laſt poſitive declaration it may be deemed difficult to withhold aſsent. Our acquieſcence in it would have been cheerfully given, if it had been ſupported by any corroborating arguments:—If, we had been informed when theſe papers and known MSS. were depoſited, and by whoſe nice diſcriminating eye the collation was made.

The Eighth Book has no other mark of legitimacy upon it, has no other character to elucidate its origin, than the bare affirmation, that "it is written by another hand, as a copy, but

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[h] It is remarked of the Puritanical writers of thoſe times, that they were not aſhamed "to ſett forth ſuppoſitious pamphlets in favour of "their cauſe, under the counterfeit names of other men of known piety "and parts, whoſe former writings have been entertained with general "approbation abroad in the world:" Their very names, they thought, would give ſome countenance to any cauſe which they could ſeem in any degree to own. "This," ſays Dr. Sanderſon, "is one of their pias "*fraudes*, or godly cheats; a practice common to them with the Jeſuits, "as many other of their practices (ey and of their doctrines too) are. Such "an unhappy fatal coincidence not ſeldom there is of extremes. Thus "they dealt with the reverend Primate of Armagh, printing his name, "and that in his life-time too (ſuch was their modeſty and tenderneſs "of conſcience), to two ſeverall pamphlets, the one called 'Vox Hi"berniæ,' and the other 'A Direction to the Parliament,' &c." See "Clavi Trabales," p. 151.

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" interlined in many places with Mr. Hooker's own character, " *as owned by him.*"

Dr. John Spencer, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, ſolicitous to preſerve every document, every fragment of the writings of his friend, commiſsioned Mr. Henry Jackſon[i], a fellow collegian, to form a tranſcript of all the papers which were left. This tranſcript was bequeathed by Dr. Spencer to Dr. John King, Biſhop of London, on whoſe demiſe it devolved upon his ſon the Biſhop of Chicheſter, by whom it was placed in the Archbiſhop's library at Lambeth. The dreadful devaſtation made of that library by Hugh Peters, and the other Goths and Vandals of the age, leaves us no reaſon to think, that the tranſcript, whatever it contained, eſcaped the general wreck. But there is no proof that it actually compriſed the books in queſtion. A particular deſcription of it is given by Dr. Spencer himſelf in the advertiſement prefixed to the ſixth edition of the Five Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity. He aſsures us concerning theſe three laſt Books, that " ſome evil-" diſpoſed minds, whether of malice or covetouſneſs, or wicked " blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian mid-" wives, as ſoon as they were born and their father dead, ſmo-" thered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies, left " unto us *nothing but certain old unperfect and mangled draughts,* " *diſmembered into pieces, and ſcattered, like Medea's Abſirtus, no* " *favour, no grace, not the ſhadows of themſelves almoſt remaining* " *in them.*" If he ever arranged theſe papers with a view to publiſh them as the finiſhed works of Mr. Hooker, he ſeems to have altered his deſign, from a decided conviction that they had no claim to be acknowledged in that light[k].

He intimates, in the advertiſement above quoted, that there is a purpoſe of ſetting forth the three laſt Books alſo, their father's *poſthumi.* It may be aſked, what hindered this purpoſe?

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[i] Mr. HENRY JACKSON, born in the city of Oxford, was admitted Probationary Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College, Sept. 5, 1612. He was a great admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker, and of Dr. John Reynolds; whoſe memories being moſt dear to him, he did for the ſake of the firſt, induſtriouſly collect and publiſh ſome of his ſmall treatiſes, and of the latter ſeveral of his epiſtles and orations. See " Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 291.

[k] We learn from a letter, written by Mr. Henry Jackſon, and preſerved in Fulman's papers, in the library of C. C. C. that Dr. Spencer actually intended to publiſh the Eighth Book. " Puto præſidem noſtrum emiſ-" ſurum ſub ſuo Nomine D. Hookeri Librum octavum à *me planè vitæ* " *reſtitutum.* Tulit alter honores." What pains were taken by Mr. Jackſon to render this Eighth Book as perfect as poſsible, and how doubtful he was whether it really deſerved the public light, appears from another letter: " Si totus non eſſem *in poliendo libro octavo* D. Richardi " Hooker de Eccleſiaſticâ Politiâ, quem præſes collegii noſtri mihi com-" mendavit, aliquid ad te miſiſsem, ut tuum expiſcarer judicium an lu-" cem neché mereatur."

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Nothing certainly, but an assurance that the papers found by Mr. Henry Jackson were in so mangled and mutilated a condition, that they could not appear without manifest injury to the reputation of their author. When it is remembered that Dr. Spencer survived Mr. Hooker fourteen years, we must conclude that his respect for the dignity of his friend's character deterred him from obtruding any work on the public which he did not consider as indisputably authentic.

It has been already remarked, that a copy of the three last Books is said to have been placed in Archbishop Usher's library. If that learned and sagacious man had deemed the copy authentic, is it possible to suppose that he would have withheld it from the public eye? In fact, his anxiety to preserve and make known the genuine writings of Mr. Hooker, appears from the care with which he selected three short treatises written with the hand of that excellent person, and published by Dr. Bernard, with the Primate's marginal notes, in the "Clavi Trabales:" "Of gold," says Bishop Sanderson, in a preface to this publication, "*quævis bracteola* the very filings are precious; "and our blessed Saviour, when there was no want of provi- "sion, yet gave it in charge to his disciples, that the offall "should not be lost."

Mr. Isaac Walton informs us, that the three perfect Books were lost, and that the wife of Mr. Hooker did not pay much attention to his memory after his death. She permitted Mr. Charke and his companion to ransack his study. These two men, professedly hostile to the Church of England, burnt and tore many of his written papers, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen. Thus the invaluable treasure was irrecoverably gone, before Mr. Henry Jackson entered on his commission. Nothing remained for him but the reliques of their savage plunder. Yet Mr. Neale, in his "History of the Puritans," Vol. I. p. 571, asserts with his usual boldness, that "the three last Books were not published till many years after "the author's death, *though they were deposited in the hands of "Archbishop Abbot, from whose copy they were printed about the "beginning of the civil wars.*" Not to remark the inaccuracy of his observation, for the Seventh Book first appeared in 1662, after the Restoration, we are led to infer from this assertion, that the three Books in their present state as corrected, revised, and prepared by Mr. Hooker for the press, were placed in the library at Lambeth, and there carefully preserved; when it is clear from the best authority, that of Dr. Spencer, that nothing was left but "certain old unperfect and mangled draughts, "dismembered into pieces, and scattered like Medea's Ab- "sirtus."

The excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor confirms the suspicion, that the three Books are not genuine. In the dedication of his celebrated work, entitled "Ductor Dubitantium," to King Charles II. he observes, that "those cases that concern the

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" power, and offices of eccleſiaſtical Superiors and *Supreme*, " were, though in another manner, long ſince done by the in- " comparable Mr. Hooker, in the Seventh and Eighth Books of " Eccleſiaſtical Polity, or the learned Archbiſhop of Spalato: " but *their labours were unhappily loſt, and never ſaw the light.*" He adds, " Though I cannot attain to the ſtrength of theſe *cham-* " *pions* of David, yet ſince their portion of works is fallen into " my hands, I have heartily endeavoured to ſupply their loſs."

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Mr. GEORGE HERBERT.

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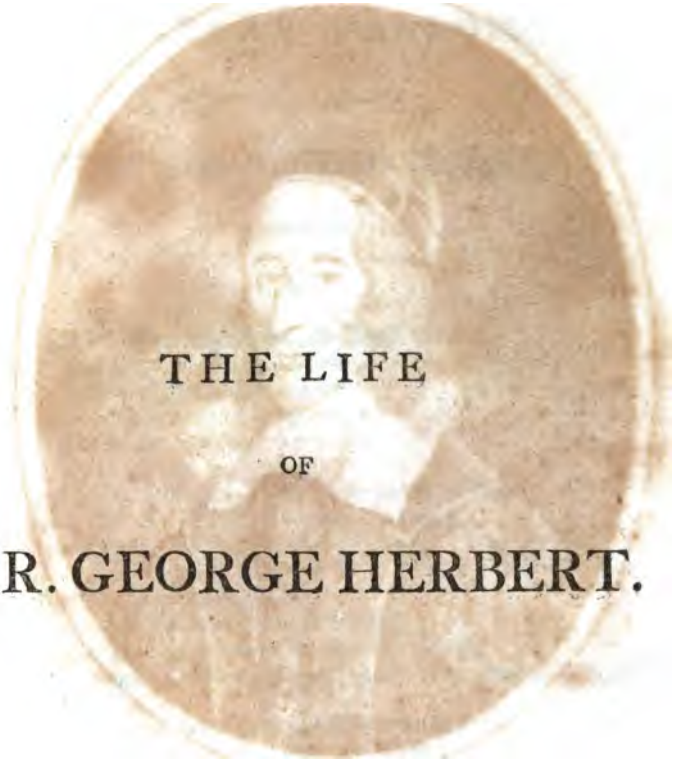

THE LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

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TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

UPON HIS EXCELLENT

LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I.

HEAV'NS youngeſt ſon, its Benjamin,
Divinity's next brother, ſacred Poeſie,
No longer ſhall a virgin reckoned be
(What eré with others 'tis) by me,
A female muſe, as were the nine;
But (full of vigour maſculine)
An eſsence male, with angels his companions ſhine.
With angels firſt the heavenly youth was bred,
And, when a child, inſtructed them to ſing
The praiſes of th' Immortal King
Who Lucifer in triumph led:
For, as in chains the monſter ſank to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,
By him firſt taught, "How art thou fallen thou morning ſtar?"
they ſaid,
Too fondly then, we have fancy'd him a maid:
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade;
A female angel leſs would Urbin's* ſkill upbraid.

II.

Thus 'twas in heaven: this, Poeſy's ſex and age;
And, when he thence t'our lower world came down,
He choſe a form more like his own,
And Jeſse's youngeſt ſon inſpir'd with holy rage,
The ſprightly ſhepherd felt unuſual fire,
And up he took his tuneful lyre;
He took it up, and ſtruck't, and his own ſoft touches did admire.
Thou, Poeſy, on him didſt beſtow
Thy choiceſt gift, a honour ſhew'd before to none;
And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
Gav'ſt him thy empire and dominion;

* Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.

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The happy land of verſe, where flow
Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow;
Wherewith thou didſt adorn his brow,
And mad'ſt his firſt, more flouriſhing, and triumphant crown.
Aſsiſt me thy great prophet's praiſe to ſing,
David, the poet's, and bleſs'd Iſrael's King;
And with the dancing echo, let the mountains ring!
Then on the wings of ſome auſpicious wind,
Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
And in the ſtarry volume of the ſky,
A laſting record find:
Be with his mighty pſaltery join'd;
Which, taken long ſince up into the air,
And call'd the harp, makes a bright conſtellation there.

III.

Worthy it was to be tranſlated hence,
And there, in view of all, exalted hang:
To which ſo oft the princely prophet ſang,
And myſtic oracles did diſpenſe.
Though had it ſtill remain'd below,
More wonders of it we had ſeen,
How great the mighty Herbert's ſkill had been;
Herbert, who could ſo much without it do;
Herbert, who did its chords diſtinctly know;
More perfectly than any child of verſe below.
O! had we known him half ſo well!
But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing ſo fair, and worthy praiſe to do;
Who, ſo exactly all his ſtory tell,
That though he did not want his bays,
Nor all the monuments virtue can raiſe,
Your hand he did, to eternize his praiſe.
Herbert and Donne again are join'd,
Now here below, as they're above;
Theſe friends are in their old embraces twin'd;
And ſince by you the interview's deſign'd,
Too weak to part them death does prove;
For in this book they meet again, as in one heav'n they love.

SAM. WOODFORDE, D. D.

BENSTEAD,
April 3.

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IN VITAM

GEORGII HERBERTI,

AB

ISAACO WALTONO SCRIPTAM.

O Quàm erubeſco cùm tuam vitam lego,
Herberte Sancte, quámque me pudet meæ!
Ego talpa cæcus hîc humi fodiens miſer,
Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo,
Ego Choïcum vas terreas fæces olens,
Tu (ſola namque Urania tibi ex muſis placet)
Nil tale ſpiras; ſed ſapis cœlum et Deum,
Omnique vitæ, libri et omni, lineâ;
Templúmque tecum ubique circumfers tuum:
Domi-porta cœli, cui domus propria, optima:
Ubi Rex, ibi Roma, Imperii ſedes; ubi
Tu ſancte vates, templum ibi, et cœlum, et Deus.
Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis
Speculum Sacerdotale, tu qualem piis
Paſtoris ideam et libro et vitâ tuâ
Tu quale Sanctitatis elementis bonæ,
Morumque nobis tradis exemplum ac typum!
Typum *, Magiſtro nempe proximum Tuo,
Exemplar illud grande qui ſolus fuit.
Canonizet ergò quos velit Dominus Papa;
Sibique ſanctos, quos facit, ſervit ſuos
Colátque; ſancte Herberte, tu Sanctus meus;
Oraque pro me, dicerem, ſi fas, tibi.
Sed hos honores par nec eſt ſanctis dari;
Velis nec ipſe; recolo te, ſed non colo.
Talis legenda eſt vita Sancti, concio
Ad promovendum quàm potens et efficax!
Per talia exempla eſt breve ad cœlos iter.
Waltone, macte, perge vitas ſcribere,
Et penicillo, quo vales, inſigni adhuc
Sanctorum imagines coloribus ſuis
Plures repræſentare; quod tu dum facis

* Sic Chriſtum ſolens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.

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Vitamque et illis et tibi das posthumam,
Lectoris æternæque vitæ consulis.
Urge ergò pensum; et interim scias velim,
Plutarchus alter sis licèt Biographus,
Herberto, Amice, vix Parallelum dabis.
Liceat Libro addere hanc coronidem tuo,
Vir, an Poeta, Orator an melior fuit,
Meliorne amicus, sponsus, an Pastor Gregis,
Herbertus, incertum; et quis hoc facilè sciat,
Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubique optimus.

JACOB DUPORT, S. T. P.
Decanus Petr.

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THE INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the buſineſs of this world, and thoſe many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myſelf, I fell into a contemplation of ſome of thoſe hiſtorical paſsages that are recorded in ſacred ſtory, and more particularly of what had paſt betwixt our bleſsed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and ſinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, becauſe I did not then, nor do now conſider her, as when ſhe was poſſeſt with ſeven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and diſhevelled hair, were deſigned and managed to charm and inſnare amorous beholders: But, I did then, and do now conſider her, as after ſhe had expreſsed a viſible and ſacred ſorrow for her ſenſualities; as after thoſe eyes had wept ſuch a flood of penitential tears as did waſh, and that hair had wip't, and ſhe moſt paſsionately kiſt the feet of hers, and our bleſsed Jeſus. And I do now conſider, that becauſe ſhe loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beſide that bleſsed bleſsing of having her ſins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, ſhe alſo had from him a teſtimony, that her alabaſter box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that ſpikenard, and thoſe ſpices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preſerve his ſacred body from putrefaction, ſhould ſo far preſerve her own memory, that theſe demonſtrations of her ſanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, ſhould be recorded and mentioned whereſoever his goſpel ſhould be read; intending thereby, that as his, ſo her name ſhould alſo live to ſucceeding generations, even till time itſelf ſhall be no more [a].

Upon occaſion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without ſome content (at leaſt to myſelf) that I have endeavoured to deſerve the love, and preſerve the memory of my two deceaſed friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the ſeveral employments and various accidents of their lives: And though Mr. George Herbert (whoſe Life I

[a] If ſome very learned and able commentators have entertained an opinion, that Mary Magdalen was the afflicted and penitent ſinner mentioned in the ſeventh chapter of St. Luke's Goſpel, it is not ſurpriſing that Mr. Walton ſhould fall into the ſame error.

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now intend to write) were to me a ſtranger as to his perſon, for I have only ſeen him; yet ſince he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to thoſe that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to ſee this conjunction of them after their deaths, without which, many things that concerned them, and ſome things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be leſs perfect, and loſt to poſterity.

For theſe reaſons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler perſon, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

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THE LIFE OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that caſtle that did then bear the name of that town and county [b]; that caſtle was then a place of ſtate and ſtrength, and had been ſucceſsively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long poſſeſsed it; and, with it, a plentiful eſtate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been bleſsed with men of remarkable wiſdom, and a willingneſs to ſerve their country, and indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent: But alas! this family did in the late rebellion ſuffer extremely in their eſtates; and the heirs of that caſtle ſaw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury thoſe wretches that were the cauſe of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert [c], the ſon of Edward Herbert, Knight, the ſon of Richard Herbert, Knight,

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[b] The caſtle of Montgomery derived its name from Roger de Montgomery, a noble Norman, Earl of Shrewſbury, who, winning much land from the Welſh, firſt built this caſtle to ſecure his conqueſt. It ſtandeth not far from the banks of the river Severn, upon the riſing of a rock, from whence it hath a very free proſpect into a pleaſant plain that lieth beneath it.—The family of the Herberts is very much diffuſed, and of great authority in this part of Wales. *(Heylin's Help to English History.)*——An order was made by the Parliament, June 11, 1649, for demoliſhing Montgomery Caſtle, which Anthony Wood calls "a "pleaſant and romancy place," and for an allowance to the Lord Herbert for his damage thereby.

[c] EDWARD Lord HERBERT of Cherbury deſcribes Richard Herbert his father to have been "black haired and bearded, as all his anceſtors "of his ſide are ſaid to have been, of a manly or ſomewhat ſtern look, "but withall very handſome and well compact in his limbs, and of a "great courage. As for his integrity in his places of Deputy Lieute-"nant of the county, Juſtice of the Peace, and Cuſtos Rotulorum, which "he, as his father before him, held, it is ſo memorable to this day that "it was ſaid his enemies appealed to him for juſtice, which they always "found on all occaſions. His learning was not vulgar, as underſtanding "well the Latin tongue, and being well verſed in hiſtory."

(The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himſelf. Strawberry-Hill, 1764. p. 34.)

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the ſon of the famous Sir Richard Herbert[d] of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngeſt brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport[e], the youngeſt daughter of Sir Richard, and ſiſter to Sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſehold[f]. A family that for their loyalty have ſuffered

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[d] This gentleman was anceſtor to the Lords Herbert of Cherbury, and to the preſent Earl of Powis. In the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, this Sir Richard Herbert ſignalized himſelf by his bravery on many occaſions. He and his brother William, the firſt Earl of Pembroke, were taken priſoners after the battle of Danes-more, near Edgecote in Northamptonſhire, on July 26, 1469, and were beheaded the next day after the battle. Hall, in his Chronicle, relates, "that "much lamentation, and no leſs intreaty, was made to ſave the life of "Sir Richard Herbert, both for his goodly perſonage, which excelled "all men there, and alſo for the noble chivalry he had ſhewed in the "field in the day of battle, inſomuch that his brother the Earl, when "he laid down his head on the block to ſuffer, ſaid to Sir John Conyers, "*Let me die, for I am old, but save my brother, who is young, lusty, and "hardy, mete and apt to serve the greatest prince of Christendom.*" See "Collins's Peerage," Vol. V. p. 181.——The title of Banneret was a very ancient title of military honour, never conferred but upon the achievement of ſome great and noble action in the field. Knights Banperets are termed by Matthew Paris, "Milites vexilliferi," and were diſtinguiſhed by having a ſquare ſhield, and bearing their arms in a banner of the ſame form.

[e] "My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard "Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas "Burnley, one of the Privy Counceſl, and executor to King Henry VIII. "who, ſurviving her huſband, gave rare teſtimonies of an incomparable "piety to God, and love to her children, as being moſt aſſiduous and "devout in her daily, both private and public, prayers, and ſo careful "to provide for her poſterity, that though it were in her power to give "her eſtate, which was very great, to whom ſhe would, yet ſhe con-"tinued ſtill unmarried, after ſhe lived moſt virtuouſly and lovingly "with her huſband. She after his death erected a fair monument for "him in Montgomery Church, brought up her children carefully, and "put them in good courſes for making their fortunes; and briefly was "that woman Dr. Donne hath deſcribed her, in his funeral ſermon of "her printed." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 10, 11.)

[f] Charles I. in 1642, advanced Sir Richard Newport to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Newport, of High Ercall in Shropſhire. On this occaſion that loyal gentleman preſented his Majeſty with the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds. (*Echard's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p.* 348.)——Dying Feb. 8, 1650, at Moulins in France, he was ſucceeded by Francis his ſon, who after the Reſtoration was made Comptroller, and then Treaſurer of the King's Houſehold, Viſcount Newport 27 Cha. II. and Earl of Bradford, in 1694. The laſt title became extinct in 1762.

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much in their eſtates, and ſeen the ruin of that excellent ſtructure, where their anceſtors have long lived, and been memorable for their hoſpitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whoſe perſon, wiſdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a ſeaſonable place) was the happy mother of ſeven ſons, and three daughters, which ſhe would often ſay, was *Job's number*, and *Job's diſtribution*; and, as often bleſs God, that they were neither defective in their ſhapes or in their reaſon; and very often reprove them that did not praiſe God for ſo great a bleſſing. I ſhall give the reader a ſhort account of their names, and not ſay much of their fortunes.

Edward[s], **the eldeſt**, was firſt made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being inſtalled Knight of the Garter; and after many years' uſeful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James ſent Ambaſſador reſident to the then French King, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not ſubject himſelf to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de

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s No character is more heterogeneous than that of this nobleman, not leſs renowned for his proweſs and martial gallantry, than for his literary acquirements. Ben Jonſon ſtyles him

> "All-virtuous Herbert, in whoſe every part
> "Truth might ſpend all her voice, Fame all her art."

He is claſsed among the moſt eminent of the Deiſtical writers, having attempted to reduce Deiſm into a regular ſyſtem; and, by aſserting the ſufficiency, univerſality, and abſolute perfection of natural religion, to diſcard all revealed religion as uſeleſs. It is unneceſsary to add that his opinions have been diſcuſsed with great ability, moderation, and candour, by Dr. Leland, in his "Review of the Deiſtical Writers."

He has given the following account of himſelf in the earlier period of his life: "It was ſo long before I began to ſpeak, that many thought I "ſhould be ever dumb: The very fartheſt thing I remember is, that "when I underſtood what was ſaid by others, I did yet forbear to ſpeak, "leſt I ſhould utter ſomething that was imperfect or impertinent. When "I came to talk, one of the fartheſt inquiries was, how I came into this "world" *(Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 16.)——"At twelve years old, "my parents thought fit to ſend me to Oxford, to Univerſity College, "where I remember to have diſputed, at my firſt coming, in logick." *(ib. p.* 25.)——His father died; he left Oxford, married, and afterward returned to the Univerſity.——"Not long after my marriage, I went "again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a "houſe, and lived for ſome certain time there." *(Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 26.)——And now he followed his book more cloſe than ever; in which courſe he continued till he had attained about the age of eighteen, when his mother took a houſe in London, between which place and Montgomery Caſtle he paſsed his time till he came to the age of one and twenty. At the requeſt of his mother, he undertook the burden of providing for his brothers and ſiſters, giving to his brothers thirty pounds a piece yearly, and to his three ſiſters 1000l. a piece; which portions married them.

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Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court: so that, upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the Duke, and all the Court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him first Baron of Castle-Island; and not long after of Cherbury, in the county of Salop: He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book "De Veritate;" and by his "History of the Reign of King Henry VIII." and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard [h] and William [i], who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles [k] was the fourth, and died Fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry [l] was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the

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h "My brother RICHARD, after he had been brought up in learning, "went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with "much reputation both in the wars, and for fighting single duels, which "were many, in so much that between both he carried, as I have been "told, the scars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and "lieth buried in Bergenopzoom." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12.)

i "My brother WILLIAM, being likewise brought up in learning, went "afterward to the wars in Denmark, where fighting a single combat, "and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that "piece which remained, but closing with his adversary threw him down, "and so held him until company came in; and then went to the wars "in the Low Countries, but lived not long after."
(*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12.)

k "My brother CHARLES was Fellow of New College in Oxford, where "he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12.)——Mr. Charles Herbert was the fellow Collegian and friend of Dr. Richard Zouch, to whose poem entitled "The Dove," he has prefixed Latin verses. We also observe his name subscribed to some lines addressed to his virtuous kinsman, Thomas Herbert, Esq. on the publication of that gentleman's "Travels into divers Parts of Asia and Africque."

l "HENRY, after he had been brought up in learning, as the other "brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained "the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he "came to Court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Cham- "ber, and Master of the Revels; by which means, as also by a good "marriage, he attained to great fortunes for himself and posterity to "enjoy: He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels and "otherwise, being no less dextrous in the ways of the Court, as having "got much by it." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 15.)

Mr. Richard Baxter, who was educated at High Ercall, was in his early youth recommended to the care of Sir Henry Herbert, and by him kindly received. But that celebrated Nonconformist did not relish a Court life, and very soon returned to his privacy and studies. "I went "up,"

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Crown, in the days of King James, and hath continued to be ſo for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Maſter of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wiſdom, with which God hath bleſsed him. The ſeventh ſon was Thomas[m], who being made captain of a ſhip in that fleet with which Sir Robert Manſell[n] was ſent againſt Algiers, did there ſhew a fortunate and true Engliſh valour. Of the three ſiſters[o] I need not

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" up," ſays he, " ſtayed at Whitehall with Sir H. H. about a month, " but I had quickly enough of the Court, when I ſaw a ſtage-play, in- " ſtead of a ſermon, on the Lord's days in the afternoon, and ſaw what " courſe was there in faſhion, and heard little preaching but what was " as to one part againſt the Puritans: I was glad to be gone."

(Reliq. Baxter. p. 11.)

It was within the department of the Maſter of the Revels to licenſe the preſs, and accordingly we find many books printed at this time, with an imprimatur " granted by Henry Herbert."

The following ſtory is related of him: " A few days before the mur- " der of the King, meeting in Hyde Park with Thomas Herbert, Eſq. " his kinſman, who then waited on his Majeſty as one of the grooms of " his bed-chamber, and inquiring how his Majeſty did, he deſired he " would let him know, that if he pleaſed to read the ſecond chapter of " Eccleſiaſticus, he would there find comfort. Accordingly Mr. Her- " bert acquainted the King, who thanked Sir Henry, and commended " his excellent parts; being a good ſcholar, ſoldier, and an accompliſhed " courtier, and for his many years' faithful ſervice much valued by the " King, who preſently turned to the chapter, and read it with much " ſatisfaction." *(Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p.* 198.)

[m] Lord Herbert of Cherbury, having related many glorious and gallant exploits of his brother Thomas, thus concludes his account of him: " After all theſe proofs given of himſelf, he expected ſome great " command, but finding himſelf, as he thought, undervalued, he re- " tired to a private and melancholy life, being much diſcontented to " find others preferred to him, in which ſullen humour having lived " many years he died, and was buried in London, in St. Martin's, near " Charing Croſs." *(Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 15.)

[n] At the inſtance of Count Gondomar, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, Sir Robert Manſell, Vice-Admiral of England, was ſent in 1620, with a fleet for the Mediterranean, with a view to humble the Algerine pirates, who infeſted the Spaniſh coaſts. Captain Thomas Herbert had then the command of the Marmaduke, a merchant ſhip, of fifty men and twelve guns. *(Lediart's Naval History, Vol. II. p.* 45.)——Sir Robert in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, dated from aboard the Lyon, in Alegant road, informs his Grace of the event of this expedition againſt the Algerines, and names Captain *Giles* and Captain *Herbert* as very active in aſsisting him. *See Cabala, p.* 323.

[o] " ELIZABETH, my eldeſt ſiſter, was married to Sir Henry Jones, " who by her had one ſon and two daughters: The latter end of her " time was the moſt ſickly and miſerable that hath been known in our " times, while for the ſpace of about fourteen years ſhe languiſhed and " pined away to ſkin and bones, and at laſt died in London."

(Life of Lord Herbert, p. 15.)

" MARGARET

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ſay more, than that they were all married to perſons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George [p], who was the fifth of thoſe ſeven brothers.

George Herbert ſpent much of his childhood in a ſweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for ſhe was then a widow), where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well inſtructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale [q], who was then

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"MARGARET was married to John Vaughan, ſon and heir to Owen "Vaughan, of Lluydart, by which match ſome former differences be- "twixt our houſe and that were appeaſed and reconciled." (*Ib. p.* 15.)

"FRANCES, my youngeſt ſiſter, was married to Sir John Brown, "Knight, in Lincolnſhire, who had by her divers children, the eldeſt of "whom, though young, fought divers duels; in one of which it was "his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancaſhire." (*Ib. p.* 16.)

To Elizabeth his eldeſt ſiſter, was written the following affectionate letter by Mr. George Herbert:

"FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER.

"MOST DEAR SISTER,

"Think not my ſilence forgetfulneſs, or that my love is as dumb as "my papers; though buſineſs may ſtop my hand, yet my heart, a much "better member, is always with you: and, which is more, with our "good and gracious God, inceſſantly begging ſome eaſe of your pains, "with that earneſtneſs that becomes your griefs and my love. God, "who knows and ſees this writing, knows alſo that my ſoliciting him "has been much, and my tears many for you; judge me then by thoſe "waters, and not by my ink, and then you ſhall juſtly value

"Your moſt truly,

"Moſt heartily,

"Affectionate brother and ſervant,

"*Decem.* 6, 1620, *Trin. Col.* "GEORGE HERBERT."

[p] "My brother GEORGE was ſo excellent a ſcholar, that he was made "the public orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge, ſome of whoſe "Engliſh works are extant; which, though they be rare in their kind, "yet are far ſhort of expreſsing thoſe perfections he had in the Greek "and Latin Tongue, and all divine and human literature: His life was "moſt holy and exemplary, inſomuch that about Saliſbury where he "lived beneficed for many many years, he was little leſs than ſainted. "He was not exempt from paſſion and choler, being infirmities to "which all our race is ſubject, but, that excepted, without reproach in "his actions." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12, 13.)

[q] It has been ſaid of Dr. RICHARD NEALE, that no one was more thoroughly acquainted with the diſtreſſes as well as the conveniences of the clergy, having ſerved the Church as Schoolmaſter, Curate, Vicar, Rector, Maſter of the Savoy, Dean of Weſtminſter, Clerk of the Cloſet to James I. and Charles I. Biſhop of Rocheſter, Litchfield, Durham, Wincheſter,

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Dean of Weſtminſter, and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland [r], who was then chief maſter of that ſchool; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit ſhined and became ſo eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he ſeemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that ſchool, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and eſpecially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a King's Scholar) he was elected out of that ſchool for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was tranſplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother, well knowing that he might eaſily loſe or leſſen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil [s], who was then Dean of Canter-

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Wincheſter, and Archbiſhop of York. To the Church and churchmen he was very ſerviceable by oppoſing the ſectaries in their purſuits for eccleſiaſtical preferment, which they indefatigably hunted after, and thereby he drew on himſelf their general hatred. Prynne and Burton honoured him with the appellation of "a Popiſh Arminian Prelate," and omitted no opportunity of ſhowing their inveteracy againſt him. "He died," ſays Echard, "full of years as he was full of honours; a "faithful ſubject to his prince, an indulgent father to his clergy, a "bountiful patron to his chaplains, and a true friend to all that relied "upon him."

[r] He was made Maſter of Weſtminſter School in 1599, and continued ſo to 1610. Hacket, afterward Biſhop of Lichfield, was elected from Weſtminſter School at the ſame time with Mr. George Herbert into Trinity College. When they left ſchool, Mr. Ireland told them, "That "he expected to have credit by them two at the Univerſity, or would "never hope for it afterwards while he lived."

(Dr. Plume's Account of the Life and Death of Biſhop Hacket.)

[s] THOMAS NEVIL, D. D. eminent for the ſplendour of his birth, his extraordinary piety and learning, was educated at Pembroke Hall in the Univerſity of Cambridge. In 1582 he was admitted Maſter of Magdalen College in the ſame Univerſity, and in 1593 he ſucceeded Dr. John Still in the Maſterſhip of Trinity College, being then Dean of the Cathedral Church of Peterborough, over which he preſided commendably eight years. "Of the College of the Holy and undivided "Trinity, now not only famous in that Univerſity, but in all Europe, "which was decayed and near falling, and through age incoherent and "irregular, he was the moderator, the enlarger, and moſt happy re-"ſtorer; by his advice, favour, and liberal gift of money, the ill-"diſpoſed buildings were taken down and rebuilt in a more elegant "form, the ways and ancient areas made regular and enlarged by new "and excellent embelliſhments and ornaments, and brought to the re-"markable beauty it now bears." *(From a MS. extant in Trinity College, and called NEVIL.)*——Upon the demiſe of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Nevil, who had been promoted to the Deanery of Canterbury in 1597, was ſent by Archbiſhop Whitgift to King James in Scotland, in the names of the Biſhops and Clergy of England, to tender their

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bury, and Maſter of that College, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did moſt gladly undertake; for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value ſuch a friendſhip.

This was the method of his education, till he was ſettled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his ſtudy, till I have paid my promiſed account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it ſhort.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given ſome ſhort account of them; I ſhall next tell the reader, that her huſband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell that ſhe continued twelve years a widow; that ſhe then married happily to a noble gentleman[t], the brother and heir of the Lord Danyers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her perſon and the moſt excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, ſhe being deſirous to give Edward, her eldeſt ſon, ſuch advantages of learning and other education as might ſuit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the ſervice of his country, did at his being of a fit age remove from Montgomery Caſtle with him, and ſome of her younger ſons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, ſhe commended him to his care; yet ſhe continued there with him, and ſtill kept him in a moderate awe of herſelf, and ſo much under her own eye, as to ſee and converſe with him daily: but ſhe managed this power over him without any ſuch rigid ſourneſs, as might make her company a torment to her child, but with ſuch a ſweetneſs and compliance with the recreations and pleaſures of youth, as did incline him willingly to ſpend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content: for ſhe would often ſay, "That as our bodies take a nouriſhment ſuitable to the meat "on which we feed; ſo our ſouls do as inſenſibly take in vice "by the example or converſation with wicked company:" and would therefore as often ſay, "That ignorance of vice was "the beſt preſervation of virtue; and that the very knowledge "of wickedneſs was as tinder to inflame and kindle ſin, and to "keep it burning." For theſe reaſons ſhe endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmleſs wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and

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bounden duties, and to underſtand his Highneſs's pleaſure for the ordering and guiding of the Clergy. The Dean brought a moſt gracious anſwer of his Highneſs's purpoſe, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late Queen, as ſhe left it ſettled. Of Dr. Nevil ſee "Todd's Deans of Canterbury," p. 66, 83.

[t] Sir JOHN DANVERS.

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friendſhip with moſt of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that Univerſity; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verſe, a character of the beauties of her body and mind: Of the firſt he ſays,

> No ſpring nor ſummer beauty has ſuch grace
> As I have ſeen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he ſays,

> In all her words to every hearer fit;
> You may at revels, or at council ſit [u].

The reſt of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of "The Autumnal Beauty." For both he and ſhe were then paſt the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their ſouls; but an amity made up of a chain of ſuitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chryſoſtom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias [x]; whom, in his letters, he calls his *Saint*, or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whoſe affection to her was ſuch that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph [y]; *wiſhing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare*

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[u] "Here dwells he [Love], though he ſojourns every where
"In progreſs, yet his ſtanding houſe is here;
"Here, where ſtill evening is, not noon nor night,
"Where no voluptuouſneſs, yet all delight,
"In all her words unto all hearers fit,
"You may at revels, you at councils ſit."
(*Donne's Poems. The* AUTUMNAL, *v.* 20.)

[x] Of the character of OLYMPIAS, an accompliſhed woman, and much eſteemed by St. Chryſoſtom, who delighted in her converſation, and wrote no leſs than ſeventeen letters to her in the time of his baniſhment, ſee "Cave's Lives of the Fathers," Vol. II. p. 503.

[y] St. JEROM thus begins a long epiſtle, which he addreſſes to Euſtochium, the daughter of Paula, on whoſe life and death he expatiates largely: "Si cuncta corporis mei verba verterentur in linguas et omnes "artus humanâ voce reſonarent, nihil dignum ſanctæ ac venerabilis "Paulæ virtutibus dicerem. Nobilis genere, ſed multò nobilior ſancti-"tate, potens quondam divitiis, ſed nunc Chriſti paupertate inſignior, "Gracchorum ſtirps, ſoboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres." Much encomium will ſcarce be thought due to the epithet on Paula (for which ſee "Hieronymi Opera," Tom. I. p. 69. and alſo "Sandys's Travels," p. 139, 140.); and it may be a matter of doubt whether the conduct of that lady dividing her effects among her children, abandoning her family, and, under the pretence of devotion, wandering from place to place, can entitle her to any great ſhare of praiſe.

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her just praises to posterity. And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he entered into Sacred Orders); a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family: And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM,

"YOUR favours to me are every where; I use them, and "have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; "and yet find them at Micham. Such riddles as these become "things inexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was al- "most sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was "loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, "and indeed of my coming this morning: But my not com- "ing was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and "my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary "Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which "she loved most; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I "return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the "good opinion, that they whom we need most have of us. By "this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed "holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the work- "manship, have yet escaped the fire), to your judgment, and to "your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I "have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your "happy hand.

"Your unworthiest servant,
"Unless your accepting him to be so
"Have mended him,
"JO. DONNE."

"MICHAM, *July* 11, 1607.

"TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT; OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

"Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
"Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;
"An active faith so highly did advance,
"That she once knew more than the Church did know,
"The resurrection; so much good there is
"Deliver'd of her, that some fathers be
"Loth to believe one woman could do this;
"But think these Magdalens were two or three.
"Increase their number, Lady, and their fame;
"To their devotion, add your innocence;
"Take so much of th' example as of the name;
"The latter half; and in some recompence
"That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,
"Harbour these hymns, to his dear name address.

"J. D."

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Theſe hymns are now loſt to us; but doubtleſs they were ſuch, as they two now ſing in heaven.

There might be more demonſtrations of the friendſhip, and the many ſacred endearments betwixt theſe two excellent perſons (for I have many of their letters in my hand) and much more might be ſaid of her great prudence and piety; but my deſign was not to write her's, but the Life of her Son; and therefore I ſhall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and ſent her, I ſaw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral ſermon, in the pariſh-church of Chelſey, near London; where ſhe now reſts in her quiet grave; and where we muſt now leave her, and return to her ſon George, whom we left in his ſtudy in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be ſuch, that we may conclude, he conſecrated the firſt-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a ſerious ſtudy of learning. And that he did ſo, this following letter and ſonnet, which were in the firſt year of his going to Cambridge ſent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be ſome teſtimony.

——"But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up thoſe "ſprings, by which ſcholars ſay, the muſes uſe to take up their "habitations. However I need not their help, to reprove the "vanity of thoſe many love-poems that are daily writ and con-"ſecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that ſo few are writ, that "look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my mean-"ing (dear mother) is in theſe ſonnets, to declare my reſolu-"tion to be, that my poor abilities in poetry ſhall be all and "ever conſecrated to God's glory; and I beg you to receive "this as one teſtimony."

"My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
"Wherewith whole ſhoals of martyrs once did burn,
"Beſides their other flames? Doth poetry
"Wear Venus livery? only ſerve her turn?
"Why are ſonnets made of thee? and layes
"Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
"Heighten a ſpirit to ſound out thy praiſe
"As well as any ſhe? Cannot thy dove
"Out-ſtrip their Cupid eaſily in flight?
"Or, ſince thy ways are deep, and ſtill the ſame,
"Will not a verſe run ſmooth that bears thy name!
"Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
"Each breaſt does feel, no braver fewel chooſe
"Than that, which one day worms may chance refuſe,
"Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
"Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
"Cover the earth, ſo doth thy Majeſty:
"Each cloud diſtils thy praiſe, and doth forbid
"Poets to turn it to another uſe.
"Roſes and lilies ſpeak thee; and to make
"A pair of cheeks of them is thy abuſe.
"Why ſhould I women's eyes for cryſtal take?

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" Such poor invention burns in their low mind
" Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
" To praise and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
" Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
" In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in thee
" The beauty lies, in the discovery." " G H."

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seem'd to be mark'd out for virtue, and to become the care of heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the College, March 15, 1615[a]: And that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping spirits, com-" pose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far " above the earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of " heaven before he possest them." And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the College, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirmed his native gentleness; and if during this time he expressed any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage[a].

[a] It appears from the Bursar's books of Trinity College, that Mr. Herbert was elected a scholar of the house, May 5, 1609: Minor Fellow, Oct. 3, 1614: and Major Fellow, March 15, 1615. And we learn from the Grace Book of the University of Cambridge, that he was matriculated, Dec. 18, 1609, by the name of Georgius Harbert, the first among the Pensioners of Trinity College; became B. A. in 1612; M. A. in 1616; and on the 21st of October, 1619, was substituted to the office of Orator in the absence of Sir Francis Nethersole, Knight, then abroad on the King's business.

[a] This is a true picture of a young academician, whom vanity incites to affix too great a value on the splendour of birth, and the frivolous distinctions

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This may be ſome account of his diſpoſition and of the employment of his time, till he was Maſter of Arts, which was anno 1615; and in the year 1619 he was choſen Orator[b] for the Univerſity. His two precedent Orators, were Sir Robert Nanton[c] and Sir Francis Netherſole[d]: The firſt was not long after

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tinctions of hereditary rank. At this time Mr. Herbert's pecuniary reſources were not very plentiful. In a letter dated March 18, 1617, he writes; "I proteſt and vow I even ſtudy thrift, and yet I am ſcarce able, "with much ado, to make one half year's allowance ſhake the hands "with the other."

He ſeems to have been prodigiouſly fond of fine clothes; for his biographer tells us afterward, that "he enjoyed his gentile humour for fine "clothes and court-like company." And it appears that he did not change "his ſword and ſilk clothes into a canonical coat," till four years after he was Prebendary of Lincoln. If his taſte in this reſpect had been doubted, he might have anſwered as Autolicus did to the ſimple Shepherd.——

"*Shep.* Are you a Courtier, an like you, Sir?

"*Aut.* Whether it like me, or no, I am a courtier. Seeſt thou not "the air of a court in theſe enfoldings? hath not my gaite in it the "meaſure of the Court?" *Shakeſpear's Winter's Tale, Act IV. Scene XI.*

b Of the Office of Orator, which ſtill continues the moſt honourable academical employment, Mr. Herbert has given the beſt deſcription in a letter to a friend. "The Orator's place, that you may underſtand "what it is, is the fineſt place in the Univerſity, though not the gain"fulleſt, yet that will be about 80 l. per annum: But the commodiouſ"neſs is beyond the revenue, for the Orator writes all the Univerſity "letters, makes all the orations, be it to the King, Prince or whatever "comes to the Univerſity. To requite theſe pains, he takes place next "the Doctors, is at all their aſſemblies and meetings, and ſits above the "Proctors; is Regent or Non-regent at his pleaſure, and ſuch like gay"neſſes which will pleaſe a young man well."

c "Robertus Naunton, Diſcipulus, Maii 2, 1582. Soc. Minor, Oct. 2, "1585. Soc. Major, Mar. 15, 1586" *(Burſar's Books at Trin. Coll.)* Sir Robert Naunton, a native of Suffolk, was deſcended from a very ancient family in that county. He was tranſplanted from Trinity College to Trinity Hall, where he was choſen Fellow. He was the author of "Fragmenta Regalia, or Obſervations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites," a tract uſually printed along with "Arcana Aulica; or Walſingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims for the Stateſman and Courtier;" the one being a compendium of politics for the ordering of a court life, the other a judicious collection of great examples that have acted in conformity to thoſe precepts, and made themſelves famous to poſterity in their reſpective ſtations. He improved the opportunity of recommending himſelf to James I. at Hinching-brook, where the Univerſity met his Majeſty on his firſt arrival from Scotland. The King was ſo well pleaſed with his eloquence and learning, that he firſt appointed him Secretary of State, and then Maſter of the Wards. Mr. Howell, in one of his letters, relates of him, that while he attended on the Earl of Rutland, as Ambaſſador to Denmark, he was appointed to deliver a Latin oration before the King. At the beginning of his ſpeech, when he had pronounced *Sereniſſime Rex*, he was daſhed out of countenance, and ſo gravelled, that he could go no farther.

d Franciſcus Netherſole, Diſcipulus, Ap. 12, 1605. Soc. Minor, Sep. 18,

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made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator, our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or ſince his time. For "he had acquired great learning, and was bleſt with a high "fancy, a civil and ſharp wit, and with a natural elegance, "both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen." Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myſelf to the mention of but three.

And the firſt notable occaſion of ſhewing his fitneſs for this employment of Orator was manifeſted in a letter to King James upon the occaſion of his ſending that Univerſity his book, called "Baſilicon Doron[c];" and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majeſty for ſuch a condeſcenſion, at the cloſe of which letter he writ,

"Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hoſpes!
"Unicus eſt nobis Bibliotheca Liber."

Sep. 18, 1608. Soc. Major, Mar. 23, 1609. *(Bursar's Books of Trinity College.)* This gentleman, born at Netherſole, in the county of Kent, was preferred to be Ambaſſador to the Princes of the Union, and Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. It is hard to ſay, whether he was more remarkable for his *doings* or *ſufferings* on her behalf. He married Lucy, eldeſt daughter of Sir Henry Goodyear, of Poleſworth in Warwickſhire, by whoſe encouragement, being free of himſelf to any good deſign, he founded and endowed a very fair ſchool at Poleſworth aforeſaid. *(Sir William Dugdale's Hiſt. of Warwickshire.)*

James I. paid a viſit to the Univerſity of Cambridge, in March 1614-15. When "Hee paſsed into Trinity College, where all the houſe "ranked on each ſide the entrance, he was preſented with a ſhort ora-"tion by the Orator of the Univerſity, Mr. Francis Netherſole, Fellow "of the ſaid College, kneeling all the while on his knees, the which his "Majeſty graciouſly accepted." *(From a MS. in the possession of Mr. Todd, author of "The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury.")* He was blamed at the time of the royal viſit, "for calling the Prince *Jacobissime* "*Carole*; and ſome will add that he called him Jacobale too, which nei-"ther pleaſed the King nor any body elſe." To this circumſtance is an alluſion in a ſong written at that time,

"Moſt Jacob Charles," did Cambridge cry, "you welcome are to us."
"An Oxford boy," &c.

Yet, notwithſtanding this cenſure, the claſsical reader will be much pleaſed with the peruſal of a funeral oration, ſpoken by Sir Francis Netherſole before the Vice Chancellor and the Univerſity, to the memory of Henry Prince of Wales. It is inſerted in Bates's "Vitæ ſelectorum aliquot Virorum."

[c] Or "His Majeſty's Inſtructions to his deareſt ſon Henry the Prince," 1599. It has been conſidered as the beſt of the King's works, and in the opinion of Lord Bacon is excellently written. *(Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 223, 118.)* "In this book," ſays Mr. Camden, "is moſt ele-"gantly pourtrayed and ſet forth the pattern of a moſt excellent, every "way-accompliſhed, king. Incredible it is how many men's hearts "and affections he won unto him by his correcting of it, and what an "expectation

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This letter was writ in ſuch excellent Latin, was ſo full of conceits, and all the expreſsions ſo ſuited to the genius of the King, that he inquired the orator's name, and then aſked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whoſe anſwer was, "That "he knew him very well, and that he was his kinſman; but he "loved him more for his learning and virtue, than for that he "was of his name and family." At which anſwer, the King ſmiled, and aſked the Earl leave, "That he might love him too; "for he took him to be the jewel of that Univerſity."

The next occaſion he had and took to ſhew his great abilities was with them, to ſhew alſo his great affection to that church in which he received his baptiſm, and of which he profeſsed himſelf a member; and the occaſion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a miniſter of the Scotch Church, and rector of St. Andrews, who, by a long and conſtant converſe, with a diſcontented part of that clergy which oppoſed Epiſcopacy, became at laſt to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be ſo to King James, when he was but King of that nation, who, the ſecond year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the Biſhops and other learned Divines

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"expectation of himſelf he raiſed amongſt all men even to admiration." And Archbiſhop Spotſwood obſerves, that it is ſaid to have contributed more to facilitate the King's acceſsion to the throne of England, than all the diſcourſes publiſhed by other writers in his favour.

The famous *Andrew Melvin*, or rather *Melville*, having obtained a copy of the "Doron Baſilicon" in manuſcript, thought ſome paſsages ſo very exceptionable, that he directed ſeveral copies to be circulated in different parts of Scotland. In conſequence of this, a libel was drawn up againſt the work and laid before the Synod of St. Andrew's, by a miniſter of the kirk. To vindicate himſelf, James cauſed it to be publiſhed in 1599.

It may not be improper here to mention an inſtance of courtly addreſs noticed by Biſhop Hacket in his "Life of Archbiſhop Williams," p. 175. Having remarked that the King, on opening the Parliament in 1623, feaſted the two houſes with a *ſpeech, than which nothing could be apter for the ſubject, or more eloquent for the matter;* he adds, "All the "helps of that faculty were extremely perfect in him, abounding in wit "by nature, in art by education, in wiſdom by experience. Mr. Geo. "Herbert, being Prælector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridge, "anno 1618, paſsed by thoſe fluent orators that domineered in the "pulpits of Athens and Rome, and inſiſted to read upon an oration of "King James, which he analyſed, ſhewed the concinnity of the parts, "the propriety of the phraſe, the height and power of it to move the "affections, the ſtyle *utterly unknown to the ancients*, who could not "conceive what kingly eloquence was; in reſpect of which thoſe noted "demagogi were but hirelings, and triobulary rhetoricians."

Let it not be forgotten that Mr. Herbert was then a very young man, flushed with hopes of obtaining promotion in a court, where all the blandiſhments of adulation were practiſed.—Time, experience, and ſerious contemplation, effectuated a change in his mind, and totally alienated him from every ambitious purſuit.

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of his church to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with ſome diſſenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: Of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one[f]; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to ſatirical poetry, had ſcattered many malicious bitter verſes againſt our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church government; which were by ſome of that party ſo magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Weſtminſter School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made ſuch anſwers to them, and ſuch reflection on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in ſuch a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court Conference, he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a ſtrange confidence, of ſo furious a zeal, and of ſo ungoverned paſsions, that his inſolence to the King, and others at this Conference, loſt him both his rectorſhip of St. Andrews, and his liberty too: For his former verſes, and his preſent reproaches there uſed againſt the church and ſtate, cauſed him to be committed priſoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella, an innocent priſoner there[g]; and he pleaſed himſelf much in ſending the next day after his commitment, theſe two verſes to the good Lady; which I will underwrite, becauſe they may give the reader a taſte of his others, which were like theſe—

"Cauſa tibi mecum eſt communis, carceris, Ara-
"Bella, tibi cauſa eſt, Araque ſacra mihi."

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[f] ANDREW MELVILLE was not preſent at the celebrated conference held at Hampton-Court, in the firſt year of King James I. upon the complaint of the Puritans againſt the ceremonies and the liturgy of the Church of England. He was ſummoned to appear before the King and Council in 1604. In the firſt edition of "Mr. Walton's life of Mr. George Herbert," Melville is deſcribed to be "*Maſter of a great wit; a wit full of "knots and clenches; a wit ſharp and ſatirical; exceeded, I think, by "none of that nation, but their Buchanan.*"

[g] This unfortunate Lady ARABELLA STUART, daughter of Charles Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of Henry Darnley, the King's father, died in priſon, Sept. 27th, 1615, and was interred at Weſtminſter, without any funeral pomp, in the night, in the ſame vault wherein Mary Queen of Scots and Prince Henry were buried. The following epitaph was written upon her by Biſhop Corbet, She is ſuppoſed to be the ſpeaker.

"How do I thank thee, Death, and bleſs thy power,
"That I have paſs'd the guard and ſcap'd the Tower!
"And now my pardon is my epitaph,
"And a ſmall coffin my poor carcaſe hath.
"For at thy charge both ſoul and body were
"Enlarg'd at laſt, ſecure from hope and fear.
"That among ſaints, this among kings is laid,
"And what my birth did claim my death has paid."

Owen

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I ſhall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that priſon, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verſes were thought ſo worthy to be preſerved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and cauſed many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cauſe he undertook[h].

Owen the epigrammatiſt dedicates a Book of Epigrams to this lady, whom he ſtyles "excellentiſsimam et doctiſsimam heroinam."

"Regia progenies, genere illuſtriſsima virgo,
"Nec minùs ingenio nobilitante genus.
"Ingenii fructus tibi fert effertque ſecundos
"Primitias Dominæ qui dedit antè ſuæ,
"Seque tibi tanquam *bellâ* virtutis in *Arâ*
"Conſecrat, ingenium ſacrificatque ſuum."

AUDOENI EPIGR. *L. IV. Ep.* 1.

The lines quoted by Mr. Iſaac Walton were inſcribed by Andrew Melville, not to Lady Arabella Stuart, but to Sir William Seymour, afterwards Marquis of Hertford, who was then impriſoned in the Tower, for marrying her without the King's conſent. Fuller has tranſcribed them differently;

"Cauſa mihi tecum communis carceris, ara
"Regia bella tibi, regia ſacra mihi."

Edward Philips, a nephew of Milton, publiſhed his "Lives of the Poets" in 1615. He thus quotes this diſtich;

"Cauſa mihi tecum communis carceris, Ara
"Bella tibi cauſa eſt carceris, Ara mihi."

This ſeems to be the better reading. Melville did not hold the altar to be ſacred.

[h] JAMES DUPORT, the learned ſon of a learned father, John Duport, Maſter of Jeſus College, Cambridge, was Greek Profeſſor in that Univerſity. No one ever filled the chair with more credit to himſelf. He imbibed the very language, the very ſpirit of Homer. His admirable Greek verſions of the book of Job, Eccleſiaſtes, the Song of Solomon, and the Pſalms, will perpetuate and endear his name to the admirers of claſsic elegance. On the promotion of Dr. Edward Rainbow to the See of Carliſle, he was appointed Dean of Peterborough, and in 1668 was elected Maſter of Magdalen College, Cambridge. He publiſhed a collection of Latin poems of different kinds in 1662, under the title of "Eccleſiaſtes Solomonis, Auctore Joan. Viviano, Canticum Solomonis, necnon Epigrammata ſacra, per Ja. Duportum. Accedunt Georgii Herberti Muſæ reſponſoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam."——"The Muſæ reſponſoriæ" conſiſt of fifty epigrams, as Mr. Herbert himſelf calls them, intended as an anſwer to a poem written by Andrew Melville, in Sapphic meaſure, againſt the diſcipline of the Church of England, containing fifty ſtanzas, and addreſſed to the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge. Three of Mr. Herbert's epigrams are inſcribed to King James, one to the Prince of Wales, one to the Biſhop of Winchеſter, one to the people of Scotland, exhorting them to peace, one to thoſe whom he ſuppoſed to be led aſtray by Melville and other writers of his perſuaſion, the laſt to the Deity, and the reſt to Melville himſelf.

In the Preface to this work, Duport thus ſpeaks of Mr. Herbert: "Poſtquam hæc ſcripſeram, tradita mihi in manus ſunt à venerabli viro Gu. Dil-

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And, in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour[i]; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an orator, which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the King's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found "the Orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great Secretary of nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon[k] (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Doctor Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our Orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication[l] of them to him, as the best judge of di-

"Gu. Dillingham, S. T. D. Coll. Eman. Præs. Epigrammata quædam "pro disciplinâ ecclesiæ nostræ apologetica, aliquot abhinc annis con- "scripta à Geo. Herbert, at quali et quanto viro, et poetâ quàm pio, "quàm ingenioso! De quo prestat omnino tacere quàm pauca dicere; "præsertim cùm eximiam ejus pietatem admirabilis ingenii sale condi- "tam loquetur *Templum*, loquetur tempus, loquetur æternitas. Hæc "igitur carmina polita admodum et elegantia τε πατρος γνησια τεκνα, "et autoris genium planè redolentia quasi aureæ coronidis loco priori- "bus attexere visum est."

i "Ignoramus," a Latin Comedy, and "Albumazar," an English Comedy, from which Ben Jonson is accused by Mr. Dryden of having taken his "Alchymist," were often acted at Cambridge before King James.

k Such is the celebrity of the name of Bacon, that to mention it is to suggest an idea of every thing great and super-eminent in knowledge. He is justly styled by Sir Henry Wotton "Scientiarum lumen, facundiæ "lex," in the inscription on his monument, in the Church of St. Alban's. This wonderful man, ignorant of geometry, would have been excluded from the school of Plato. But he gained admittance into another school, that of Nature, "who never before had so noble nor so true an inter- "preter, or never so inward a secretary of her cabinet."

l "TO HIS VERY GOOD FRIEND, MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

"The pains that it pleased you to take about some of my writings I "cannot forget, which did put me in mind to dedicate to you this poor "exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being my manner for dedications "to choose those that I hold most fit for the argument, I thought that

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vine poetry. And for the learned Bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the Orator did, not long after, send the Bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often show it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these, I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often say, "Crux mihi anchora[m]." These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the Doctor given to him:

"When my dear friend could write no more,
"He gave this seal and so gave o'er.

"When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
"*This* anchor keeps my faith, *that* me secure."

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the King's favour; and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court nobility: This, and the love of a Court-conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King, whersoever the Court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph[n].—It was the same, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to

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"in respect of divinity and poesy met, whereof the one is the matter, "the other the style of this little writing, I could not make better "choice: so with signification of my love and acknowledgment, I "ever rest,

"Your affectionate friend,

"FR. ST. ALBANS."

Mr. Herbert translated into Latin part of "The Advancement of Learning."

[m] See "Walton's Life of Dr. Donne," p. 71.

[n] Dr. RICHARD PARRY, who died Sept. 26, 1623.

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her favourite Sir Philip Sidney; and valued to be worth a hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his College, and of his Orator-ſhip, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and ſeldom looked towards Cambridge, unleſs the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike *, who is now Prebendary of Weſtminſter.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often deſigned to leave the Univerſity, and decline all ſtudy, which, he thought, did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a conſumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increaſed by his ſtudies; for he would often ſay, "He had too thought-"ful a wit: a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a ſheath, too "ſharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the Univerſity, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means ſatisfy his own deſires at ſo dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful ſon to ſo affectionate a mother; but did always ſubmit to her wiſdom. And what I have now ſaid may partly appear in a copy of verſes in his printed poems; it is one of thoſe that bear the title of "Affliction;" and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and ſome paſsages of his life, in which he ſays:

"Whereas my birth and ſpirit rather took
"The way that takes the town:
"Thou didſt betray me to a ling'ring book,
"And wrap me in a gown:
"I was entangled in a world of ſtrife,
"Before I had the power to change my life.

* Mr. HERBERT THORNDIKE was then Fellow of Trinity College. He was ejected from his Fellowſhip by the uſurped powers, and admitted to the Rectory of Barley in Hertfordſhire, July 2, 1642. On the death of Dr. Samuel Ward, he was elected to the Maſterſhip of Sidney College, but was kept out of it by the oppreſsion of the times. For his ſufferings and great learning he was inſtalled Prebendary of Weſtminſter, Sept. 5, 1660. In the year following he reſigned his living of Barley, and died in 1672. He aſsiſted Dr. Walton in the edition of the Polyglot Bible. Beſides his celebrated work of "Juſt Weights and Meaſures; that is, the preſent State of Religion weighed in the Balance, and meaſured by the Standard of the Sanctuary." 4to. 1662—He compoſed other tracts relative to the differences which at that time diſturbed the peace of the Church. Some of his works, particularly thoſe which were publiſhed in the latter part of his life, gave great offence. He is accuſed of leaning to the Church of Rome, declaring that Church to be a true Church, the Pope not Antichriſt, the Papiſts not idolaters, whilſt his averſion to the Preſbyterians and other ſectaries exceeded all bounds. Mr. Baxter has deſcribed him as ſpeaking once at the Savoy Conference "a few impertinent paſsionate words, confuting the opinion "that had been received of him from his firſt writings, and confirming "that which his ſecond and laſt writings had given of him."—See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 508, 518.

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" Yet, for I threatened oft the ſiege to raiſe,
" Not ſimp'ring all mine age;
" Thou often didſt with academic praiſe
" Melt and diſſolve my rage;
" I took the ſweeten'd pill, till I came where
" I could not go away, nor perſevere.

" Yet leſt perchance I ſhould too happy be
" In my unhappineſs,
" Turning my purge to food, thou throweſt me
" Into more ſickneſses.
" Thus doth thy power croſs-bias me, not making
" Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

" Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
" None of my books will ſhow:
" I read, and ſigh, and wiſh I were a tree,
" For then ſure I ſhould grow
" To fruit or ſhade, at leaſt, ſome bird would truſt
" Her houſehold with me, and I would be juſt.

" Yet though thou troubleſt me, I muſt be meek,
" In weakneſs muſt be ſtout:
" Well, I will change my ſervice and go ſeek
" Some other maſter out:
" Ah! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
" Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

" G. H."

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of ſome good occaſion to remove from Cambridge to Court, God, in whom there is an unſeen chain of cauſes, did, in a ſhort time, put an end to the lives of two of his moſt obliging and moſt powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond [p], and James Marquis of Hamilton [q]; and not long after him, King James died alſo, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's Court hopes: ſo that he preſently betook himſelf to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was ſuch a lover of ſolitarineſs, as was judged to impair his health more than his ſtudy had done. In this time of retirement, he

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p This nobleman, who was alſo Duke of Lenox in Scotland, and Lord Steward of his Majeſty's Houſehold, died Feb. 25, 1625, the day on which a new Parliament was to meet. The King, who was his relation, was ſo much affected at the news of his ſudden death, that "he "would not adorn himſelf that day to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the nineteenth of February following, dedicating ſome part of that time to the memory of his dead ſervant."
(Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I.)

q A diſtinguiſhed favourite of James I. The death of theſe two noblemen affected the King exceedingly; and when it was told him the Marquis was dead, he ſaid, "*If the branches be thus cut down, the ſtock cannot continue long;*" which ſaying proved too true, for ſhortly after he fell into a fever, of which he died at Theobald's, March 27, 1625.

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had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a Court-life, or betake himself to a study of Divinity, and enter into Sacred Orders[r]? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him)—These were such conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but, at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did at his return to London, acquaint a Court-friend with his resolution to enter into Sacred Orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly adjudged that the domestic servants of the King of heaven, "should be of the noblest families on earth: and though the "iniquity of the late times have made Clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of Priest contemptible; yet I will "labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that "God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much "for him that hath done so much for me, as to make me a "Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following "the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made Deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia[s], in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626; and that this Prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that See[t]. And

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[r] It appears from a letter written by Mr. George Herbert to one of his friends, and dated March 18, 1617, Trin. Coll. that he had devoted himself to the study of divinity. "I want books extremely: you know, Sir, "how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my "future life."

[s] In "Eaton's List of the prebendal Dignities belonging to the Church of Lincoln," it is called "Leighton Bromeswold, Ecclesia P. in Co. "Huntingd." In "Bacon's Liber Regis," it is termed "Leighton "Bosard, alias Leighton Beaudesert, P. Ecclesiæ Lincoln."

[t] Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, afterward Archbishop of York, was then Bishop of Lincoln, the last ecclesiastic who was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Of him it was said, that "He never saw the book of "worth he read not; he never forgot what he read; he never lost the "use of what he remembered; every thing he heard or saw was his "own, and what was his own he knew how to use to the utmost." Whatever discrepancy of opinion there may be, in justly appreciating the character of this Prelate, it must be owned that he was a munificent patron

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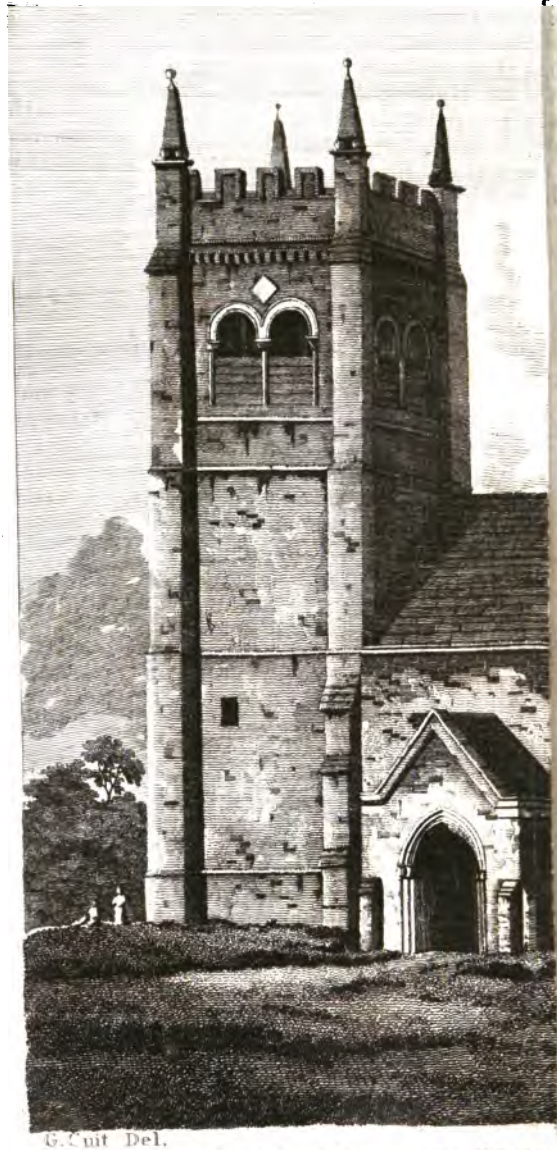

G. Tait Del.

A South East View of S.t M.

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now he had a fit occaſion to ſhow that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable anceſtors, and the occaſion was this.

This Layton Eccleſia is a village near to Spalden[u], in the county of Huntingdon, and the greateſt part of the pariſh-church was fallen down, and that of it which ſtood was ſo decayed, ſo little, and ſo uſeleſs, that the pariſhioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praiſes; and thus it had been for almoſt 20 years, in which time there had been ſome faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the pariſhioners to rebuild it, but with no ſucceſs, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it ſo much his whole buſineſs, that he became reſtleſs till he ſaw it finiſhed as it now ſtands: being for the workmanſhip a coſtly Moſaic; for the form an exact croſs; and for the decency and beauty, I am aſsured, it is the moſt remarkable pariſh-church that this nation affords. He lived to ſee it ſo wainſcotted, as to be exceeded by none; and by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little diſtant from each other, and both of an equal height[x]: for he

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patron of learning and learned men. Twelve perſons from one Society, that of Trinity College in Cambridge, were diſtinguiſhed by him, and advanced to preferment. Among theſe we obſerve Dr. Creighton, Mr. George Herbert, Dr. Anthony Scattergood, Mr. James Duport, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, names dear to literature. When the See of Exeter was vacant, he ſeized the opportunity of gratifying two worthy Divines, his old friends, "who had been both bred in the houſe of wiſdom with Lord "Chancellor Egerton," *Dr. Carew*, who had been his Chaplain, and *Dr. Dunn*, who had been his Secretary, "a laureat wit, neither was it "poſsible that a vulgar ſoul ſhould dwell in ſuch promiſing features." Theſe two prevailed by the Lord Keeper's commendation againſt all pretenders; the Biſhopric of Exeter was conferred upon *Dr. Carew*, and *Dr. Dunn* ſucceeded him in the Deanery of St. Paul's. *(Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams.)*——Mr. Herbert did not long continue Orator after his promotion to this Prebend, Mr. Robert Creighton his ſucceſsor being appointed in 1627.

[u] Spalden, or Spalding, is a town in Lincolnſhire. Mr. Walton has miſtaken the name for Spaldwick, or Spaldick, in Huntingdonſhire.

[x] It appears from a recent ſurvey of this church, that the reading-deſk is on the right-hand in the nave, juſt as you enter the chancel, and that its height is ſeven feet four inches; and that the pulpit is on the left-hand, and exactly of the ſame height. They are both pentagonal. The church is at preſent chiefly paved with bricks: the roofs both of the church and chancel are tyled, and not under-drawn or ceiled. There are no communion-rails; but, as you advance to the communion-table, you aſcend three ſteps. The windows are large and handſome, with ſome ſmall remnants of painted glaſs. The ſeats and pews both in the nave, the croſs-aiſle, and the chancel, ſomewhat reſemble the ſtalls in cathedrals, but are very ſimple, with little or no ornament, nearly alike, and formed of oak. It was evidently the intention of Mr. Herbert that in his church

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would often ſay, "They ſhould neither have a precedency or "priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being "equally uſeful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal "honour and eſtimation [y]."

Before I proceed farther, I muſt look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made Prebendary, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was likely to draw upon himſelf, his relations, and friends, before it could be finiſhed, ſent for him from London to Chelſea (where ſhe then dwelt), and at his coming ſaid, "George, I ſent for you, to perſuade you to commit Simony, "by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given you; "namely, that you give him back his Prebend: For, George, "it is not for your weak body and empty purſe to undertake "to build churches." Of which he deſired he might have a day to conſider, and then make her an anſwer: And at his return to her the next day, when he had firſt deſired her bleſsing, and ſhe given it him, his next requeſt was, "That ſhe would "at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an un-"duriful ſon; for he had made a vow to God, that if he were "able, he would rebuild that church:" And then ſhowed her ſuch reaſons for his reſolution, that ſhe preſently ſubſcribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to ſolicit William

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there ſhould be no diſtinction between the ſeats of the rich and thoſe of the poor. During Divine Service the men have from time immemorial been accuſtomed to ſit on the ſouth-ſide of the nave, and the women on the north-ſide, In the croſs-aiſle, the male-ſervants ſit on the ſouth-ſide, and the female-ſervants on the north-ſide.

The ſtrongeſt and beſt part of the church is the tower, which is of moſt durable and excellent ſtone, dug out of the quarries of Barnock in Northamptonſhire. It is conſidered as a fine ſpecimen of good architecture.

Mr. Walton ſeems to have been miſinformed when he writes, that the workmanſhip of the church was a coſtly Moſaic, and that Mr. Herbert lived to ſee it wainſcotted. No traces of either are diſcoverable. The church is now, in 1795, dilapidated in ſeveral parts.

[y] An ill cuſtom prevailed at Court after the acceſsion of James I.; whenever the King came to the Chapel, Divine Service was ſuddenly broke off, and an anthem ſung to make immediate way for the ſermon. This cuſtom, as implying a contempt of the liturgy, or at leaſt a preference of preaching to prayer, was ſet aſide by Dr. Laud, while he was Dean of the Chapel.

"Reſort to ſermons, but to prayers moſt:
"Praying's the end of preaching."
(*Mr. George Herbert's* CHURCH PORCH.)

"In the church of Little Gidding the pulpit was fixed on the north, "the reading-deſk over againſt it on the ſouth-ſide of the church, and "both on the ſame level; it being thought improper that a higher place "ſhould be appointed for preaching than that which was allotted for "prayer." (*Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, p.* 178.)

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Earl of Pembroke to become another, who ſubſcribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and perſuaſive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of ſome of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox[z], and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as alſo the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer[a], and Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldſmith in Foſter-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: For the memory of ſuch men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I ſhall hereafter give an account in a more ſeaſonable place; but before I proceed farther I will give this ſhort account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot:

He was a man that had conſidered overgrown eſtates do often require more care and watchfulneſs to preſerve than get them[b]; and conſidered that there be many diſcontents that riches cure not; and did therefore ſet limits to himſelf as to deſire of wealth: and having attained ſo much as to be able to ſhow ſome mercy to the poor, and preſerve a competence for himſelf, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the ſervice of God; and to be uſeful for his friends: and he proved to be ſo to Mr. Herbert; for, beſide his own bounty, he collected and returned moſt of the money that was paid for rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to ſtate them, and ſee all the workmen paid. When I have ſaid, that this good man was an uſeful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be ſo to him, till he cloſed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to ſay more, till I have the next fair occaſion to mention the holy friendſhip that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a ſickneſs, which was not long before that which proved to be her laſt.

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[z] He was the ſon of Eſme Stuart, Duke of Richmond, and brother to Lodowick the laſt Duke, who was the particular friend of Mr. Herbert. This great and excellent man, as Echard calls him, who had never once deviated from his honour and loyalty, and had ſeen three of his brothers die in the royal cauſe, died in the beginning of 1675, having never had his health nor yet his ſpirits, ſince the deplorable murder of his beloved Maſter; for the ſaving of whoſe life he had the honour to offer his own. See "Echard's Hiſt. of England," Vol. II. p. 782.

[a] Or rather FERRAR, from the Latin word *ferrarius*. The arms of this family have three horſe ſhoes on a bend, as appears from a braſs-plate in the chapel of Little Gidding, affixed to the tomb-ſtone of John Ferrar, Eſq. "late Lord of this manour, who departed this life the 28th of September, 1657."

[b] According to an old obſervation,

"Non minor eſt virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri."

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A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER, IN HER SICKNESS.

"MADAM,

"AT my last parting from you, I was the better content because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family; but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and, would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our commencement: wherein my absence by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts.——Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for yourself. But would you divide and choose too? our College customs allow not that; and I should account myself most happy if I might change with you: for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skenes of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances: Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for work in the new Jerusalem. For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death; because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discretion, and competent maintenance. So that now if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience: insomuch, that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we had riches we are commanded to give them away? so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But, perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid

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" fashion: But, O God! how easily is that answered, when we " consider that the blessings in the holy Scripture are never " given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find 'Blessed be " the rich,' or 'Blessed be the noble;' but *Blessed be the meek*, " and *Blessed be the poor*, and *Blessed be the mourners, for they shall* " *be comforted.* And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if " they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed. And " for afflictions of the body, dear Madam, remember the holy " martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and " have endured such other tortures, as the very mention of " them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had " an end: and yours (which praised be God, are less) are not " like to continue long. I beseech you let such thoughts as " these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know that " if any of yours should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you " may say with David, *That God, who delivered me out of the paws* " *of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this* " *uncircumcised Philistine.* Lastly; for those afflictions of the " soul: consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple " for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for " such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his " competitor. And, above all, if any care of future things mo- " lest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist: " *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee*, Psal. lv. To " which join that of St. Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord,* " *for he careth for you*, 1 Pet. v. 7. What an admirable thing is " this, that God puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains " our care for us that we may the more quietly intend his ser- " vice. To conclude, let me commend only one place more to " you (Philip. iv. 4.); St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in the Lord* " *always: And again I say, rejoice.* He doubles it to take away " the scruple of those that might say, what, shall we rejoice in " afflictions? yes, I say again, rejoice; so that it is not left to " us to rejoice or not rejoice; but whatsoever befals us we must " always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for " us. And it follows in the next verse: *Let your moderation ap-* " *pear unto all men: The Lord is at hand: Be careful for nothing.*— " What can be said more comfortably? trouble not yourselves, " God is at hand to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear Madam, " pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

" Your most obedient son,

" GEORGE HERBERT."

" TRIN. COL. MAY 25, 1622.

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About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was ſeized with a ſharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Eſſex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his houſe he remained about twelve months, and there became his own phyſician, and cured himſelf of his ague[c], by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unleſs they were ſalted; and by ſuch a conſtant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worſe; for he brought upon himſelf a diſpoſition to rheumes and other weakneſſes, and a ſuppoſed conſumption. And it is to be noted that in the ſharpeſt of his extreme fits he would often ſay, "Lord abate my great affliction, "or increaſe my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am "dumb, Lord, before thee, becauſe thou doeſt it." By which, and a ſanctified ſubmiſſion to the will of God, he ſhewed he was inclinable to bear the ſweet yoke of Chriſtian diſcipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true teſtimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his conſumption by a change from Woodford into ſuch an air as was moſt proper to that end: And his remove was to Dauntſey in Wiltſhire, a noble houſe which ſtands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers[d] Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert

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[c] The following lines are taken from a poem of Mr. Herbert's, entitled "Affliction."

"At firſt thou gav'ſt me milk and ſweetneſſes;
"I had my wiſh and way:
"My days were ſtrew'd with flow'rs and happineſs;
"There was no month but May.
"But with my years ſorrow did twiſt and grow,
"And made a party unawares for woe:
"My fleſh began unto my ſoul in pain,
"*Sickness clave my bones,*
"*Conſuming agues dwell in every vein,*
"And tune my breath to groans.
"Sorrow was all my ſoul; I ſcarce believed,
"Till grief did tell me roundly—that I lived."

[d] HENRY DANVERS, created Baron of Dauntſey by King James, and Earl of Danby by Charles I. He was Knight of the Bath, and died unmarried, Jan. 20, 1673.

ON LORD DANVERS.

"Sacred marble, ſafely keep
"His duſt, who under thee muſt ſleep,
"Until the years again reſtore
"Their dead, and time ſhall be no more.
"Mean while, if he (which all things wears)
"Does ruin thee, or if thy tears
"Are ſhed for him; diſſolve thy frame,
"Thou art requited: for his fame,
"His virtue, and his worth ſhall be
"Another monument to thee. G. HERBERT."

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ſo very much, that he allowed him ſuch an apartment in it as might beſt ſuit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a ſpare diet, declining all perplexing ſtudies, moderate exerciſe, and a cheerful converſation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of ſtrength and cheerfulneſs: And then he declared his reſolution both to marry, and to enter into the Sacred Orders of Prieſthood. Theſe had long been the deſires of his mother and his other relations; but ſhe lived not to ſee either, for ſhe died in the year 1627. And though he was diſobedient to her about Layton Church, yet in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then preſently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be ſucceeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton[e], and the worthy Biſhop of Wells.

I ſhall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I firſt give the reader a ſhort view of his perſon, and then an account of his wife, and of ſome circumſtances concerning both.

He was for his perſon of a ſtature inclining towards talneſs; his body was very ſtraight; and ſo far from being cumbered with too much fleſh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aſpect was cheerful, and his ſpeech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all ſo meek and obliging, that they purchaſed love and reſpect from all that knew him.

Theſe, and his other viſible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman, of a noble fortune, and a near kinſman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, Eſq.; this Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did ſo much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a deſire that Mr. Herbert

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e ROBERT CRETONE, or CREITTON, was elected Scholar of Trinity College in Cambridge, May 6, 1614; Minor Fellow, Oct. 1, 1619; Major Fellow, March 16, 1620." (*From the Burſar's Books of Trinity College.*)

He was a native of Scotland, educated at Weſtminſter School, and from thence elected to Trinity College. He was afterward Greek Profeſſor, and Orator of the Univerſity. In 1632 he was made Treaſurer of Wells, and in 1637 Dean of St. Burien in Cornwall. In the beginning of the Rebellion, as well as in its progreſs, he ſuffered ſeverely for the royal cauſe, and was an exile with Charles II. who, on his Reſtoration, gave him the Deanery of Wells. During his abſence from England he was the Editor of "The Hiſtory of the Council of Florence," written originally in Greek, and tranſlated by him into Latin, from an authentic MS copy. "Vera Hiſtoria unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos: ſive Concilii "Florentini exactiſsima narratio Græcè ſcripta," &c. Hagæ Comitis, 1660, fol. paginis, 351.

Being Chaplain to the King, he reproved the vices of the times with boldneſs, whenever he preached at Court; "which," ſays Wood, "was "well taken by ſome, though ſneered at by others." However, in 1670 he was advanced to the ſee of Bath and Wells, and dying in 1672 was buried in that Cathedral. See "Wood's Faſti," Vol. I. p. 243. And "Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy."

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would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had ſo many); but rather his daughter Jane than any other, becauſe Jane was his beloved daughter: And he had often ſaid the ſame to Mr. Herbert himſelf; and that if he could like her for a wife, and ſhe him for a huſband, Jane ſhould have a double bleſsing; and Mr. Danvers had ſo often ſaid the like to Jane, and ſo much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became ſo much a Platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unſeen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntſey; yet ſome friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a ſurpriſed city, and love having got ſuch poſſeſsion governed, and made there ſuch laws and reſolutions as neither party was able to reſiſt; inſomuch that ſhe changed her name into Herbert the third day after this firſt interview.

This haſte might in others be thought a love-phrenzy, or worſe; but it was not, for they had wooed ſo like Princes, as to have ſelect proxies; ſuch as were true friends to both parties; ſuch as well underſtood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and alſo their eſtates, ſo well before this interview, that the ſuddenneſs was juſtifiable by the ſtricteſt rules of prudence; and the more, becauſe it proved ſo happy to both parties: For the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections and compliance; indeed ſo happy, that there never was any oppoſition betwixt them, unleſs it were a conteſt which ſhould moſt incline to a compliance with the other's deſires. And though this begot, and continued in them, ſuch a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by ſuch daily obligingneſs to each other, as ſtill added ſuch new affluences to the former fulneſs of theſe divine ſouls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle[f], who was then Rector of Bemerton in Wiltſhire, was made Biſhop of Bath

[f] WALTER CURLE, D. D. was born at Hatfield, in Hertfordſhire, a ſeat of the Earls of Saliſbury. His father was a ſervant to William Cecil Earl of Saliſbury, and as his agent in the affair of the Queen of Scots, and ſteward of his eſtates ſo faithful and helpful, that the Earl not only preferred him to be Auditor of the Court of Wards, but advanced this his ſon to be Fellow of Peter Houſe in Cambridge, and preſented him to a good living, in which he diſcharged the duties of a paſtor ſo well, in preventing law-ſuits, and compoſing differences among his pariſhioners, ſuppreſsing houſes of debauchery, and regulating many other diſorders, gaining many Diſsenters to the Church by his wiſe and meek diſcourſes, and leaving others who were obſtinate in error, inexcuſable by his holy converſation and charitable hoſpitality, that the Earl recommended him to King James I. as a fit perſon for his Chaplain; in which ſtation he ſoon became the object of his Majeſty's favour, which he found by being made Dean of Lichfield in 1621. King Charles I. in 1628 appointed him Biſhop of Rocheſter, where he continued not much longer than a year before he was removed to Bath and Wells, and then to Wincheſter, in which he ſat,

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and Wells, and not long after tranſlated to Wincheſter, and by that means the preſentation of a Clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the King, by reaſon of Dr. Curle's advancement: But Philip, then Earl of Pembroke (for William[g] was lately dead), requeſted the King to beſtow it upon his kinſman George Herbert; and the King ſaid, "Moſt willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it "be worth his acceptance:" And the Earl as willingly and ſuddenly ſent it him without ſeeking: But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a reſolution for the Clergy; yet, at receiving this preſentation, the apprehenſion of the laſt great account, that he was to make for the cure of ſo many ſouls, made him faſt and pray often, and conſider for not leſs than a month; in which time he had ſome reſolutions to decline both the Prieſthood and that living. And in this time of conſidering, "He endured," as he would often ſay, "ſuch ſpiritual conflicts as none can think, "but only thoſe that have endured them."

In the midſt of theſe conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to ſalute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations) and was joyful to be an eye-witneſs of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together ſome few days, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous ſeat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl[h], and the whole Court were

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ſat, when the late grand Rebellion began, wherein he was a great ſufferer. He left no other demonſtration of his learning, than a Sermon preached at Whitehall, on *Heb.* xii. 14. April 28, 1622. *(Magna Britannia, Vol. IV. p.* 857.)

[g] WILLIAM, third Earl of Pembroke, died April 10, 1630. He was the ſon of Henry ſecond Earl of Pembroke, by his third wife Mary, the accompliſhed ſiſter of Sir Philip Sidney, in whom the Muſes and the Graces ſeemed to meet, and to whoſe memory the well known beautiful lines were written:

"Underneath this marble hearſe
"Lies the ſubject of all verſe,
"Sidney's ſiſter, Pembroke's mother:
"Death, ere thou haſt ſlain another,
"Wiſe and fair and good as ſhe,
"Time ſhall throw a dart at thee.

Sir Philip Sydney dedicated to her his celebrated Romance called, from this circumſtance, "The Counteſs of Pembroke's Arcadia."

The character of this William Earl of Pembroke is not only one of the moſt amiable in Lord Clarendon's hiſtory, but is one of the beſt drawn. *(Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. p.* 192.) "He was," ſays Wood, "not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was "himſelf learned and endowed to admiration with a poetical geny." His poems were publiſhed with this title, "Poems written by William Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are anſwered by way of Repartee, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, with other Poems written by them occaſionally and apart." London 1660.

[h] PHILIP fourth Earl of Pembroke, and firſt Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſehold to King Charles I. and Chancellor of the

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there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the Earl, for his prefentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, *that the refusal of it was a sin*, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes[i] against next day; which the tailor did: And Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant[k], who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made Deacon some years

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the University of Oxford, of whom see "The Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. II. p. 191." By Sufan his first wife, daughter of Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, he had issue seven sons and three daughters. To his second wife he married June 13, 1630, Ann, sole daughter and heir to George Earl of Cumberland, widow of Richard Earl of Dorset, but by her had no issue at his death, Jan. 23, 1649-50, leaving his Lady surviving, who is justly celebrated for her life and manners, extensive charity and beneficence. Dying March 22, 1675, she was buried at Appleby in Westmoreland, where her funeral sermon was preached by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, April 14, 1676, with some remarks on the life of that eminent lady, from *Prov.* xiv. 1. He observes of her, that she had early gained a knowledge as of the best things; so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know: For she could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives in any kind, insomuch that a prime and elegant wit, Dr. Donne, well seen in all human learning, and afterward devoted to the study of divinity, is reported to have said of this Lady in her younger years to this effect, "That she knew well how to discourse of all things, from pre-"destination to flea-silk."

[i] It appears from this passage that a distinction of dress was not strictly observed by those who are admitted only into Deacon's Orders. Though Mr. Herbert was ordained Deacon about the year 1626, he still continued to wear his sword and silk clothes.

[k] Dr. JOHN DAVENANT, elected in 1609 Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and in 1614 President of Queen's College, was promoted to the Bishopric of Salisbury in 1621. A zealous and steady opposer of Arminianism. He was appointed by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort. He is described by Echard as a person of sound learning, deep divinity, and unblemished life. His eagerness to establish peace and a brotherly union between the different reformed churches may be inferred from the animated language with which he has expressed himself on the subject: "I had rather a millstone were hanged about my neck, and I cast "into the sea, than that I should hinder a work so acceptable to God, or "should not with my whole mind and strength support it." In a prayer uttered a short time before his death, "he thanked God for his fatherly cor-"rection, because in all his life-time he never had one heavy affliction; "which made him often much suspect with himself, whether he was a true "child of God or no, until this his last sickness." 'Then he sweetly,' continues Fuller, 'fell asleep; and so we softly draw the curtain about him.'

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before); and he was alſo the ſame day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleaſant than healthful, Parſonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Saliſbury.

I have now brought him to the Parſonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-ſixth of his age, and muſt ſtop here, and beſpeak the reader to prepare for an almoſt incredible ſtory of the great ſanctity of the ſhort remainder of his holy life; a life ſo full of charity, humility, and all Chriſtian virtues, that it deſerves the eloquence of St. Chryſoſtom to commend and declare it! A life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times paſt for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confeſs I am not; and am not pleaſed with myſelf that I muſt; and profeſs myſelf amazed when I conſider how few of the Clergy lived like him then, and how many live ſo unlike him now: But it becomes not me to cenſure: My deſign is rather to aſsure the reader, that I have uſed very great diligence to inform myſelf, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with ſincerity.

When at his induction he was ſhut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the law requires him), he ſtaid ſo much longer than an ordinary time before he returned to thoſe friends that ſtaid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and ſaw him lie proſtrate on the ground before the altar: at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he ſet ſome rules to himſelf, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the ſame night that he had his induction, he ſaid to Mr. Woodnot; "I now look back upon my aſpiring thoughts, and "think myſelf more happy than if I had attained what then I "ſo ambitiouſly thirſted for: And I can now behold the court "with an impartial eye, and ſee plainly that it is made up of "fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other ſuch empty, "imaginary, painted pleaſures: Pleaſures that are ſo empty, as "not to ſatisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God and his "ſervice is a fulneſs of all joy and pleaſure, and no ſatiety. "And I will now uſe all my endeavours to bring my relations "and dependents to a love and reliance on him who never fails "thoſe that truſt him. But above all, I will be ſure to live "well, becauſe the virtuous life of a Clergyman is the moſt "powerful eloquence to perſuade all that ſee it to reverence "and love, and at leaſt to deſire to live like him. And this "I will do, becauſe I know we live in an age, that hath more "need of good examples than precepts[1]. And I beſeech that

[1] "Longum iter eſt per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla." (*Seneca.*)

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"God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve "him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put "into my heart these good desires and resolutions; so he will, "by his assisting grace, give me ghostly strength to bring the "same to good effect. And I beseech him that my humble "and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring "glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my "master[m] and governor: and I am so proud of his service, that "I will always observe, and obey, and do his will; and always "call him Jesus my master, and I will always contemn my "birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, "when I shall compare them with my title of being a Priest, "and serving at the altar of Jesus my master."

And that he did so may appear in many parts of his "Book of Sacred Poems;" especially in that which he calls "The Odour[n]." In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word, *Jesus*, and say, that the adding these words *my master*, to it, and the often repetition of them seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place of his poems ("The Pearl[o]," *Matt.* xiii.) to rejoice and say,—"He knew the ways of learning; knew what nature "does willingly; and what, when it is forced by fire: Knew "the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble "expressions: Knew the court: Knew the ways of pleasure, of "love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all "these for the service of his master Jesus;" and then concludes, saying,

"That through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit:
"But thy silk-twist let down from heav'n to me
"Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
"To climb to thee.

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat; he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, and must now

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[m] See "Duport's Verses on the Life of Mr. George Herbert."—In these his pious resolutions, Mr. Herbert seems almost to adopt the triumphant assertions of St. Paul: "*Yea, I count all things but loss for the "excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus,*" *Phil.* iii. 8. May these sentiments engage the serious attention of the young Clergy! Nothing surely can be more disgraceful than for a Minister of the Gospel to assume the appearance of disclaiming his function, by imitating the habit and deportment of secular persons, when he affects the gentleman so much that he forgets the Clergyman. *(See Scougal's Works, p. 246.)*

[n] Mr. George Herbert's "Temple," p. 169. Edit. of 1709.

[o] Ibid. p. 81.

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"so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence "of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a Priest's "wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which "she purchases by her obliging humility; and I am sure places "so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, "that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places as inseparably, as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed, by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mo-"ther, be not afraid to speak to me; for I am a man that will "hear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, "if I be able; and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, "be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire."—After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, "he would be acquainted with her, and take her "into his care:" and having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience), he, like a Christian Clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God and praying for him. Thus worthy and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a message, "that she would see and be acquainted with her "when her house was built at Bemerton."

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There be many ſuch paſsages both of him and his wife, of which ſome few will be related; but I ſhall firſt tell that he haſted to get the pariſh-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which ſtands near his houſe), and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greateſt part of the parſonage-houſe, which he did alſo very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he cauſed theſe verſes to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall:

"TO MY SUCCESSOR.

"If thou chance for to find
"A new houſe to thy mind,
"And built without thy coſt;
"Be good to the poor,
"As God gives thee ſtore,
"And then my labour's not loſt."

We will now, by the reader's favour, ſuppoſe him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have ſeen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth); and having now fixed him there, I ſhall proceed to give an account of the reſt of his behaviour both to his pariſhioners, and thoſe many others that knew and converſed with him.

Doubtleſs Mr. Herbert had conſidered and given rules to himſelf for his Chriſtian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into Holy Orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed thoſe reſolutions at his proſtration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a Deacon[p], and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained Prieſt, and made capable of adminiſtering both the ſacraments. At which time the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Henchman[q], now Lord Biſhop of

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p Admiſſion to a cure of ſouls did not then require the perſon admitted to be in Prieſt's Orders. In the times preceding the Reformation, even thoſe who were under age, and in the loweſt degree of Orders, obtained preſentations to benefices. Thus *Colet*, Dean of St. Paul's, was inſtituted to a Rectory, when he was only nineteen years of age, and an *Acolyte*. But by 13 Eliz. c. 12, no perſon ſhall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the leaſt, and a *Deacon*. And by 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4. no perſon whatſoever ſhall henceforth be capable to be admitted to any Parſonage, &c. unleſs he have formerly been made Prieſt, by Epiſcopal ordination.

q Dr. HUMPHREY HENCHMAN was at that time Prebendary of the church of Saliſbury. Being much eſteemed by Charles II. whoſe eſcape, after the battle of Worceſter, he was very inſtrumental in promoting, he was preferred to the See of Saliſbury in 1660, and in 1663 was removed to London, and made Lord Almoner. When the declaration for liberty of conſcience was publiſhed in 1671-2, this Prelate firmly adhered to his duty, and was not afraid to incur the King's diſpleaſure, by ſtrictly enjoining his Clergy to preach againſt Popery.

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London (who does not mention him but with ſome veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, "He laid his hand "on Mr. Herbert's head, and alas! within leſs than three years, "lent his ſhoulder[r] to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preſerve thoſe holy rules which ſuch a Prieſt as he intended to be ought to obſerve; and that time might not inſenſibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might ſhow him his variations from this year's reſolutions; he, therefore, did ſet down his rules, then reſolved upon, in that order as the world now ſees them printed in a little book called "The Country Parſon[s]," in which ſome of his rules are:

The Parſon's knowledge.	The Parſon arguing.
The Parſon on Sundays.	The Parſon condeſcending.
The Parſon praying.	The Parſon in his journey.
The Parſon preaching.	The Parſon in his mirth.
The Parſon's charity.	The Parſon with his churchwardens.
The Parſon comforting the ſick.	The Parſon bleſsing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be ſaid to be a practical comment on theſe and the other holy rules ſet down in that uſeful book[t]. A book ſo full of plain, prudent, and uſeful rules, that that country parſon, that can ſpare 12d. and yet wants it, is ſcarce excuſable: becauſe it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of

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[r] When the good Dr. Hammond was buried without oſtentation or pomp, ſeveral of the Gentry and Clergy of the country, and affectionate multitudes of leſs quality, attending on his obſequies, the Clergy with ambition offering themſelves *to bear him on their ſhoulders*, which accordingly they did, and laid that ſacred burden in the burial-place of the generous family which with ſuch friendſhip had entertained him when alive. (*Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond, p.* 276.)—See "The Life of Mr. Joſeph Mede," prefixed to his Works, p. xxxiii.——In the earlier ages of the church, this cuſtom, derived from the Jews, was religiouſly obſerved.—Perſons deſigned for the office of bearing the dead upon their ſhoulders were called κοπιαται. But ſometimes the friends of the deceaſed parties would carry the body themſelves. Thus St. Baſil was carried by the hands of holy men—χερσιν ἁγιων ὑψεμενος. And St. Jerom tells us, that Paula was borne to the grave by Biſhops—*cervicem feretro ſubjicientibus.*

[s] The late Dr. John Burton, Fellow of Eton College, whilſt he gives a juſt character of Mr. Herbert, ſeems to have conſidered this work as a poetical compoſition. "Georgius Herbert, Domini Baronis de Cherbury "frater, aliquando in Acad. Cantab. Orator publicus, deinde Rector de "Bemerton in agro Wilts, pietate inſignis et ingenio poëma ſcripſit, cui "titulus 'Sacerdos paræcialis ruſticus,' ipſe tituli quem libello præſcripſit "fidem moribus ſuis adimplens, et officia ſacerdotalia, quæ deſcripſit, ex-"emplo ſuo illuſtrans."

[t] From his obſervance of theſe rules, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, who knew him, had great reaſon to pronounce him "A peer to primitive ſaints, and "more than a pattern to his own age."

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his friend Mr Woodnot; and he commended it into the truſty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley[u], who publiſhed it with a moſt

[u] BARNABAS OLEY, a private clergyman of ſingular piety, learning, and charity, was born at Warmfield, a village in the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire, where his father was Vicar. Having received his education in the free grammar-ſchool of Wakefield, under Mr. Jeremy Gibſon, he was admitted of Clare Hall in the Univerſity of Cambridge. He was elected Probationary Fellow of the old foundation of Lady Clare, Nov. 28, 1623; and in 1627 he became a Senior Fellow, that is, a Fellow of Lady Clare's foundation. Having for ſome time diſcharged the office of Tutor in his College with great credit, he ſucceeded to the Vicarage of Great Grandſden in Huntingdonſhire. In 1635, he was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity. In 1644 he was ejected from his Fellowſhip by Edward Earl of Manchester, major-general of the Parliament's forces, for not reſiding at Cambridge, nor repairing thither upon being ſummoned. But theſe were not the true cauſes of this ſeverity. Mr. Oley, at the imminent hazard of his life, led the party which conveyed the plate and money, collected in that Univerſity for the ſupport of the royal cauſe, to his Majeſty King Charles, at Nottingham.—"Barivicus autem aliique ſelecti academici, quorum arcano ſtudio tantæ difficultatis opus mandabatur, conſilii Cromwelliani compotes facti, ſubſidium regium per loca devia exiguâ equitum manu ſtipatum ablegant, eâ ipsâ nocte quâ Cromwellus cum ſuo pedite viam ſolitam obſtruebat, certo certius luce proximâ ab hoſte corripiendum. Hujus itineris ducem conſultiſsimum virum BARNABAM OLÆUM locorum quibus deviandum erat peritum conſtituunt. Is erat Aulæ Clarenſis Præſes, pietatis certè Cantabrigienſis in optimum regem et chariſsimam patriam aptiſsimus nuncius et interpres. *Hoc enim viro nescio an Academia Cantabrigiensis unquam quicquam habuit aut modestius aut sanctius.* Ille autem ſub divinis auſpiciis hoc qualecunque academiæ fidei pignus et teſtimonium ad regios pedes Nottinghamiæ ſubmiſit." *(Vita Johannis Berwick, S. T. P. p.* 16, 17.)——He was at this time plundered of all his property, and ſo much haraſsed and menaced by the rebels as to be under the neceſsity of leaving his Vicarage. To avoid diſcovery he frequently changed his habit. For ſeven years he wandered about, having ſcarce wherewith to ſupport himſelf. He fled for ſafety to the town of Wakefield; and we find him at one time in Pontefract caſtle with ſome other loyal and worthy Clergymen, preaching to the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and encouraging them to defend the place againſt the King's enemies.

In 1659 he returned to Grandſden, when he had not, to uſe his own words, where to lay his head. In 1660 he was reſtored to his Fellowſhip. A Prebend in the church of Worceſter, and the Archdeaconry of Ely were conferred upon him. The latter he reſigned, the former he kept with his Vicarage to the time of his death, Feb. 20, 1685-6.

He was the editor of the learned Dr. Thomas Jackſon's Works, and of Mr. Geo. Herbert's "Prieſt to the Temple." "His prefaces to both "thoſe publications are truly excellent, and will always be read with equal "pleaſure and edification. His letters, ſome of which were in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Bigg, the late Vicar of Great Grandſden, breathe the "ſpirit of primitive piety and apoſtolical ſimplicity. I cannot diſmiſs this "article without obſerving that Mr. Oley was a generous benefactor to "his College, which becoming ruinous was taken down and re-edified. "Fuller ſays, 'that he may be truly termed *Master of the Fabric*, ſo in-"'duſtrious and judicious was he in overſeeing the ſame. Nor was he "'like the fooliſh builder that could not, but the unhappy, that might "'not finiſh his work, being outed the College on the account of the Co-"'venant.'" *(History of the University of Cambridge, p.* 38.)

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conſcientious and excellent preface; from which I have had ſome of thoſe truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his firſt ſermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which firſt ſermon he gave his pariſhioners many neceſſary, holy, fafe rules for the diſcharge of a good conſcience both to God and man. And delivered his ſermon after a moſt florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence. But, at the cloſe of this ſermon, told them, "That ſhould not be his conſtant way of preaching; for ſince Almighty God does not "intend to lead men to heaven by hard queſtions, he would "not therefore fill their heads with unneceſſary notions; but "that for their ſakes, his language and his expreſſions ſhould be "more plain and practical in his future ſermons[x]." And he then made it his humble requeſt, "that they would be conſtant "to the afternoon's ſervice and catechiſing;" and ſhowed them convincing reaſons why he deſired it; and his obliging example and perſuaſions brought them to a willing conformity to his deſires.

The texts for all his future ſermons (which God knows were not many) were conſtantly taken out of the goſpel for the day; and he did as conſtantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read[y]; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday[z] does refer to the goſpel or to the epiſtle then read to them; and, that they might pray with underſtanding, he did uſually take occaſion to explain,

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[x] The famous painter, Albrecht Durer, uſed to ſay, he took no delight in thoſe pictures which were painted with many colours, but in thoſe that were made moſt plain: "Even ſo," ſaid Luther, "I take delight in thoſe "ſermons that enter fine and ſimply, ſo that they may well be underſtood "and comprehended of the common man." (*Luther's Table Talk, p.* 510.)

[y] Mr. Herbert's chief delight was in the holy Scripture; one leaf whereof he profeſsed he would not part with, though he might have the whole world in exchange. That was his wiſdom, his comfort, his joy: Out of that he took his motto: "*Leſse than the leaſt of all God's mer-*"*cies.*" In that he found the ſubſtance, Chriſt; and, in Chriſt, remiſſion of ſins; yea, in his blood, he placed the goodneſs of his good works. "It is a good work" (ſaid he, of building a Church), "if it be ſprinkled "with the blood of Chriſt."

(*Mr. Barnabas Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert.*)

[z] The excellency of ſome of the collects in our liturgy is truly admirable; ſuch, indeed, as no other Church can boaſt. But it will be difficult to conceive how Mr. Herbert could diſcover and ſhow the reference that the collect for every Sunday has to the goſpel or epiſtle of that day. The relation which many of them bear to the reſpective goſpels and epiſtles is very ſtriking and obvious; as in thoſe uſed on the two firſt Sundays in Advent, on the ſixth Sunday after the Epiphany, and ſome others: but it muſt be owned, that in ſeveral of them, the connexion is ſought for in vain. When commiſsioners were appointed in 1680 to reviſe the liturgy, &c. among other amendments propoſed, new collects were drawn up agreeable to the epiſtles and goſpels.

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not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession "of our-"selves to be vile miserable sinners;" and that we begin so, because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed; and hoping that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, "to open our lips, that "our mouths may show forth his praise:" for, till then, we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, "Glory be to the Father, and to "the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past; and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly, for "with such sacrifices God is ho-"noured and well-pleased." This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the Priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, that their "souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also "rejoice in God their Saviour." And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, that their "eyes have" also "seen their salvation;" for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: And he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they lived to see it daily in the history of it, and, therefore, ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that particular mercy. A service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, "Holy, holy, "holy Lord God, glory be to God on high, and on earth peace." And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God; because the prophet David says, in his Psalms, "He "that praiseth the Lord honoureth him."

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He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, "Blessed be the Lord God "of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his "people; and (he hath in our days) remembered and showed "that mercy which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promised "to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his "holy covenant made with them." And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus "visited and thus redeemed his people."——These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the Priest did pray only for the congregation and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you;" and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy spirit;" and then they join together in the following collects, and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels[a] look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christ-

[a] How comfortable is the doctrine, that the good angels condescend to notice the prayers of good men upon earth! to report, to commemorate, to present them before God in heaven! It is a part of the angelical ministry to offer our prayers unto God daily. To offer them—how? not as mediators and intercessors, adding virtue to our prayers from their merits, for this belongs to our Saviour Christ alone, the only meritorious mediator between God and man; but as messengers relating and reporting our prayers before God; "bringing the remembrance of them before the "Holy One." The practical application of this doctrine to the purposes of devotion is too obvious to be here insisted on. See "Bull's Sermons," Vol. II. p. 517, 520. "Joseph Mede's Works," p. 343, 347.

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lar congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent and humble poſture, look as beautifully as Jeruſalem, that is at peace with itſelf.

He inſtructed them alſo why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full ſervice of the Church; namely, at the concluſion of the ſeveral parts of that ſervice; and prayed then, not only becauſe it was compoſed and commanded by our Jeſus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our leſs perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fitteſt to ſum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He inſtructed them alſo that as by the ſecond commandment we are required not to bow down or worſhip an idol or falſe god; ſo, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or ſtand up and worſhip the true God. And he inſtructed them why the Church required the congregation to ſtand up at the repetition of the creeds[b]; namely, becauſe they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an aſſent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that ſhorter creed or doxology ſo often repeated daily, they alſo ſtood up to teſtify their belief to be, that "the God that they truſted in was one God and three perſons; "the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, to whom they and "the Prieſt gave glory." And becauſe there had been hereticks that had denied ſome of thoſe three perſons to be God; therefore the congregation ſtood up and honoured him, by confeſsing and ſaying, "It was ſo in the beginning, is now ſo, and ſhall "ever be ſo world without end." And all gave their aſſent to this belief, by ſtanding up and ſaying, *Amen*.

He inſtructed them alſo what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holydays, and the excellent uſe of them; namely, that they were ſet apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker ſays) "to be the land-marks to "diſtinguiſh times:" for by them we are taught to take notice how time paſſes by us, and that we ought not to let the years paſs without a celebration of praiſe for thoſe mercies which thoſe days give us occaſion to remember; and therefore they were to note, that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the Angel's appearing to the bleſsed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that "ſhe "ſhould conceive and bear a ſon, that ſhould be the Redeemer "of mankind." And ſhe did ſo forty weeks after this joyful ſalutation; namely, at our Chriſtmas; a day in which we commemorate his birth with joy and praiſe: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his circumciſion; namely, in that

b It is well known that the nobility and gentry of Poland were accuſtomed, when they repeated the creed, to ſtand up, holding their drawn ſwords in their hands, intimating thereby their readineſs to defend it with their lives.

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which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: And that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call, "The "Purification of the blessed Virgin St. Mary." And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his Crucifixion; and at Easter, commemorate his glorious Resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be "That Christ that was crucified, dead and "buried;" and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his Resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, "That though he left them, yet "he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter;" and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitsunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations[c].

He made them know also why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the Altar or Communion Table; why the Priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some Collects standing; and he gave them many other observations fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention, for I must set limits

[c] Those that pretend to so much spirituality as to cast out all observation of days, I wish it may not be a system of infidelity in them, and of a secret quarrel they have to the truth of Christianity itself. For those that are most perfect in divine accomplishments, cannot enjoy the actual enravishments that may arise from this perfection, without vacancy from secular employments, for which these holydays are most fit; and those that are less perfect, by their vacation from worldly drudgery, have the opportunity of searching more closely into the state and condition of their souls, and of more serious meditations and resolutions of composing their life to the most perfect patterns of truth and sanctity.

(Dr. Henry More's Theological Works, p. 381.)

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to my pen, and not make that a treatiſe which I intended to be a much ſhorter account than I have made it: But I have done when I have told the reader that he was conſtant in catechiſing every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechiſing was after his ſecond leſson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always ſo happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I muſt add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his ſermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of Divine Service; and of thoſe Miniſters that huddled up the church-prayers without a viſible reverence and affection; namely, *such as seemed to say the Lord's Prayer or Collect in a breath:* But for himſelf, his cuſtom was to ſtop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to conſider what they had prayed, and to force their deſires affectionately to God before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his pariſhioners underſtand what they prayed, and why they praiſed and adored their Creator, I hope I ſhall the more eaſily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear conſtantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceaſed ſiſter) and his whole family twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almoſt join to his parſonage-houſe. And for the time of his appearing, it was ſtrictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midſt of the congregation. And he would joy to have ſpent that time in that place where the honour of his *Master Jesus* dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he teſtified conſtantly by an humble behaviour and viſible adoration, he, like Joſhua, brought not only "His own "houſehold thus to ſerve the Lord," but brought moſt of his pariſhioners and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, conſtantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: And ſome of the meaner ſort of his pariſh did ſo love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough reſt when Mr. Herbert's Saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might alſo offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his moſt holy life was ſuch, that it begot ſuch reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themſelves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's bleſſing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reaſon and example, to perſuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his conſtant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor thoſe prayers that he thought himſelf bound to perform with his family, which always were a ſet form and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath ap-

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pointed for the day or week.—*Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.*

His chiefeſt recreation was muſic, in which heavenly art he was a moſt excellent maſter, and did himſelf compoſe many divine hymns and anthems, which he ſet and ſung to his lute or viol: And though he was a lover of retiredneſs, yet his love to muſic was ſuch that he went uſually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Saliſbury; and at his return would ſay, "That his time ſpent in prayer, and cathe-"dral muſic[d], elevated his ſoul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would uſually ſing and play his part at an appointed private muſic-meeting; and, to juſtify this practice, he would often ſay, "Religion "does not baniſh mirth, but only moderates and ſets rules to "it."

And as his deſire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Saliſbury, ſo his walks thither were the occaſion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention ſome few.

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[d] Mr. Herbert ſpake with the ſame divine feeling as Milton did afterward:

"There let the pealing organ blow
"To the full voic'd choir below;
"In ſervice high and anthem clear,
"As may with ſweetneſs through mine ear
"Diſſolve me into ecſtaſies,
"And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

CHURCH-MUSIC.

"Sweeteſt of ſweets, I thank you: when diſpleaſure
"Did through my body wound my mind,
"You took me thence, and in your houſe of pleaſure
"A dainty lodging me aſsign'd.
"Now I in you without a body move,
"Riſing and falling with your wings;
"We both together ſweetly live and love,
"Yet ſay ſometimes, *God help poor kings.*
"Comfort, I'll die; for if you poſt from me,
"Sure I ſhall do ſo, and much more:
"But if I travel in your companie,
"You know the way to heaven's door."

(Herbert's Divine Poem.)

See likewiſe "The life of Dr. Donne," p. 78, and "Luther's Table Talk," p. 500.

It muſt not, however, be inferred that thoſe, who hear the ſtrains of church-muſic without that ecſtaſy and rapture which others experience, are therefore ſtrangers to the genuine pleaſures of devotion: Nor are we to conclude, that thoſe are always truly devout, who are delighted with this ſublime ſpecies of muſical compoſition. It is related of a good and pious Prelate, who had determined, with Nazianzen, "to give wings to his ſoul, "to reſcue it wholly from the world, and dedicate it to God," that he did not love the pomp of a choir, which, he thought, filled the ear with too much pleaſure, and carried away the mind from the ſerious attention to the matter; which is indeed the ſinging with grace in the heart, and the inward melody, with which God is chiefly pleaſed.

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In one of his walks to Saliſbury, he overtook a gentleman that is ſtill living in that city, and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occaſion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excuſed if he aſked him ſome account of his faith; and ſaid, "I do this, the rather becauſe though you are not of my "pariſh, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your te-"nant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, becauſe I know "there be ſome ſermon-hearers that be like thoſe fiſhes that "always live in ſalt water, and yet are always freſh." After which expreſsion Mr. Herbert aſked him ſome needful queſtions, and having received his anſwer, gave him ſuch rules for the trial of his ſincerity, and for a practical piety, and in ſo loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did ſo fall in love with him and his diſcourſe, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Saliſbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and ſtill mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and ſtill praiſeth God for the occaſion of knowing him.

In another of his Saliſbury walks, he met with a neighbour Miniſter, and after ſome friendly diſcourſe betwixt them, and ſome condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occaſion to ſay, "One "cure for theſe diſtempers would be for the Clergy themſelves to "keep the Ember-weeks ſtrictly, and beg of their pariſhioners "to join with them in faſting and prayers for a more religious "Clergy."

"And another cure would be for themſelves to reſtore the "great and neglected duty of catechiſing, on which the ſalva-"tion of ſo many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does de-"pend; but principally that the Clergy themſelves would be "ſure to live unblamably; and that the dignified Clergy eſ-"pecially, which preach temperance, would avoid ſurfeiting, "and take all occaſions to expreſs a viſible humility[e] and charity "in their lives: For this would force a love and an imitation, "and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew them to be "ſuch." (And for proof of this, we need no other teſtimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake[f], late Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells). "This," ſaid Mr. Herbert, "would be a cure for

[e] In that enumeration of the ſeveral virtues, which the elegant Philoſopher of Rome has introduced in his much-admired "Treatiſe on the Duties of Life," no mention is made of *humility*. It is indeed of too heavenly a nature to have a place in a ſyſtem of Pagan ſuperſtition. But our divine Lawgiver has profeſſedly made it the foundation of his religion, "Learn of "me, for I am meek and lowly in heart." In the ſchools of this world, elaborate lectures are delivered on natural philoſophy, on law, on medicine; but, in the ſchool of Chriſt, the great leſſon which is inculcated is the leſſon of humility. Where this quality is wanting, where pride poſſeſſes the heart, a man may be deemed learned, ingenious, eloquent; but he has no title to the denomination of a Chriſtian.

[f] Dr. ARTHUR LAKE, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, died in 1626. He obtained his preferment, "not ſo much," ſays Fuller, "by the power of his "brother, Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary to King James, as by his own deſert, "as one

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"the wickedneſs and growing atheiſm of our age. And my "dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earneſt, let "no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity; for "it is not learning, but this, this only, that muſt do it; and till "then the fault muſt lie at our doors."

In another walk to Saliſbury, he ſaw a poor man with a poorer horſe, that was fallen under his load; they were both in diſtreſs, and needed preſent help, which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horſe: The poor man bleſsed him for it, and he bleſsed the poor man; and was ſo like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refreſh both himſelf and his horſe; and told him, "that if he loved himſelf, he ſhould be merciful to "his beaſt." Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his muſical friends at Saliſbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who uſed to be ſo trim and clean, came into that company ſo ſoiled and diſcompoſed; but he told them the occaſion: And when one of the company told him "he had diſparaged himſelf by ſo dirty an employ-"ment;" his anſwer was, "that the thought of what he "had done, would prove muſic to him at midnight; and that "the omiſsion of it would have upbraided and made diſcord in "his conſcience, whenſoever he ſhould paſs by that place: For "if I be bound to pray for all that be in diſtreſs, I am ſure that "I am bound, ſo far as it is in my power, to practiſe what I "pray for. And though I do not wiſh for the like occaſion "every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly paſs "one day of my life, without comforting a ſad ſoul, or ſhew-"ing mercy; and I praiſe God for this occaſion. And now let "us tune our inſtruments."

Thus as our bleſsed Saviour, after his reſurrection, did take occaſion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other diſciple which he met with, and accompanied, in their journey to Emmaus; ſo Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occaſion to inſtruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by ſhewing humility and mercy, and miniſtering grace to the hearers.

And he was moſt happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid conſtantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to diſpoſe that to the poor

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"as one whoſe piety may be juſtly exemplary to all of his order. In all the "places of honour and employment which he enjoyed, he carried himſelf the "ſame in mind and perſon, ſhewing by his conſtancy, that his virtues were "virtues indeed; in all kinds of which, whether national, moral, theological, "perſonal, or paternal, he was eminent, and indeed one of the examples of "his time. He always lived as a ſingle man, exemplary in his life and con-"verſation, and very hoſpitable. He was alſo well read in the fathers and "ſchoolmen, and had a command of the Scripture, which made him one of "the beſt preachers, that few went beyond him in his time." *(Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p.* 501.)

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of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for she rejoiced in the employment: And this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours: to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "he "would not see the danger of want so far off; but being the "Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us, that charity "is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfil-"ling of the law, the life of faith: and that charity hath a pro-"mise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life "which is to come; being these and more excellent things are "in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity! and that being all "my tithes and church-dues are a *deodate* from thee, O my God, "make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to re-"turn them back to thee! and by thy grace I will do so, in "distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in dis-"tress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir," said he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent maintenance "secured her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, "so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said, "his life could "not be better spent, than in the service of his Master Jesus, "who had done and suffered so much for him: But," said he, "I will not be wilful; for though my spirit be willing, yet I "find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be "appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will "now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on "immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his Curate to the Church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which Church Bemerton is but a Chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the Church service for Mr. Herbert in that Chapel, when the music meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

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About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Ferrar[g] (for an account of whom I am by promiſe indebted to the reader, and intend to make him ſudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's ſickneſs, ſent Mr. Edmund Duncon[h] (who is now rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middleſex) from his houſe of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to ſee Mr. Herbert, and to aſsure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet; but at his ſeeing Mr. Duncon, he raiſed himſelf vigorouſly, ſaluted him, and with ſome earneſtneſs inquired the health of his brother Ferrar; of which Mr. Duncon ſatisfied him; and after ſome diſcourſe of Mr. Ferrar's holy life, and the manner of his conſtant ſerving God, he ſaid to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I ſee by your habit that you are a Prieſt, and I deſire you "to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon aſked him "What prayers?" to which Mr. Herbert's anſwer was, "O, Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England; no "other prayers are equal to them! but at this time I beg of "you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did ſo. After which, and ſome other diſcourſe of Mr. Ferrar, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain ſupper and a clean lodging, and he betook himſelf to reſt.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me that at his firſt view of Mr. Herbert he ſaw majeſty and humility ſo reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his perſon;

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[g] "The friendſhip of good men may be maintained in vigour and height, "without the ceremonies of viſits and compliments, yea, without any "trade of ſecular courteſies, merely in order to ſpiritual edification of "one another in love, Mr. Ferrar and Mr. George Herbert loved "each other moſt intimately, and drove a large ſtock of Chriſtian cha-"rity long before their deaths, and yet they ſaw not each other in "many years; I think, ſcarce ever, but as Members of one Univerſity in "their whole lives." *(Barnabas Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert.)* ——Mr. George Herbert was very deſirous of reſigning his Prebend in the Church of Lincoln to this his dear friend, who declined the acceptance of it, and diverted or directed the charity of Mr. Herbert to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corpſe of the Prebend lay.

Of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, a recluſe almoſt to monachiſm, yet a rational and devout Chriſtian, Biſhop Turner ſays very properly, that ſome things in his life were rather to be admired than imitated: yet ſurely he and his ſociety are not deſerving of that cenſure with which they have been treated by the author of "Britiſh Topography."

[h] He was brother to Dr. Eleazer Duncon, Prebendary of Durham, and to Mr. John Duncon, "two very worthy and learned perſons, and great "ſufferers, who died before the miracle of our happy reſtauration, and "were happy in that they lived not to ſee ſuch oſtentation of ſin and in-"gratitude, as ſome ſince have made, as if they had been delivered from "ſlaverie under the tyrant, that they might with more libertie yield them-"ſelves ſervants to ſin under the tyrannie of Satan." *(Barnabas Oley's Preface, &c.)*

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and ſays, "his diſcourſe was ſo pious, and his motion ſo gen-
"teel and meek, that after almoſt forty years yet they remain
"ſtill freſh in his memory."

The next morning, Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himſelf to a journey to Bath, but with a promiſe to return back to him within five days, and he did ſo; but before I ſhall ſay any thing of what diſcourſe then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promiſed account of Mr. Ferrar.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar (who got the reputation of being called "St. Nicholas" at the age of ſix years) was born in London, and doubtleſs had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the 26th[1] year of his age he betook himſelf to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages ſpoken in the weſtern parts of our Chriſtian world, and underſtood well the principles of their religion and of their manner, and the reaſons of their worſhip. In this his travel he met with many perſuaſions to come into a communion with that Church which calls itſelf Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother the Church of England. In his abſence from England, Mr. Ferrar's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and not long after his return into England, Mr. Ferrar had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an eſtate left him, that enabled him to purchaſe land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a-year, the greateſt part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or ſix miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he choſe for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the pariſh-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Ferrar having ſeen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert ſays, "a nothing between two diſhes," did ſo contemn it, that he reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death: And his life was ſpent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did moſt of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks ſtrictly, both in faſting and uſing all thoſe mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then uſed: and he and they did the like conſtantly on Fridays, and on the

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1 Rather in the 21ſt year of his age, Mr. Ferrar was born Nov. 22, 1592, and went abroad in the retinue of the Princeſs Elizabeth in 1613. He was uſually called "the Proteſtant Saint Nicholas, and the pious Mr. "Herbert's brother." By the advice of Dr. Butler, an eminent Phyſician at Cambridge, his fellow collegian, he travelled for his health; his conſtitution, naturally delicate, having been much impaired by his inceſſant application to ſtudy.

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vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints'-days; and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner:—He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a Deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village, before Mr. Ferrar bought the manor: And he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the Church, or in an Oratory, which was within his own house; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the Church, and often to an organ in the Oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Ferrar, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the Church or Oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day; and when these or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God or reading the Psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary and faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Ferrar and his happy family serve God day and night:—Thus did they always behave themselves, as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their de-

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votions to God.—And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the Clergy that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar, and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in the watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the Church or Oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it, and the parlour [k] was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639 [l].

[k] In this parlour was a tablet of brass, placed by the advice of Mr. Herbert, with this inscription approved by him:

I. H. S.

HE, WHO (BY REPROOF OF OUR ERRORS, AND REMONSTRANCE OF THAT WHICH IS MORE PERFECT) SEEKS TO MAKE US BETTER, IS WELCOME AS AN ANGEL OF GOD.

AND

HE, WHO (BY A CHEERFUL PARTICIPATION OF THAT WHICH IS GOOD) CONFIRMS US IN THE SAME, IS WELCOME AS A CHRISTIAN FRIEND.

BUT

HE, WHO ANY WAYS GOES ABOUT TO DISTURB US IN THAT WHICH IS AND OUGHT TO BE AMONGST CHRISTIANS (THO' IT BE NOT USUAL IN THE WORLD), IS A BURDEN WHILST HE STAYS, AND SHALL BEAR HIS JUDGMENT, WHOSOEVER HE BE.

AND

HE, WHO FAULTS US IN ABSENCE FOR THAT WHICH IN PRESENCE HE MADE SHEW TO APPROVE OF, DOTH BY A DOUBLE GUILT OF FLATTERY AND SLANDER VIOLATE THE BANDS BOTH OF FRIENDSHIP AND CHARITY.

MARY FERRAR, WIDOW,
MOTHER OF THIS FAMILY,
AGED FOURSCORE YEARS,
(WHO BIDS ADIEU TO ALL FEARS AND HOPES OF THIS WORLD,
AND ONLY DESIRES TO SERVE GOD)
SET UP THIS TABLE.

[l] Mr. Ferrar died Dec. 2. 1637. He was buried in the Chapel-Yard. The tombstone, which is placed over his remains, is without any inscription. That happy society, of which he was the founder, is thus noticed in a well-known ludicrous poem:

"To

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Mr. Ferrar's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Ferrar's commending "The Considerations of John Valdesso[m]" (a book which

"To th' new-founded College came I
"Commended to the care of many;
"Bounteous are they, kind and loving,
"Doing whatsoe'er's behoving.
"These hold and walk together wholly,
"And state their lands on uses holy.
"Whether pure these are or are not,
"As I know not, so I care not:
"But if they be dissembling brothers,
"Their life surpasseth many others:
"See but their cell, school, and their temple,
"You'll say, the stars were there example."

Of this congregation of saints, see "Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams," p. 50—53. During the civil commotions, their religion and loyalty exposed them to danger. The whole family "fled away and dispersed, "and *took joyfully the spoiling of their goods.*" *Heb.* x. 34.——All that they had restored to the Church, all that they had bestowed upon sacred comeliness, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood and for alms, were seized upon as lawful prey, taken from superstitious persons.

[m] The version of this celebrated work of John Valdesso is printed in octavo, and contains 311 pages. It is entitled, "The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior JOHN VALDESSO, treating of those things which are most profitable, most necessary, and most perfect in our Christian Profession. Written in Spanish, brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and first set forth in Italian at Basil, by Cælius Secundus Curio, Anno 1550: afterward translated into French, and printed at Lyons, 1563, and again at Paris, 1565, and now translated out of the Italian Copy into English, with Notes: Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Author's, or a Preface to his divine Commentary upon the Romans. 1 *Cor.* ii. 'Howbeit we speak 'Wisdom amongst them that are perfect, yet not the Wisdom of this 'World.' Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University. Ann. Dom. 1638."

Of the nature of this work we may form an idea from the Address of the Editor, the learned Dr. Jackson, to the Reader:

"These truly divine meditations or considerations of Signior John Val-"desso, a nobleman of Spain (who died almost an hundred years agoe), "having been so acceptable to pious Vigerius, to learned Cælius Secun-"dus Curio, and to many others both French and Italian protestants, that "they have been translated out of the original Spanish copy, and printed "three or four times in those languages; it seemeth to me a reasonable "and charitable design to print them now in English, without any altera-"tion at all from the Italian copy, the Spanish being either not at all ex-"tant, or not easy to be found. It is certain that the book containeth "many worthy discourses of experimental and practical divinity, well ex-"pressed, and elegantly illustrated, especially concerning the doctrines of "justification and mortification: and yet, notwithstanding, there be some

"few

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he had met with in his travels, and tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh) to be examined and cenſured by Mr. Herbert be-

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" few expreſsions and ſimilitudes in it, at which not only the weak reader " may ſtumble, and the envious quarrel; but alſo the wiſe and charitable " reader may juſtly blame. To have removed theſe few ſtumbling-blocks, " or offenſive paſsages by leaving them out, or by altering them, had not " been the work of a tranſlator, but of an author; beſides the ill example " of altering ancient authors, which is one of the greateſt cauſes of the " corruption of truth and learning. Therefore, it hath been thought " fit to print the book according to the author's own copy, but withall " to give particular notice of ſome ſuſpicious places, and of ſome mani- " feſt errors which follow, particularly expreſsed in the enſuing pages; " referring the reſt, if any there be, to the judgment of the reader. He " lived where the ſcriptures were in no reputation; and, therefore, no " marvel that he ſhould ſpeak ſo ſlightly of them; but rather, on the con- " trary, it may ſeem a marvellous thing in our ages to have a ſtateſman in " thoſe parts at that time ſo far illuminated and taught of God as he was. " May it pleaſe the divine Goodneſs, that every reader may reap the like " comfort and profit to his ſoul, as the tranſlator and publiſher humbly " and thankfully acknowledge that they have done, and they have their " main ſcope and aim in publiſhing it!"

Prefixed to "The Conſiderations" is alſo an Addreſs from Cælius Secundus Curio to the Reader, in which we have the following account of Valdeſso: " Theſe Conſiderations, as many well know, were firſt written " by the author in the Spaniſh language; but afterward, by a certain pious " and worthy perſon, tranſlated into Italian. Yet have they not been " able altogether to quit thoſe forms of ſpeech which are proper to Spain. " John Valdeſso was by nation a Spaniard, of noble kindred, of an ho- " nourable degree, and a reſplendent Chevalier of the Emperor, but a " much more honourable and reſplendent Chevalier of Chriſt. True it " is, he did not much follow the court after that Chriſt had revealed him- " ſelf to him; but abode in Italy, ſpending the greateſt part of his life at " Naples, where with the ſweetneſse of his doctrine, and the ſanctity of " his life, he gained many diſciples unto Chriſt; and eſpecially among the " gentlemen and cavaliers, and ſome ladies, he was very eminent and " praiſe-worthy in all kinds of praiſe. It ſeemed that he was appointed by " God for a teacher and paſtor of noble and illuſtrious perſonages: al- " though he was of ſuch benignity and charity, that he accounted himſelf " debtor of his talents to every rude and mean perſon, and became all " things to all men, that he might gaine all to Chriſt: and not this alone, " but he gave light to ſome of the moſt famous preachers in Italy, which " I very well know, having converſed with them themſelves.

" He never had wife, but lived moſt continently; nor did he attend to " ought elſe, as much as he could, than unto mortification, in which death " overtaking him, he became perfectly mortified, ſo as to be perfectly " quickened in the reſurrection of the juſt, and to enjoy our Lord Chriſt. " He died in Naples about the year 1540. He hath left behind alſo certaine " other good and pious compoſitions, which, as I hope, ſhall by Vergerius " his meanes be communicated unto you."

Subjoined to "The Conſiderations" is an Epiſtle written by Valdeſso " to Lady Dona Julia de Gonzaga," to whom he dedicates " A Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the Romans." It appears that along with this Commentary he ſent to her all St. Paul's Epiſtles, tranſlated from the Greek into the *ordinary Caſtilian language*. He ſays, that he had before tranſlated the Pſalms of David from the original Hebrew, for her uſe; and he promiſes

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fore it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Ferrar.

This John Valdeſso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles V. whom Valdeſso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdeſso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his reſolution was to decline his Majeſty's ſervice, and betake himſelf to a quiet and contemplative life, becauſe there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The Emperor had himſelf for the ſame, or other like reaſons, put on the ſame reſolution: But God and himſelf did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore deſire Valdeſso to conſider well of what he had ſaid, and to keep his purpoſe within his own breaſt, till they two might have a ſecond opportunity of a friendly diſcourſe; which Valdeſso promiſed to do.

In the mean time, the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdeſso to meet again, and after a pious and free diſcourſe, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the bleſsed ſacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout Friar to preach a ſermon of contempt of the world, and of the happineſs and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the Friar did moſt affectionately. After which ſermon, the Emperor took occaſion to declare openly, "That the preacher had "begot in him a reſolution to lay down his dignities, and to "forſake the world, and betake himſelf to a monaſtical life [n]." And he pretended he had perſuaded John Valdeſso to do the like; but this is moſt certain, that after the Emperor had called his ſon Philip out of England, and reſigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdeſso did perform their reſolutions.

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promiſes to furniſh her with "*The History of Chriſt,*" in the ſame language, "at ſuch time and manner as it ſhall pleaſe the Divine Majeſty."

Mr. Iſaac Walton in his "Complete Angler," p. 26, introduces a remark of Valdeſso, whom he calls an ingenious Spaniard, "that rivers, and "the inhabitants of the watery element, were made for wiſe men to con-"template, and fools to paſs by without conſideration."

[n] Charles V. was deſirous of expiating the many diſorders of a life ſpent in continued wars, by devoting his laſt years to the ſervice of God. He retired to the monaſtery of Saint Juſt, ſituated near Placentia, on the frontiers of Caſtile and Portugal. Is it not to be regretted that after his retirement he often expreſsed his ſorrow for having obſerved *the ſafe conduct*, that he had formerly given to Luther, lamenting that he did not ſeize that reformer, to whom he had ſolemnly promiſed ſecurity? That bigotry muſt have been great indeed, which impelled a Chriſtian Prince to lament in his laſt moments, that he had not violated the moſt ſacred engagement.

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This account of John Valdeſso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar: And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdeſso wrote his "Hundred and Ten Conſiderations," and many other treatiſes of worth, which want a ſecond Mr. Ferrar to procure and tranſlate them.

After this account of Mr. Ferrar and John Valdeſso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promiſe, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and, therefore, their diſcourſe could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert ſpoke to this purpoſe: "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue "his daily prayers for me: And let him know, that I have "conſidered, *that God only is what he would be*, and that I am, "by his grace, become now ſo like him, as to be pleaſed with "what pleaſeth him; and tell him, that I do not repine, but "am pleaſed with my want of health; and tell him my heart "is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and "that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change "with hope and patience."—Having ſaid this, he did, with ſo ſweet a humility as ſeemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, ſay to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, "and tell him, he ſhall find in it a picture of the many ſpiritual "conflicts that have paſsed betwixt God and my ſoul, before "I could ſubject mine to the will of Jeſus my Maſter; in whoſe "ſervice I have now found perfect freedom; deſire him to "read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor ſoul, let it be made public; if not, "let him burn it; for I and it are leſs than the leaſt of God's "mercies*."—Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of "The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations;" of which Mr. Ferrar would ſay, "There was in it the picture of a divine "ſoul in every page; and that the whole book was ſuch a harmony of holy paſsions, as would enrich the world with pleaſure and piety." And it appears to have done ſo; for there have been more than twenty thouſand of them ſold ſince the firſt impreſsion.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Ferrar ſent this book to Cambridge to be licenſed for the preſs, the Vice-

* Dr. Donne ſaid of himſelf, that he was "leſs than the leaſt of God's "mercies."——In "Peckard's Memoirs," &c. is inſerted a Prayer drawn up by Mr. Ferrar, on the particular occaſion of the dangerous illneſs of his dear friend, Mr. George Herbert.

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Chancellor would by no means allow the two ſo much noted verſes [p]——

> Religion ſtands a tip-toe in our land,
> Ready to paſs to the American ſtrand,

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them; but after ſome time, and ſome arguments for and againſt their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor ſaid, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know "that he had many heavenly ſpeculations, and was a divine "poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inſpired "prophet, and therefore I licenſe the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a ſyllable, ſince it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, ſave only that Mr. Ferrar hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death), his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had ſeen him draw his laſt breath, and cloſed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often viſited and prayed for by all the Clergy that lived near to him, eſpecially by his friends the Biſhop and Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church in Saliſbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the ſad witneſſes of his daily decay; to whom he would often ſpeak to this purpoſe: "I now look "back upon the pleaſures of my life paſt, and ſee the content I "have taken in beauty, in wit, and muſic, and pleaſant conver- "ſation, are now all paſt by me like a dream or as a ſhadow "that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to "them; and I ſee that as my father and generation hath done "before me, ſo I alſo ſhall now ſuddenly (with Job) *make my*

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[p] "Religion ſtands on tiptoe on our land,
"Ready to paſs to the American ſtrand.
"When height of malice, and prodigious luſts,
"Impudent ſinning, witchcrafts, and diſtruſts,
"The marks of future bane, ſhall fill our cup
"Unto the brim, and make our meaſure up;
"When Sein ſhall ſwallow Tiber; and the Thames,
"By letting in them both, pollutes her ſtreams;
"When Italy of us ſhall have her will,
"And all her calendars of ſins fulfil,
"Whereby one may foretell what ſins, next year,
"Shall both in France and England domineer;
"Then ſhall Religion to America flee:
"They have their times of goſpel ev'n as we."
(*Mr. Herbert's* CHURCH MILITANT.)

It is unneceſſary to remark the abſurdity of ſuppoſing, that the predictions of a prophet are contained in theſe lines of Mr. George Herbert.

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" *bed also in the dark;* and I praiſe God I am prepared for it; " and I praiſe him, that I am not to learn patience, now I " ſtand in ſuch need of it; and that I have practiſed mortifica- " tion, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eter- " nally; and my hope is, that I ſhall ſhortly leave this valley of " tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will " be a more happy condition, I ſhall be free from ſin, and all " the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being " paſt, I ſhall dwell in the New Jeruſalem; dwell there with " men made perfect; dwell where theſe eyes ſhall ſee my " Maſter and Saviour Jeſus; and with him ſee my dear mo- " ther, and all my relations and friends:—But I muſt die, or " not come to that happy place: And this is my content, that " I am going daily towards it; and that every day which I " have lived hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; " and that I ſhall live the leſs time, for having lived this and " the day paſt."——Theſe, and the like expreſsions, which he uttered often, may be ſaid to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he roſe ſuddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his inſtruments, took it into his hand, and ſaid,

My God, my God,
My muſic ſhall find thee,
And ev'ry ſtring
Shall have his attribute to ſing.

And having tuned it, he played and ſung:

The Sundays of man's life,
Threaded together on time's string,
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious King:
On Sundays heaven's door ſtands ope;
Bleſsings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope [q].

Thus he ſung on earth ſuch hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Ferrar, now ſing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day ſaid to Mr. Woodnot, " My dear friend, I am ſorry I have nothing to preſent to " my merciful God but ſin and miſery; but the firſt is par- " doned; and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; " for I ſhall ſuddenly go hence and be no more ſeen." Upon which expreſsion, Mr. Woodnot took occaſion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton Church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made anſwer, ſaying, " They be good works, if " they be ſprinkled with the blood of Chriſt, and not other-

[q] See the whole hymn entitled " Sunday," in Mr. Herbert's " Temple."

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"wife." After this diſcourſe he became more reſtleſs, and his ſoul ſeemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneaſineſs became ſo viſible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, ſtood conſtantly about his bed, beholding him with ſorrow, and an unwillingneſs to loſe the ſight of him whom they could not hope to ſee much longer. As they ſtood thus beholding him, his wife obſerved him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and obſerved him to fall into a ſudden agony, which ſo ſurpriſed her, that ſhe fell into a ſudden paſſion, and required of him to know how he did? to which his anſwer was, "that he had paſſed a conflict with his laſt enemy, and "had overcome him, by the merits of his Maſter Jeſus." After which anſwer he looked up and ſaw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "if they loved him, to with-"draw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for "him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death "uncomfortable." To which requeſt their ſighs and tears would not ſuffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a ſad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Boſtock. Immediately after they had left him, he ſaid to Mr. Boſtock, "Pray, Sir, open that door, then look into that Cabi-"net, in which you may eaſily find my laſt Will, and give it "into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and ſaid, "My old friend, I "here deliver you my laſt Will, in which you will find that I "have made you my ſole executor for the good of my wife and "nieces; and I deſire you to ſhew kindneſs to them, as they "ſhall need it: I do not deſire you to be juſt, for I know you "will be ſo for your own ſake: but I charge you by the religion "of our friendſhip, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promiſe to be ſo, he ſaid, "I am now "ready to die." After which words he ſaid, "Lord, forſake me "not, now my ſtrength faileth me; but grant me mercy for "the merits of my Jeſus. And now Lord—Lord now receive "my ſoul." And with thoſe words he breathed forth his divine ſoul, without any apparent diſturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Boſtock attending his laſt breath, and cloſing his eyes[r].

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a ſaint, unſpotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed obſervation:

> ——— All muſt to their cold graves;
> But the religious actions of the juſt
> Smell ſweet in death, and bloſſom in the duſt[s].

[r] Thus died Mr. George Herbert:———

> "He taught us how to live; and ah, too high
> "A price for knowledge! taught us how to die."

[s] I am obliged to the ingenious Author of "The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury," for pointing out the little poem entitled "Death's final Conqueſt,"

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Mr. George Herbert's have done ſo to this, and will doubtleſs do ſo to ſucceeding generations. I have but this to ſay more of him, that if Andrew Melvin died before him[t], then George Herbert died without an enemy[u]. I wiſh (if God ſhall be ſo pleaſed) that I may be ſo happy as to die like him.

IZ. WA.

THERE is a debt juſtly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very ſhort account of the remainder of her life, which ſhall follow.

She continued his diſconſolate widow about ſix years, bemoaning herſelf and complaining that ſhe had loſt the delight of her eyes; but more that ſhe had loſt the ſpiritual guide for her poor ſoul; and would often ſay, "O that I had like holy "Mary, the mother of Jeſus, treaſured up all his ſayings in my "heart; but ſince I have not been able to do that, I will la- "bour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be alſo." And ſhe would often ſay (as the prophet David for his ſon Abſalom) "O that I had died for him!" Thus ſhe continued mourning till time and converſation had ſo moderated her ſorrows, that ſhe became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of

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Conqueſt," from which theſe lines were probably quoted. It was originally intended for a ſolemn dirge, in a play compoſed by James Shirley, a dramatic writer, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. and who died in 1666. It was a favourite ſong with Charles II.; and Oliver Cromwell is ſaid, on the recital of it, to have been ſeized with great terror and agitation of mind. The following is the third and concluding ſtanza:

"The garlands wither on your brow;
"Then boaſt no more your mighty deeds:
"Upon Death's purple altar now
"See where the victor victim bleeds.
"All heads muſt come
"To the cold tomb:
"Only the actions of the juſt
"Smell ſweet, and bloſſom in the duſt."

[t] "Mr. George Herbert, Eſq. Parſon of Fugleſton and Bemerton, was "buried 3d day of March, 1632." *(Parish Register of Bemerton.)*—It does not appear whether he was buried in the parish church or in the chapel. His letter to Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, the tranſlator of Valdeſſo, is dated from his Parſonage at Bemerton, near Saliſbury, Sept. 29, 1632. It muſt be remembered, that the beginning of the year, at that time, was computed from the 25th of March. In this year alſo, he wrote the ſhort addreſs to the Reader, which is prefixed to his "Prieſt to the Temple," which was not publiſhed till after his death.

[u] We cannot ſuppoſe that Andrew Melville could retain the leaſt perſonal reſentment againſt Mr. Herbert; whoſe verſes have in them ſo little of the poignancy of ſatire, that it is ſcarce poſſible to conſider them as capable of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addreſſed.

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Highnam, in the county of Glouceſter, Knight; And though he put a high value on the excellent accompliſhments of her mind and body, and was ſo like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a maſter, but as an affectionate huſband; yet ſhe would, even to him, often take occaſion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and ſay, "that name muſt live in her memory, till ſhe "put off mortality."——By Sir Robert, ſhe had only one child, a daughter, whoſe parts and plentiful eſtate make her happy in this world, and her well uſing of them gives a fair teſtimony that ſhe will be ſo in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time ſhe took a pleaſure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own Church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-ſtone without any inſcription.

This Lady Cook had preſerved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which ſhe intended to make public, but they and Highnam Houſe were burnt together, by the late rebels, and ſo loſt to poſterity.

I. W.

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APPENDIX.—No. I.

THE WORKS OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I. "ORATIO quâ auſpicatiſsimum ſereniſsimi Principis CAROLI reditum ex Hiſpaniis celebravit GEORGIUS HERBERT, Academiæ Cantabrigienſis Orator. 1623."

A ſhort extract from this Oration may not be unacceptable to the claſsic reader.

"Scio Belli nomen ſplendidum eſse et glorioſum. Dum "animus grandis ſuique impos triumphos et victorias quaſi "fræna ferox ſpumantia mandit; juvat micare gladio, et mu- "cronem intueri.

"Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
"Stringuntur aures; jam litui ſtrepunt;
"Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
"Terret equos, equitumque vultus.

"Cùm tamen ſplendida plerumque vitrea ſint, claritatem fra- "gilitate corrumpentia; neque de privato agamus bono, ſed "publico; certè fatendum eſt anteferendam bello pacem, ſine "quâ omnis vita procella, et mundus ſolitudo. Pace, filii ſe- "peliunt patres; bello, patres filios: Pace, ægri ſanantur; "bello, etiam ſani intereunt: Pace, ſecuritas in agris eſt; bello, "neque intra muros: Pace, avium cantus expergefacit; bello, "tubæ ac tympana: Pax novum orbem aperuit, bellum deſtruit "veterem.

"Ειρηνη γεωργον και πιτραις τρεφει καλως,
"Πολεμος δε και πεδιον κακος εφυ."

II. "A TRANSLATION of LEWIS CORNARO'S TREATISE on TEMPERANCE." Printed at Cambridge in 1634, along with Mr. Nicholas Ferrar's Tranſlation of "The Hygiaſticon, or the right Courſe of preſerving Health, by Leonard Leſsius." To Mr. Herbert's Tranſlation is annexed "A Paradox, tranſlated out of Italian, *That a more ſpare diet is better than a ſplendid or ſumptuous.*"

III. "HERBERT'S REMAINS; or, Sundry Pieces of that ſweet Singer of the Temple, Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, ſometime Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge, now expoſed to public Light." *London* 1652.

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This volume consists of—1. "A Priest to the Temple, or the Country Parson in his Character and Rule of Holy Life; with a Prefatory View of the Life and Virtues of the Author and Excellencies of this Book, by Barnabas Oley." In the second and subsequent impressions of this volume is added, "A Preface to the Christian Reader," consisting of six paragraphs, by Mr. Oley. 2. "Jacula Prudentum; or Outlandish Proverbs, Sentences, &c. selected by Mr. George Herbert."

IV. "THE TEMPLE: SACRED POEMS and PRIVATE EJACULATIONS, by Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, late Orator of the University of Cambridge. *In his Temple doth every Man speak of his Honour*, Psal. xxix. Cambridge 1633." To Mr. Herbert's "Temple" has been usually annexed, a Collection of Poems, entitled "The Synagogue, or Shadow of the Temple." The author of "The Synagogue" is unknown. That he was a Clergyman of the Church of England, appears from Mr. Isaac Walton's verses to him. Mr. Granger has ascribed it to Crashaw, whom Cowley has praised, and Pope has imitated; but whose compositions are infinitely superior to any thing in this work. He has probably been led into this error from one part of Crashaw's volume of Poems, bearing the title of "Steps to the Temple." That it was not written by Crashaw, is evident from this circumstance: After his conversion to Popery, he led a most miserable life abroad, and going to Italy was at length appointed a Canon or Chaplain of Loretto, where he died in 1650.

"The Synagogue" was not published till after that period: And Walton expressly tells us, that he "loved the author for "his sacred poetry before he personally knew him; and that now, "since his personal knowledge of him, he loves him more.

"I lov'd you for your Synagogue before
"I knew your person; but now love you more,
"Because I find
"It is so true a picture of your mind."

That it was actually written by Mr. Christopher Hervey, I have attempted to prove in another place.

It has been already noticed, that his Epigrams on Andrew Melville, entitled "Musæ Responsoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam Ex officinâ Joh. Field, Cantab. 1662," 12mo, are inserted in the "Ecclesiastes Solomonis," &c. published by Dr. James Duport.

During his residence at Cambridge, he composed Latin Poems on the death of Henry Prince of Wales; and of Anne, Queen to James I. See "Epicedium Cantabrigiense in obitum immaturum semperque deflendum Henrici illustrissimi Principis Walliæ. Cantab. 1612." And "Lachrymæ Cantabrigienses in obitum serenissimæ Reginæ Annæ, Conjugis dilectissimæ Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis. Cantab. 1619."

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The following letters, written by Mr. Herbert, when he was Public Orator, are in the Orator's Book at Cambridge:

1. "To Sir Robert Naunton, with thanks for ſome acts of kindneſs procured by him from Government to the Univerſity."

2. "To Fulk Greville, on the ſame account."

3. "To George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, on his being created a Marquis."

4. "To Sir Francis Bacon, with thanks for his *Novum Organum*."

5. "To Sir Thomas Coventry, Attorney-General."

6. "To Montagu, Lord Treaſurer," and

7. "To Sir Robert Heath, Solicitor-General, congratulating them on their ſeveral promotions."

8. "To King James, with thanks for a preſent of his *Doron Basilicon*."

9. "To the ſame, with thanks for the preſervation of the river."

10. "To Sir Francis Bacon, on the ſame ſubject."

11. "To Dr. Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, againſt the London Printers monopolizing foreign books."

12. "To Sir Francis Bacon, on the ſame ſubject."

13. "To Leigh, Chief Juſtice, on his promotion."

14. "To Cranfield, Lord Treaſurer, on the ſame occaſion."

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APPENDIX.—No. II.

ANDREW MELVIN, or rather MELVILLE[a].

BORN on the first day of August, 1545, was the youngest of nine sons of Richard Melville, of Baldowie, in North Britain: These sons were all alive, when their father fell in the vanguard of the battle of Pinkie, on the tenth of September, 1547. Andrew was "a sicklie tender boy, and took pleasure in "nothing sa meikle as his book." Having been instructed in the Greek language by Petrus Marsiliers, a Frenchman and teacher of the Greek grammar, and by "that notable instrument "in the kirk, John Erskine, of Don, of most honourable and "happy memory, he profited sa, that entering thereafter in the "course of philosophie within the Universitie of St. Andrew's, "all that was teached of Aristotle he learned, and studied it "out of the Greek text, whilk his masters understood not." He past his course in the New College, "tenderly beloved be "Mr. John Douglas, Provost of that College, and Rector of "the Universitie, who would often take him between his legs "at the fire in winter, and warm his hands and cheeks, and "blessing him, say, '*My fillie fatherless and motherless child, it's ill*
"'*to wit what God may make of thee yet.*' Sa ending his course of "philosophie he left the Universitie of St. Andrew's with the com-"mendation of the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any "young master of the land, and with all possible diligence made "his preparation, and passed over to France." He resided two years in the University of Paris, hearing the lights of the most shining age, and particularly Peter Ramus, in philosophy and eloquence. He became so expert in Greek, that he declaimed and taught lessons, "uttering never a word but Greek with sic "readiness and plenty, as was marvellous to the hearers." From Paris he went to Poictiers, where he regented in the College of St. Marcian three years, hearing the best lawyers, yet always making theology his principal study, to which he was dedicated from his earliest youth.

From Poictiers he went to Geneva, carrying nothing with him but a little Hebrew Bible at his belt. He travelled on foot, as he had done before, from Dieppe to Paris, and thence to Poictiers; for he was small and light of body, but full of spirits,

[a] Many particulars are inserted in this Memoir, on the authority of Mr. James Melville's Diary in MS. in the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh.

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vigorous, and courageous. Theodore Beza, to whom he was ſtrongly recommended by letters, ſoon diſcovered him to be a ſcholar, and appointed him Profeſſor of Humanity in the College of Geneva. Mr. Melville continued at this place five years, attending the daily leſſons and preachings of Beza. He improved the opportunity of perfecting himſelf in Hebrew literature. He often diſputed with the Greek profeſſor, a native of Greece, on the right pronunciation of the Greek language[b]. The Profeſſor pronounced it after the common form, obſerving the accents, "the whilk Mr. Andro controlled be precepts and "reaſon, till the Greek would grow angry, and cry out, '*Vos "Scoti, vos barbari docebitis nos Græcos pronuntiationem linguæ noſtræ "ſcilicet!*"

When he was invited to return home, Beza, in a letter addreſſed to the general kirk of Scotland, declared, that as the greateſt token of affection the Members of the kirk of Geneva could ſhew to that of Scotland, they had ſuffered themſelves to be ſpoiled of Mr. Andrew Melville.

In 1574, he was elected the principal maſter of the Univerſity of Glaſgow, where he taught the beſt Greek and Latin authors, natural philoſophy, chronology, chirography[c], beſides his ordinary profeſſion, the holy tongue and theology.

In the ſame year he was directed, at the General Aſſembly, to deliver his opinion upon the juriſdiction and policy of the kirk, before the next aſſembly, along with others appointed for that purpoſe. During a period of five or ſix years this matter coſt him great pains "in mind, body, and gear;" while it expoſed him to the reſentment of the regent and the epiſcopal party, which he bore with ſingular patience, until he fully accompliſhed his plan for the eſtabliſhment of Preſbyteries.

In 1578, in the aſſembly held in Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, in the month of April, he was choſen Moderator. It was there concluded, that the Biſhops ſhould be called by their own names, and that lordly authority ſhould be baniſhed from the kirk "whilk has but an Lord, Chriſt Jeſus."

Being accuſed of "overſea dreams" and Geneva diſcipline, and of diſturbing the peace of the kirk, by the regent who ſaid, "There never will be quietneſs or peace in the country, till half

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[b] Sir Thomas Smith and his friend Mr. Cheke, introduced at Cambridge the new mode of pronouncing the Greek language. While the former was once at Paris, he made a viſit to a learned Greek, a courteous and affable man. His chief buſineſs was to be ſatisfied from him what ſounds the Grecians themſelves did uſe in Greece. And when Smith began to ſpeak of the new way, the Greek grew angry, and called Eraſmus *Badin*, that he being a Dutchman, had brought into Greece, whence he was ſprung, ſuch *vast* ſounds as he expreſſed himſelf, and abſonous diphthongs. (*Strype's Life of Sir John Smith, p. 23.*)

[c] In this art he excelled. He has addreſſed a Latin epigram to Mrs. Eſther Inglis, who was noted for her beautiful hand writing, and who ſurpaſſed Aſcham, Davies, and others eminent for that extraordinary talent.

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"a dozen of you be hanged." "Tuſh! Sir," ſays Mr. Andrew, "*purpuratis tuis ista minitare: mihi idem est humine, an sub-*
"*limi putrescam. Domini est terra: patria est ubicunque est bona.*
"I have been ready to give my life, where it was not half ſa
"well wared at the pleaſure of my God. I lived out o' your
"country ten years, as well as in it: let God be glorified; it
"will not lie in your power to hang or exile his truth."

In 1580, he was accompanied by ſeveral of his friends to Lundey, and with the Laird thereof to St. Andrew's, where he was entered Principal of the College, and was kindly welcomed by his friend Mr. Patrick Adamſon, the Biſhop, for whom he often officiated in the kirk. His zeal for introducing a new mode of academical education met with much oppoſition, all which he vanquiſhed; ſo that the regents in philoſophy came over to his opinions, and acknowledged their wonderful tranſportation from darkneſs to light. He ſuſtained every attack upon him with undaunted fortitude; and the puniſhments, with which he was menaced, not unfrequently fell upon his adverſaries.

In 1581, he attended the General Aſſembly at Glaſgow, where the book of policy, after a labour of many years, was ratified and ordered to be recorded.

1583, he appeared before the King, at Edinburgh, to anſwer an accuſation of uttering treaſonable and ſeditious ſpeeches from the pulpit. He was accompanied on this occaſion, with ſome of his ſcholars and friends. As no criminal charge was brought againſt him, he declined the judicature of the King and Council. He plainly told them, that they had no power to control the ambaſsadors and meſsengers of a King and Council greater than they were. "And that," ſays he, "you may ſee your "weakneſs, overſight, and raſhneſs, in taking upon you that "which ye neither ought nor can do," (looſing a little Hebrew Bible from his belt, and throwing it down on the board) "there "is my inſtructions and warrant: let's ſee whilk of you can "judge thereon, or controlle me therein, that I have paſt "my injunctions." The Chancellor, opening the book, finds it to be Hebrew, and puts it into the King's right hand, ſaying, "Sir, he ſcorns your Majeſty and Council." "Nay," ſays Mr. Andrew, "I ſcorn not, but with all earneſtneſs, zeal, and "gravity, I ſtand for the cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt, and the kirk." He was at length ordered to be put in ward in the Caſtle of Edinburgh during the King's will. And when it was known that the place of his confinement was changed to Blackneſs, he followed the advice of his friends, and fled to Berwick, and afterwards took refuge in England.

Upon this occaſion "the pulpits of Scotland," as Dr. Robertſon informs us, "reſounded with complaints, that the King had "extinguiſhed the light of learning in the kingdom, and de-"prived the Church of the ableſt and moſt faithful guardian of "its liberties and diſcipline."

In 1587, we find him reſident in the Univerſity of St. Andrew's; for in that year the celebrated Sieur du Bartas came into Scotland to attend his lectures.

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In 1591, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Travers, the great defenders of Puritaniſm in England, were invited to be Divinity Profeſſors in his Univerſity. It muſt be owned, that in the elegant letter addreſſed to them, on this occaſion, which was probably penned by Mr. Melville himſelf, there is an acrimony of language perfectly inexcuſable[d]. His inveterate oppoſition to the diſcipline of the Church of England has betrayed the writer into the uſe of the moſt opprobrious terms.

In 1599, the King publiſhed the "Doron Baſilicon," addreſſed to his ſon, Prince Henry. Sir James Semple, one of his Majeſty's ſervants, having tranſcribed that treatiſe, ſhewed it to Andrew Melville, his intimate friend, who reading it, was offended with ſome paſſages that regarded the miniſtry and diſcipline of the kirk. Melville took copies of the Book, and diſperſed them among the Miniſters, ſome of whom preferred a libel to the Synod of St. Andrew's, wherein the exceptionable paſſages being ſet down, it was aſked, "*What cenſure ſhould be inflicted on "him, that had given ſuch inſtructions to the Prince, and if he could "be thought well affected to religion, that had delivered ſuch precepts "of government?*"

To vindicate himſelf on this occaſion, the King determined to publiſh the work, "which being come abroad, and carried to "England, it cannot be ſaid how well the ſame was accepted, "and what an admiration it raiſed in all men's hearts of him, "and of his piety and wiſdom."

I omit ſeveral circumſtances of his life, which are mentioned in "Calderwood's Hiſtory of Scotland." Mr. Melville was preſent at a Conference at Hampton Court, in 1606. As he was eſteemed one of the moſt learned men of his time, the King principally dreaded his influence, in reſiſting his favourite plan for the eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy. He had been confined ſome years before, by a royal warrant within his own houſe, at St. Andrews; and in 1606 was invited to the Engliſh Court, along with ſome other Miniſters, under the pretence of holding an amicable conference. It has been conjectured, that the only motive for this invitation was to relieve the Scotch Biſhops from the oppoſition, which they had reaſon to expect from Melville's perſonal zeal and ſplendid abilities.

The behaviour of Mr. Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in England[e]. Another expe-

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[d] This letter is inſerted in "Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory," B. ix. Sect. vii. p. 52.

[e] James appointed four Divines of the Church of England to attend during this conference; and to preach, by turns, on the ſubjects propoſed to them. Dr. William Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, endeavoured, from *Acts* xx. 28. to prove out of the Scripture and Fathers the ſupremacy of Biſhops above Preſbyters, and to ſhow the inconveniences of parity in the Church. Dr. Buckridge, then Preſident of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterward Biſhop of Rocheſter, took for his text the precept of the Apoſtle, "Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers," *Rom.* xiii. 11.; "where,"

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dient ſucceeded. Melville and his companions were invited to attend the Royal Chapel on the Lord's day, when the King and Queen received the ſacrament, according to the uſage of the Church of England. It was natural to ſuppoſe that a view of thoſe rites and ceremonies, againſt which Andrew Melville had always warmly contended, would have produced a conſiderable effect upon his temper. But he allowed nothing to eſcape him in public which could give the leaſt offence. On his return to his lodgings, he amuſed himſelf with writing ſome Latin verſes on the decorations of the altar[f]. They were ſhewn to James Melville, his uncle, and perhaps to ſome other Miniſters. The King obtained a copy, and Mr. Andrew Melville was brought before the King's Council, along with Mr. James Melville, and Mr. Wallace, another of the Miniſters, to anſwer for the verſes, which the Council affirmed to be "a Paſquill, tend-"ing to the diſhonour of God, and ſcandal of the Church of "England." He acknowledged himſelf to be the author; though as they had never been given out of his hand, he could not diſcover how they came into the poſſeſſion of the Council. His two companions were diſmiſſed, while he was taken into cuſtody, and delivered over to the Dean of St. Paul's, in whoſe houſe he remained as a priſoner, till the 9th of March 1607 [g], when

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"where," ſays Spotſwood, "falling to ſpeak of the King's ſupremacy, in "cauſes eccleſiaſtical, he did handle that point both ſoundly and learnedly, "to the ſatisfaction of all the hearers: only it grieved the Scots miniſters "to hear the Pope and Preſbyterie ſo often equalled in their oppoſition "to Sovereign Princes." Dr. Andrews, Biſhop of Chicheſter, followed, who, from the firſt verſes of *Numbers* x. confirmed the power of Kings in convocating Synods and Councils. The fourth was Dr. King, then Dean of Chriſt-Church; and afterward Biſhop of London, who, diſcourſing on the 11th verſe of the eighth chapter of *Canticles*, did prove lay-elders to have no place, nor office in the Church. See "Spotſwood's Hiſtory," &c. B. VII.

[f] Fuller in his "Church Hiſtory of Britain," B. X. Sect. iv. 41, has preſerved a copy of theſe verſes, which Archbiſhop Spotſwood calls "ſcorn-"ful and bitter:"——

"Quòd duo ſtent libri clauſi Anglis regiâ in ARA
"Lumina cæca duo, pollubra ſicca duo:
"An clauſum cæcumque Dei tenet Anglia cultum
"Lumine cæca ſuo, ſorde ſepulta ſuâ?
"Romano et ritu, dum regalem inſtruit ARAM,
"Purpuream pingit luxurioſa lupam?

[g] "Whereas, one Andrew Melville, a Miniſter of Scotland, hath by his "Majeſty's commandment been called before us, at the Council-Board, "where he hath confeſsed himſelf to be the author of ſome certain verſes, "or rather a Paſquill, tending to the diſhonour of God, and ſcandal of the "Church of England, for which his great offence he has been cenſured to "be reſtrained of his liberty, until ſuch further proceeding ſhall be taken "with him, as ſhall ſeem good unto us, in ſuch a caſe as this is, and by "impunity may prove to be.——You ſhall hereby underſtand, that his "Majeſty hath made choice of you for the preſent to receive him into your cuſtody.

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he was ordered to be ſent to the Biſhop of Winchester's. This order however was not executed, and he was permitted to live in his own lodgings. On the 6th of April following he appeared again before the Council, and after a long examination was ſent by water to the Tower, where he was confined upwards of four years. When the other Miniſters were allowed to return to their own country, no perſuaſion whatever could prevail upon the King to releaſe Andrew Melville. His office of Principal, or Provoſt of the New College of St. Andrew's, was declared vacant by Gladſtones, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who convened the Univerſity, and told them that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure, "that Mr. Robert Lourie ſhould be placed Provoſt in "that College, Mr. Andrew Melville being, *for treasonable words*, "put in the Tower of London." The Univerſity in vain proteſted againſt this proceeding.

He had been two years in the Tower, when Biſhop Coupar and Archbiſhop Spotſwood were ſent to perſuade him to make an acknowledgement to the King, which they gave him reaſon to hope would procure his liberty. He delivered to them a written apology in Latin, in which he affirmed, that the verſes were taken from him without his knowledge, and that they were afterward mutilated. He aſked pardon for any expreſsions that might have eſcaped him during his examination, which could be thought diſreſpectful to his Majeſty, to the Council, or to the ſtate of England, and in general made as ample an acknowledgement as could be made without renouncing the principles which he held. The two prelates appeared to be ſatisfied therewith, while the King remained inexorable. He continued two years more in the Tower, and employed himſelf in writing ſeveral tracts, chiefly on the controverſies of the times, and many Latin Poems, which have been ſince printed in the "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." Amſt. 2 vol. 12mo. 1637.

In ſhort, after much perſecution, when it was well known that he could never obtain leave to return into Scotland, the Duke of Bouillon, who was at the head of the Proteſtants in France, and who ſtill poſſeſſed the principality of Sedan, obtained the King's permiſsion for him to go to Sedan, and to ſettle there, as Profeſsor of Divinity. He left England at the end of the year 1611, or at the beginning of 1612. He taught Divinity at Sedan, for nine years, with very ſingular reputa-

"cuſtody. Wherefore in his Majeſty's name and authority, we require "you forthwith to receive him accordingly to remain at your houſe at St. "Paul's, not ſuffering any to have acceſs to him, until his Majeſty's fur- "ther pleaſure herein to you be ſignified.——It is alſo thought convenient, "that yourſelf do at all convenient times confer with him on ſuch points "as you ſhall find him differing from the Church eſtabliſhed, for his better "ſatisfaction and conformity, wherein by your good endeavours you may "deſerve well of his Majeſty, and us," &c. &c.

The above warrant, dated Nov. 30, 1606, is addreſsed to the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. John Overhall, afterward Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry.

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tion; and acquired much reſpect and celebrity among the foreign Divines. He died there in 1621.

It is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great ſeverity thus exerciſed againſt Andrew Melville. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the uſage of the Kirk of Scotland to their King was ſo cruel and tyrannical, that it was not very eaſy for him, when once emancipated from their power, to forget that uſage.

The learning and abilities of Mr. Melville were equalled only by the purity of his manners, and ſanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and zeal perfectly ſuited to the times in which he lived. The diſcipline of the Church of Scotland was in a great meaſure framed by him; and to him the Scots are very conſiderably indebted for their preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. Archbiſhop Spotſwood is unfriendly to his memory. Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that though Spotſwood relates with truth the oppoſition, and even the rude treatment which the King received from aſſemblies, and from particular perſons, he generally ſuppreſſes the provocations which were given, and the circumſtances which would have explained, and, perhaps, in ſome degree, have extenuated their conduct. "He was," ſays Dr. Robertſon (*Hiſt. of Scotland, B. VI.*), "a man diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon erudi-"tion, by the ſeverity of his manners, and the intrepidity of "his mind. But, bred up in the retirement of a College, he "was unacquainted with the arts of life, and being more at-"tentive to the ends which he purſued, than to the means "which he employed for promoting them, he often defeated "laudable deſigns by the impetuoſity and imprudence with "which he carried them on." He ſeems to have been treated by his adverſaries with much aſperity.—Others beſides Mr. George Herbert exerciſed their talents againſt him. Anthony Wood names Mr. Thomas Atkinſon, B. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, as having written "Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria," and "Melvinus delirans in Iambis." Indeed, our Engliſh writers ſeldom ſpeak of him favourably. The following lines, alluſive to his name, are ſaid to have been written by Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln:

Cor tibi-felle nigrum eſt, et aceto lingua redundat;
Ex MELLE et VINO quàm malè nomen habes!

And the learned James Duport has not diſdained to make the ſame alluſion:

In Andream Melvinum, Scotum,
De ſuâ Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriâ, Sapphico verſu conſcriptâ.

Quàm Smectymnuo es affinis, vox ſeſquipedalis,
O Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria.
Utraque ſic tibi, Scote, Anglorum Academia ſordet?
Nec CAMUS purâ aut TAMUS abundat aquâ?
Utraque ſchiſmatis hoſtis atrox, et malleus ingens,

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Cui tu patronum te clypeumque geris.
Quâ nec ſub ſole eſt eccleſiâ clarior ulla;
Caſtior in terris Sponſa nec ulla Dei,
Hanc tu, Scote dicax, ſatyrâ proſcindis amarâ;
Acribus et ſannis, ſcommatibusque petis?
At pius HERBERTUS tua plumbea tela retorſit.
Nil addo: tantùm hæc noſtra coronis erit.
Lîræ ſunt apinæque, lyrâ quas fundis, manes:
Laſcivum et prodit Sapphica muſa caput.
Qui non MEL ſed FEL, non VINUM das, ſed ACETUM,
Quàm malè tam belli nominis omen habes!

Let it not, however, be inferred from theſe verſes, that Andrew Melville always ſought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally delighted with the ſeverity of ſatire and invective. He occaſionally diverted his muſe to the ſubject of juſt panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to poſterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the claſsic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muſes[h]. His Latin paraphraſe of the Song of Moſes is truly excellent. It is inſcribed to James VI. whom he ſtyles a boy:

Sancte Puer, cape ſacra mea primordia Muſæ,
Non ſecus ac grati prima elementa animi:
Parva quidem tanto fateor munuſcula regi;
Parva, ſed immenſi munere magna Dei.

Of the exordium, and, indeed, of the whole poem, it may be pronounced, that they perfectly correſpond to the character which Iſaac Walton gives of his poetic genius:

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h GEORGE BUCHANAN is celebrated by Julius Cæſar Scaliger, by Joſeph Scaliger, by Turnebus, by Beza, and other foreigners, as a prodigy of learning:—"*Buchananum omnibus antepono—Haddonum nemini postpono,*" were the expreſsions of Queen Elizabeth. His works are fraught with all the beauty and elegance of claſsic antiquity. He finiſhed the greateſt part of his incomparable verſion of the Pſalms when in a ſtate of confinement, at a monaſtery in Portugal, under the care of certain monks, who were directed to inſtruct him in the principles of religion, and whom he characteriſes as men of great humanity, and goodneſs; but totally ignorant of divinity—*Omnis religionis ignari.* Prefixed to his Poems is a ſhort "Hiſtory of his Life," written by himſelf. The following anecdote is extracted from the Diary of Mr. James Melville:

"*Sept.* 1582.—During the vacance my uncle, Mr. Andrew, Principal "of the New College, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Provoſt of Kilkaldie, and "I, hearing that Maiſter George Buchanan was weakly, and his Hiſtory "in the preſs, paſsed over to Edenbrogh anes eirand to viſit him, and to "ſee the wark. Whan we cam to his chalmber we found him ſitting in "his chaire, teaching his young man, that ſerved him in his chalmber, to "ſpell AB, EB, IB, &c.—After ſalutation, Mr. Andrew ſays, 'I ſee, Sir, "'you are not idle.' 'Better this (quoth hee) than ſtealing ſheipe, or "'ſitting idle, whilk is als ill.'"

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Vos æterni ignes, et conſcia lumina mundi,
Palantesque polo flammæ [i], vosque humida regna,
Aëriique ſupèr tractus, campique jacentes,
Et cœlum et tellus (ego vos nunc alloquar), aures
Arrigite, et celſas dicenti advertite mentes.

The following lines are exquiſitely beautiful:—See *Deut.* xxxii. 10, 11.——

——————————ceu pupula, cornu
Quam vitreo murus cingit chryſtallinus; et quam,
Non ſecus ac vallo, teneri munimen ocelli
Sepſit utrinque pilis, celsâque crepidine ſurgunt
Hinc atque hinc geminæ, duo propugnacula, moles.
Ut bene tuta cavos condantur lumina in orbes [k].

Ac veluti alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
Armiger implumes et adhuc ſine robore nidos
Sollicitâ refovet curâ, pinguisque ferinæ
Indulget paſtus: mox ut cum viribus alæ
Veſticipes crevêre, vocat ſi blandior aura,
Expansâ invitat plumâ, dorſoque morantes
Excipit attollitque humeris, plauſuque ſecundo
Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete preſso,
Remigium lentans alarum, incurvaque pinnis
Vela legens, humiles tranat ſub nubibus oras.
Hinc ſenſim ſupera alta petit; jam jamque ſub aſtra
Erigitur curſusque leves citus urget in auras.
Omnia pervolitans latè loca et agmine fœtus
Fertque refertque ſuos vario, moremque volandi
Addocet: illi autem, longâ aſsuetudine docti,
Paulatim incipiunt pennis ſe credere cœlo
Impavidi: tantum à teneris valet addere curam.

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i "And ye five other *wand'ring fires* that move
"In myſtic dance, not without ſong"——
MILT. PAR. LOST, B. V. 177.

k This deſcription of the eye ſeems to be taken from "Cicero de Natura Deorum." L. II. 57.
"Munitæ ſunt palpebræ tanquam vallo pilorum."

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D.r ROBERT SANDERSON.

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THE LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

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TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE

GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, PRELATE OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

IF I ſhould undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordſhip, I ſhould enter upon an employment that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sanderſon: But though I will not venture to do that, yet I do remember with pleaſure, and remonſtrate with gratitude, that your Lordſhip made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth[a], and Dr. Hammond; men whoſe merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendſhip with the firſt was begun almoſt forty years paſt, when I was as far from a thought, as a deſire to out-live him; and farther from an intention to write his Life: But the wiſe Diſpoſer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the firſt, and now permitted the laſt; which is here dedicated to your Lordſhip (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a deſire that it may remain as a public teſtimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,
Your moſt affectionate old friend,
And moſt humble ſervant,
IZAAK WALTON.

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[a] Mr. Iſaac Walton was honoured with the friendſhip of Mr. Chillingworth, the glory of his age and nation. This memorable man, who, with Lord Falkland, was proverbially celebrated at Oxford for his clear and acute reaſoning, found himſelf ſo bewildered in the mazes of controverſy, that he became a convert to Popery. From the errors of "An Infallible Church," the ſound argumentation of Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, happily reſtored him. Of the effect which the peruſal of his immortal work, "The Religion of Proteſtants a Safe Way to Salvation," wrought upon the mind of Dr. Tillotſon, ſee Birch's Life of that Prelate, p. 5.—— Of the death of Mr. Chillingworth, ſee "Kennet's Hiſt. of England," Vol. III. p. 144.

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THE PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor aſsure the Reader, that I have committed no miſtakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderſon; but am ſure, there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confeſs, it was worthy the employment of ſome perſon of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been ſo grateful to him and poſterity as to undertake it: For as it may be noted that our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalen's kindneſs to him, her name ſhould never be forgotten: So I conceive the great ſatisfaction many ſcholars have already had, and the unborn world is like to have, by his exact, clear, and uſeful learning; and might have by a true narrative of his matchleſs meekneſs, his calm fortitude, and the innocence of his whole life, doth juſtly challenge the like from this preſent age, that poſterity may not be ignorant of them: And it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But in ſaying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that) but excuſe myſelf, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premiſed, I deſire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been ſo bold, as to paraphraſe and ſay, what I think he (whom I had the happineſs to know well) would have ſaid upon the ſame occaſion; and if I have been too bold in doing ſo, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me, yet I do of my reader, from whom I deſire the ſame favour.

And though my age have procured me a writ of eaſe, and that ſecured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with ſuch perſuaſions to undertake it, and ſo many willing informers ſince, and from them and others, ſuch helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myſelf faint, and weary of the burden with which I had loaden myſelf, and ſometimes ready to lay it down; yet time and new ſtrength hath at laſt brought it to be what it now is, and here preſented to the reader, and with it, this deſire, that he will take notice that Dr. Sanderſon did in his will or laſt ſickneſs advertiſe, that after his death nothing of his might be printed; becauſe that might be ſaid to be his, which indeed was not; and alſo, for that he might have changed his opinion ſince he firſt wrote it, as it is thought he has ſince he wrote his "Pax Eccleſiæ." And though theſe reaſons ought to be regarded, yet regarded ſo, as he reſolves in his "Caſe of Conſcience concerning raſh Vows," that there may appear very good ſecond reaſons why we may forbear to

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perform them. However, for his ſaid reaſons, they ought to be read as we do apocryphal ſcripture; to explain, but not oblige us to ſo firm a belief of what is here preſented as his.

And I have this to ſay more; that as in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderſon's Life, I met with theſe little tracts annexed[b]; ſo in my former queries for my information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; I met with a ſermon, which I alſo believe was really his, and here preſented as his to the reader. It is affirmed (and I have met with reaſon to believe it) that there be ſome artiſts, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn: And if ſo, then I hope it may be as ſafely affirmed, that what is here preſented for theirs, is ſo like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occaſions upon which they were writ, that all readers may ſafely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderſon.

And laſtly, the trouble being now paſt, I look back and am glad that I have collected theſe memoirs of this humble man, which lay ſcattered, and contracted them into a narrow compaſs; and if I have, by the pleaſant toil of ſo doing, either pleaſed or profited any man, I have attained what I have deſigned when I firſt undertook it: But I ſeriouſly wiſh, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderſon's ſake, that poſterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by ſuch a pen, as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

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[b] In the firſt edition of Mr. Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderſon, printed in octavo, 1678, were added the following tracts. 1. "Biſhop Sanderſon's Judgment concerning Submiſsion to Uſurpers." 2. "Pax Eccleſiæ." 3. "Biſhop Sanderſon's Judgment in one view for the Settlement of the Church." 4. "Reaſons of the preſent Judgment of the Univerſity of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenants," &c. And alſo a Sermon of Richard Hooker, upon Prayer, from *Matt.* vii. 7. found in the ſtudy of Biſhop Andrews.

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THE LIFE OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON, the late learned Biſhop of Lincoln, whoſe Life I intend to write with all truth, and equal plainneſs, was born the 19th day of September, in the year of our redemption 1587: The place of his birth was Rotherham in the county of York[c], a town of good note, and the more, that for Thomas Rotherham[d], ſometime Archbiſhop of that See, was born in it; A man whoſe great wiſdom, and bounty,

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c It appeared from the Regiſter of the Pariſh of Sheffield in Yorkſhire, that he was baptized in the church of Sheffield, Sept. 20, 1587. *(Dr. Brown Willis.)*——See alſo "Thoreſby's Ducatus Leodenſis," p. 78.

d THOMAS SCOT, Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, was afterward Maſter of Pembroke Hall, and in 1483 and in 1484, Chancellor of the Univerſity. He obtained great eccleſiaſtical preferment, being ſucceſſively Provoſt of Beverley, Biſhop of Rocheſter and of Lincoln, and laſtly Archbiſhop of York. Nor was he leſs adorned with civil honours, having been appointed, firſt, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and then Lord Chancellor of England.

During the reign of Edward IV. were founded the Collegiate Churches of Middleham and Rotherham, in the county of York. The latter originally conſiſted of one Maſter, three Fellows, and ſix Scholars, and was founded and moſt liberally endowed by Thomas Archbiſhop of York, from 1480 to 1501. He has aſsigned the reaſon that induced him to adopt that number, "ut ubi offendi Deum in decem præceptis ſuis, iſti decem ora-"rent pro me." To this College were annexed three ſchools for inſtructing boys in writing, grammar, and muſic. "Theſe ſchools," ſays Mr. Camden, "are now ſuppreſsed by the wicked avarice of the age." This Prelate changed his family name of *Scot* for that of *Rotherham*, the ſuppoſed place of his birth. It was uſual for the Clergy to add the names of the places of their nativity to their Chriſtian names, and ſuch an addition affords the beſt evidence of the places where they were born. And it is remarked, that this Thomas Scot is the laſt Clergyman who is known to have obſerved this cuſtom. He afterward augmented the College of Rotherham with five Prieſts. His munificence is amply diſplayed both at Oxford and Cambridge. In the latter Univerſity he built the library, and a conſiderable part of the ſchools: and while he was Biſhop of Lincoln, he completed the buildings of Lincoln College in Oxford, and furniſhed the Society with a body of ſtatutes, ſubſcribed with his own hand, Feb. 11, 1479. He died of the plague, at his palace of Cawood, in 1501.

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and ſanctity of life gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable, as indeed it ought alſo to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderſon. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great ſanctity, his uſeful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the ſecond and youngeſt ſon of Robert Sanderſon, of Gilthwaite-hall[e], in the ſaid pariſh and county, Eſq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwaite-hall, in the pariſh of Ecclesfield, in the ſaid county of York, gentleman.

This Robert Sanderſon the father was deſcended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the ſearch of which truth I refer my reader that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoriton's "Hiſtory of the Antiquities of Nottinghamſhire[f]," and other records; not thinking it neceſsary here to engage him into a ſearch for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but ſhow us who of our anceſtors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their deſcendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if thoſe titles deſcend to perſons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they deſtroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbiſh of their degenerouſneſs ought to fall heavy on ſuch diſhonourable heads; ought to fall ſo heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blaſt their memories with reproach and ſhame.

But this Robert Sanderſon lived worthy of his name and family; of which one teſtimony may be, that Gilbert, called the great and glorious Earl of Shrewſbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; to whoſe merits and memory poſterity (the Clergy eſpecially) ought to pay a reverence[g].

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[e] Gill Thwait, or Gill-fort, near Rotherham, is named in "Short's Hiſtory of Mineral Waters," P. I. p. 269, as having a ſpring famous for reſtoring the uſe of their limbs to ſuch as have loſt it by working in metals.

[f] In this Hiſtory, p. 474, a pedigree of the family of Sanderſon is inſerted.

[g] Dr. SHELDON, Archbiſhop of York, was born July 19, 1598. His father, Roger Sheldon, though of no obſcure parentage, was a menial ſervant to Gilbert Earl of Shrewſbury, who died May 18, 1616, and was buried at Sheffield, July 17, in the ſame year. That nobleman was ſeized of many valuable poſſeſſions at or near Sheffield; and among others of the Manor and Rectory of Rotherham. See in "Collins's Peerage," p. 19, 20, an enumeration of the titles which he aſſumed when he went Ambaſſador to France, in the 39th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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But I return to my intended relation of Robert the ſon, who (like Joſia that good King) began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; ſeeming even then to dedicate himſelf and all his ſtudies to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodneſs, with which the wiſe Diſpoſer of all hearts had endowed his: ſo this calm, this quiet, and happy temper of mind (his being mild and averſe to oppoſitions) made the whole courſe of his life eaſy and grateful both to himſelf and others; and this bleſsed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example, as alſo by his frequent converſing with him, and ſcattering ſhort and virtuous apophthegms with little pleaſant ſtories[h], and making uſeful applications of them, by which his ſon was in his infancy taught to abhor Vanity and Vice as monſters, and to diſcern the lovelineſs of Wiſdom and Virtue: and by theſe means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was ſo augmented, and his native goodneſs ſo confirmed, that all became ſo habitual, as it was not eaſy to determine whether Nature or Education were his teachers[i].

And here let me tell the reader, that theſe early beginnings of virtue were by God's aſſiſting grace bleſsed with what St. Paul ſeemed to beg for his Philippians, namely, "That he that "had begun a good work in them, would finiſh it." And Almighty God did: For his whole life was ſo regular and innocent, that he might have ſaid at his death, and with truth and

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[h] We may almoſt imagine, that Mr. Robert Sanderſon had propoſed to himſelf the example, which is recorded with ſo much filial tenderneſs in the following lines:

"————Conſuevit pater optimus hoc me,
"Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando,
"Cùm me hortaretur parcè, frugaliter, atque
"Viverem uti contentus eo quod mî ipſe paràſset:
"Nonne vides Albi ut malè vivat filius, utque
"Barus inops?" HORAT. SERM. *Lib.* I. iv. 105.

"————Purus et inſons
"(Ut me collaudem) ſi vivo, et carus amicis,
"Cauſa fuit pater his." *Ib.* vi. 69.

In the ſame manner Demea inſtructs his ſon in Terence——

"Nihil prætermitto, conſuefacio; denique
"Inſpicere tanquam in ſpeculum in vitas omnium
"Jubeo, atque ex aliis ſumere exemplum ſibi,
"Hoc facito, et hoc fugito." ADELPH. *Act III. Sc. III.*

A ſimilar felicity attended the celebrated Grotius, who, like Horace, has commemorated in grateful verſe, the faithful attention of a father to his ſon's improvement in the moral duties of life.

[i] "————————Alterius ſic
"Altera poſcit opem res, et conjurat amicè." HOR. *A. P.* 410.

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comfort, what the ſame St. Paul ſaid after to the ſame Philippians, when he adviſed them "to walk as they had him for an "example."

And this goodneſs of which I have ſpoken, ſeemed to increaſe as his years did; and with his goodneſs his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-ſchool of Rotherham —(that being one of thoſe three that were founded and liberally endowed by the ſaid great and good Biſhop of that name.)— And in this time of his being a ſcholar there, he was obſerved to uſe an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a ſerioufneſs beyond his age, and with it a more than common modeſty; and to be of ſo calm and obliging behaviour, that the maſter and whole number of ſcholars loved him as one man[k].

And in this love and amity he continued at that ſchool, till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father deſigned to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted ſchools of Eton or Weſtminſter; and after a year's ſtay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a miniſter of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many queſtions with his ſon, received ſuch anſwers from him, that he aſsured his father, his ſon was ſo perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon, and therefore adviſed him to ſhorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did ſo.

His father left him there to the ſole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie[l], who was then Rector of Lincoln College; and he, after ſome time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that College, and not long after to matriculate him in the Univerſity, which he did the firſt of July, 1603; but he was not choſen Fellow till the third of May, 1606, at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which Degree, his tutor told the Rector, that his "pupil "Sanderſon had a metaphyſical brain, and a matchleſs memory;

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[k] "He was educated in a ſevere and exact grammar-ſchool, where by "unwearied diligence, a ſilent ſedentary and aſtoniſhed way of following "his book, a ſerioufneſs beyond his years—(oh, how would he ſteal away "from his companions' follies to his ſeverer taſks and privacies!)—he "made his way thorow all things on which he could fix, to an exactneſs "in Greek and Latin, which he retained to his dying day. And he "would obſerve, that an exactneſs in ſchool-learning was a great advan-"tage to our higher ſtudies, as the miſcarriages of ſchool are not eaſily re-"covered in the Univerſity." *(Reaſon and Judgment, or Special Remarks of the Life of the renowned Dr. Sanderſon, p. 5.)*

[l] Dr. RICHARD KILBIE is commemorated as a benefactor to his College. He reſtored the Library which had long been neglected, made eight new repoſitories for books, and gave divers good books thereunto. Upon the promotion of Dr. John Underhill to the See of Oxford, he was elected Rector of Lincoln College, Dec. 10, 1590; and in 1610 he was appointed the King's Hebrew Profeſsor. He died in 1620.

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"and that he thought he had improved, or made the laſt ſo by "an art of his own invention[m]." And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not miſtaken.

I muſt here ſtop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of ſo great learning and wiſdom, and ſo excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Profeſſor of it in this Univerſity; and was alſo ſo perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the tranſlators of the Bible; and that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderſon had frequent diſcourſes, and loved as father and ſon. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyſhire, and took Mr. Sanderſon to bear him company; and they reſting on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend, and going together to that Pariſh Church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more diſcretion, than to waſte a great part of the hour allotted for his ſermon in exceptions againſt the late tranſlation of ſeveral words (not expecting ſuch a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and ſhewed three reaſons why a particular word ſhould have been otherwiſe tranſlated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the Doctor's friend's houſe, where after ſome other conference the Doctor told him, he "might have preach-"ed more uſeful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears "with needleſs exceptions againſt the late tranſlation; and for "that word for which he offered to that poor congregation "three reaſons why it ought to have been tranſlated as he ſaid, "he and others had conſidered all them, and found thirteen "more conſiderable reaſons why it was tranſlated as now print-"ed[n]:" and told him "if his friend" (then attending him)

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[m] While he was in the Univerſity, he generally ſpent eleven hours a day in ſtudy: which induſtry of his diſpatched the whole courſe of philoſophy, and picked out in a manner all that was uſeful in claſsic authors that are extant; drawing indexes for his private uſe, either in his own paper-book, or at the beginning and end of each book. This aſſiduity continued to his dying day. He diſpoſed of himſelf and time to perpetual induſtry and diligence, not only avoiding but perfectly hating idleneſs, and hardly recommending any thing more than this: "'*Be always furniſhed with some-*"*what to do, as the beſt way to innocence and pleaſure.*' There was not "a minute of the day he left vacant from buſineſs of neceſſity, civility, or "ſtudy." *(Reaſon and Judgment, &c. p. 11.)*

[n] From this ſhort narrative we learn with what accuracy the tranſlation of James I. was conducted. Dr. Geddes, in his "Proſpectus," has very juſtly obſerved, that every ſentence, every word, every ſyllable, every letter and point, ſeem to have been weighed with the niceſt exactitude, and expreſſed either in the text or margin with the greateſt preciſion. Yet the propriety not ſo much of a new tranſlation, as of a careful reviſal or correction of our preſent tranſlation, is incontrovertible. The very injudicious diviſion of the text into chapters and verſes has been long a matter of complaint. But this ſubject is fully diſcuſsed by the late Primate of Ireland in "An Hiſtorical View of the Engliſh Biblical Tranſlations: the Expediency of reviſing by Authority our preſent Tranſlations; and the Means of executing ſuch a Reviſion." Dublin, 1792.

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" ſhould prove guilty of ſuch indiſcretion, he ſhould forfeit his " favour." To which Mr. Sanderſon ſaid, " he hoped he ſhould " not." And the preacher was ſo ingenuous as to ſay, " he would " not juſtify himſelf." And ſo I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608 (July the 11th) Mr. Sanderſon was completed Maſter of Arts, I am not ignorant, that for the attaining theſe dignities, the time was ſhorter than was then or is now required; but either his birth or the well performance of ſome extraordinary exerciſe, or ſome other merit, made him ſo: and the reader is requeſted to believe that it was the laſt; and requeſted to believe alſo, that if I be miſtaken in the time, the College records have miſ-informed me; but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th) by his College choſen Reader of Logic in the houſe; which he performed ſo well, that he was choſen again the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was choſen Sub-rector of the College, and the like for the year 1614, and choſen again to the ſame dignity and truſt for the year 1616[o].

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were ſuch, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole ſociety: there being no exception againſt him for any faults, but a ſorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and baſhful; both which were, God knows, ſo connatural, as they never left him: and I know not whether his lovers ought to wiſh they had; for they proved ſo like the radical moiſture in man's body, that they preſerved the life of virtue in his ſoul, which, by God's aſſiſting grace, never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be ſo called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he ſtood to be elected one of the Proctors for the Univerſity. And it was not to ſatisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the deſire of the Rector and whole Society, of which he was a Member, who had not had a Proctor choſen out of their College for the ſpace of ſixty years, namely, not from the year 1554[p] unto his ſtanding: and they perſuaded

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[o] During his reſidence in College he undertook the office of Tutor, which he executed with much credit to himſelf. He was wont to ſay, " I learn " much from my maſter, more from my equals, and moſt of all from my " diſciples." *(Reason and Judgment, p. 10)*

[p] THOMAS COVENEY, of Magdalen College, Pr.
CHRISTOPHER HARGRAVE, of Lincoln College, Pr.
In 1537 both the Proctors were of Lincoln College. *(Le Neve.)*
At this time the Proctors were choſen out of the whole body of the Univerſity, and none uſually offered themſelves candidates for the office, but perſons of great eminence for their learning. Dr. Peter Turner, Fellow of Merton College, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry, and alſo Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham College, formed the Caroline Cycle, ſo called from Charles the Firſt's approbation of it, beginning in 1629, and ending in 1720. Since the introduction of this cycle, the appointment is limited to particular Colleges in a regular ſucceſſion, and the office has, of courſe, been leſs an object of ambition.

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him, that if he would but ſtand for Proctor, his merits were ſo generally known, and he ſo well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it againſt any oppoſers; and told him, "That he would by that means recover a right or "reputation that was ſeemingly dead to his College."——By theſe and other like perſuaſions, he yielded up his own reaſon to theirs, and appeared to ſtand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by ſo ſudden and ſecret, and by ſo powerful a faction that he miſſed it. Which when he underſtood, he profeſsed ſeriouſly to his friends, "that if he were troubled at the "diſappointment, it was for theirs, and not for his own ſake: "For he was far from any deſire of ſuch an employment, as "muſt be managed with charge and trouble, and was too "uſually rewarded with hard cenſures or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earneſtly perſuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others to renew the Logic Lectures which he had read ſome years paſt in his College; and, that done, to methodize and print them, for the eaſe and public good of poſterity.

And though he had an averſeneſs to appear publicly in print, yet after many ſerious ſolicitations, and ſome ſecond thoughts of his own, he laid aſide his modeſty, and promiſed he would; and he did ſo in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends ſeemed to propheſy, that is, of great and general uſe, whether we reſpect the art or the author. For logic may be ſaid to be an *art of right reaſoning*: an art that undeceives men who take falſehood for truth; and enables men to paſs a true judgment, and detect thoſe fallacies which in ſome men's underſtandings uſurp the place of right reaſon. And how great a maſter our author was in this art may eaſily appear from that clearneſs of method, argument, and demonſtration, which is ſo conſpicuous in all his other writings. And he who attained to ſo great a dexterity in the uſe of reaſon himſelf, was beſt qualified to preſcribe rules and directions for the inſtruction of others. And I am the more ſatisfied of the excellency and uſefulneſs of this his firſt public undertaking, by hearing that moſt Tutors in both Univerſities teach Dr. Sanderſon's Logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future ſtudies in philoſophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that ſince this his Book of Logic was firſt printed, there has not been leſs than ten thouſand ſold: And that it is like to continue both to diſcover truth, and to clear and confirm the reaſon of the unborn world.

It will eaſily be believed that his former ſtanding for a Proctor's place, and being diſappointed, muſt prove much diſpleaſing to a man of his great wiſdom and modeſty, and create in him an averſeneſs to run a ſecond hazard of his credit and content; and yet he was aſſured by Dr. Kilbie and the Fellows of his own College, and moſt of thoſe that had oppoſed him in the former election, that his Book of Logic had purchaſed for him ſuch a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former elec-

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tion had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done; and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And, upon these and other like encouragements, he did again (but not without an inward unwillingness) yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was the 10th of April, 1616, chosen Senior Proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Crooke of Christ-Church being then chosen the Junior[q].

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents, part of which I will relate; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot[r], Master of Baliol College, and Regius Professor of Divinity (who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his Diocese, by the Heads of all Houses, and the other chiefs of all the University. And it may be noted that Dr. Prideaux[s]

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q Mr. CHARLES CROOKE, a younger son of Sir John Crooke, of Chilton, in Bucks, one of the Justices of the King's Bench. In 1625, he proceeded D. D. being then Rector of Amersham, and a Fellow of Eton College. He was the author of "A Sad Memorial of Henry Curwen, Esq. only child of Sir Patr. Curwen of Warkington, in Cumberland, Baronet, who died 21st Aug. 1638, aged 14, and was buried in the Church of Amersham in Bucks. Sermon on *Job* xiv. 2. Oxon. 1638." 4to.—at which time he was Chaplain to Charles I. *(Wood's Ath. Ox.)*

r Brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. He obtained his promotion to the See of Salisbury, as a reward for his Lectures in defence of the King's supreme power, against Suarez and Bellarmine. They were printed after his death. In his way to Sarum he made a farewell oration to the University with great applause. His Brethren, the Heads of Houses, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his Diocese with tears of grief, and the gentry of Sarum received him with tears of joy. (*Life of Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury, Guildford*, 1777, p. 152.)

——James I. was so much pleased with Dr. Abbot's book "De Antichristo," that he ordered his own "Commentary upon part of the Apocalypse" to be printed with it, when the second edition appeared in 1608. He was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, Dec. 3, 1615; "herein," says his biographer, "equalizing the felicity of Seffridus some time Bishop of Chi-"chester, who, being a Bishop himself, saw his brother at the same time "Archbishop of Canterbury."

s Dr. JOHN PRIDEAUX, Bishop of Worcester, died July 29, 1650, aged 72 years. He filled the high station of the King's Professor in Divinity, with great honour and reputation, for twenty-seven years. While he was Rector of Exeter College, he acquired so much fame in the government of it, that many foreigners, some of whom were afterward persons of the greatest distinction in the republic of letters, placed themselves under his care. It is remarked of him, that his answers in the Divinity chair were quick, while those of Dr. Sanderson, his successor, were slow and certain. Such was the opinion entertained of his abilities, that he was styled "Columna Fidei or-"thodoxæ, Malleus Hæreseôn, Patrum Pater, et ingens Scholæ et Academiæ "Oraculum."

When Mr. Joseph Mede was upon a visit at Oxford, it chanced at dinner one day that the theme of their discourse was displeasing to that good man: for by the liberty which was taken some were criticising upon and speaking,

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ſucceeded him in the Profeſsorſhip, in which he continued till the year 1642 (being then elected Biſhop of Worceſter), at which time our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderſon, ſucceeded him in the Regius Profeſsorſhip.

And in this year, Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myſelf bound in juſtice to ſay, that he made the great truſt committed to him, the chief care and whole buſineſs of his life. And one teſtimony of this truth may be, that he ſat uſually with his Chancellor in his Conſiſtory, and at leaſt adviſed, if not aſsiſted, in moſt ſentences for the puniſhing of ſuch offenders as deſerved Church cenſures. And it may be noted, that after a ſentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did uſually ſee the ſentence for penance executed; and then, as uſually, preach a ſermon of mortification and repentance, and ſo apply them to the offenders, that then ſtood before him, as begot in them then a devout contrition, and at leaſt reſolutions to amend their lives; and having done that, he would take them, though never ſo poor, to dinner with him, and uſe them friendly, and diſmiſs them with his bleſsing and perſuaſions to a virtuous life, and beg them for their own ſakes to believe him. And his humility and charity, and all other Chriſtian excellencies were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himſelf in his Life, truly writ and printed before his excellent Sermons.

And in this year, alſo, the very prudent and very wiſe Lord Elſmere, who was ſo very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford[t], reſigning up the laſt, the right honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, was choſen to ſucceed him.

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ing, as he thought, but unduly, or, at leaſt, not up to the worth of their learned and worthy profeſsor, Dr. Prideaux. Mr. Mede could not hold, but as ſome then preſent made the report, brake out into theſe, or the like words: "Gentlemen, I beſeech you, deſiſt; the man of whom you now "ſpeak deſerves far better words. It was his infirmity, let it be admitted, "in this to be overſeen. But he hath virtues and great accompliſhments "far more than enough to make up this defect. That he is both learned "and pious it may not be queſtioned; and one infirmity, amidſt ſo many "perfections, is not to be regarded, nor ever made mention of by one "Chriſtian towards another. Let me, therefore, take the boldneſs to crave "this at your hands, that you would deſiſt from this diſcourſe, and fall "upon ſome other more profitable argument." A noble example, and moſt worthy of imitation! See "The Life of Mr. Mede," prefixed to his Works, p. xxi.

[t] This great and good man was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, Nov. 3, 1610, and inſtalled the 10th of the ſame month. Upon his reſignation, January 24, 1616, William Earl of Pembroke, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chamberlain of the Houſehold, was elected Jan. 29, in the ſame year.

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And in this year, our late King Charles I. (then Prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately viſited the Univerſity, the Schools, Colleges, and Libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feaſting ſuitable to their dignity and merits[u].

And in this year King James ſent letters to the Univerſity for the regulating their ſtudies; eſpecially of the young Divines: Adviſing they ſhould not rely on modern ſums and ſyſtems, but ſtudy the Fathers and Councils, and the more primitive learning[x].

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[u] On this occaſion Prince Charles was pleaſed, with his own hand writing, to matriculate himſelf of the Univerſity, Aug. 28, with this ſymbol or ſentence: "*Si vis omnia ſubjicere, ſubjice te rationi.*" Carolus P.

[x] At this time Puritaniſm and Calviniſm increaſed daily at Oxford. Not only the Lecturers in each College, but other preachers in and about the Univerſity, poſitively maintained ſuch points of doctrine as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of England. The King, by the advice of ſuch Biſhops and others of the Clergy as were then about him, diſpatched upon the 18th of January, 1616, theſe directions following to the Vice-Chancellor, certain Heads of Houſes, the two Profeſſors of Divinity, and the two Proctors of the Univerſity, to be carefully and ſpeedily put in execution:——

"JAMES REX.

1. "His Majeſty ſignified his pleaſure that he would have all that take "any degree in ſchooles to ſubſcribe to the xxxix Articles.

2. "That no Preacher be allowed to preach in the town, but ſuch as "are every way conformable, both by ſubſcription and every other way.

3. "That all ſtudents do reſort to the ſermons at St. Mary's, and be re"ſtrained from going to any other Church in the time of St. Mary's ſer"mons; and that proviſion be made that the ſermons in St. Mary's be "diligently made and performed, both forenoon and afternoon.

4. "That the ordinary divinity act be conſtantly kept with three replyers.

5. "That there be a great reſtraint for ſcholars haunting of town-houſes, "eſpecially in the night.

6. "That all ſcholars, both at chappel and at the ſchooles keep their "ſcholaſtical habits.

7. "That young ſtudents in divinity be directed to ſtudy ſuch books "as be moſt agreeable in doctrine and diſcipline to the Church of England, "excited to beſtow their time in the fathers and counſels, ſchoolmen, hiſ"tories and controverſies, and not to inſiſt too long upon compendiums "and abbreviators, making them their grounds of their ſtudy in divinity.

8. "That no man, either in pulpit or in ſchooles, be ſuffered to main"tain dogmatically any point of doctrine that is not allowed by the Church "of England.

9. "That Mr. Vice-Chancellor and the two Profeſſors, or two of the "Heads of Houſes do every Michaelmas term when his Majeſty reſorts "into thoſe parts, wayte upon his Majeſty, and give his Majeſty a juſt ac"compt how theſe his Majeſty's inſtructions are obſerved."

It will not be deemed neceſſary to notice any other of the degrees propoſed by the delegates, than that which regards the ſeventh direction: "In "prælectionibus catechiſticis, quæ in ſingulis collegiis aulisve haberi ſoli"tæ ſunt, Chriſtianæ fidei et religionis articuli xxxix in Synodo Londi"nenſi, anno CIↃDLXII decreti leguntor, explicantorque per ſacrarum "Scripturarum axiomata, patrum antiquorum, conciliorum teſtimonia ſo"lidè confirmantor." See "Wood's Annals," &c. B. I. p. 323, 324, 327, 328.

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And this advice was occaſioned by the indiſcreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predeſtination, univerſal redemption, the irreſiſtibility of God's grace, and of ſome other knotty points depending upon theſe: which many think were not, but by interpreters, forced to be Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falſehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occaſion of the King's letter.

It may be obſerved that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and diſcourſe upon: And that though his office ſeemed, according to ſtatute and cuſtom, to require him to do ſo at his leaving it; yet he choſe rather to paſs them over with ſome very ſhort obſervations, and preſent the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up diſcipline and order in the Univerſity which at that time was either by defective ſtatutes, or want of the due execution of thoſe that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year alſo, the magiſterial part of the Proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reaſon of a multiplicity of new ſtatutes, which begot much confuſion; ſome of which ſtatutes were then, and not till then, and others ſuddenly after, put into an uſeful execution. And though theſe ſtatutes were not then made ſo perfectly uſeful as they were deſigned, till Archbiſhop Laud's time (who aſſiſted in the forming and promoting them), yet our preſent Proctor made them as effectual as diſcretion and diligence could do: Of which one example may ſeem worthy the noting, namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular Scholars abſent from their College at the Univerſity hours, or diſordered by drink, or in ſcandalous company, he did not uſe his power of puniſhing to an extremity; but did uſually take their names, and a promiſe to appear before him, univerſity for, next morning; and when they did, convinced them with ſuch obligingneſs, and reaſon added to it, that they parted from him with ſuch reſolutions as the man after God's own heart was poſſeſſed with, when he ſaid to God, "There is mercy with "thee, and therefore thou ſhalt be feared." And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was ſo happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his Proctor's ſpeech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy; he looked upon his friend with a more than a common cheerfulneſs, and ſpake to him to this purpoſe;—"I look back upon my late employment with "ſome content to myſelf, and a great thankfulneſs to Almigh-"ty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke "the meaneſt of mankind, but rather to paſs by infirmities, if "noted; and in this employment I have had (God knows) "many occaſions to do both. And when I conſider how many

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" of a contrary temper are by ſudden and ſmall occaſions tran-
" ſported, and hurried by anger to commit ſuch errors, as they
" in that paſſion could not foreſee, and will in their more calm
" and deliberate thoughts upbraid and require repentance.
" And conſider, that though repentance ſecures us from the
" puniſhment of any ſin, yet how much more comfortable
" it is to be innocent, than need pardon: And conſider,
" that errors againſt men, though pardoned both by God
" and them, do yet leave ſuch anxious and upbraiding impreſ-
" ſions in the memory as abates of the offender's content.
" When I conſider all this, and that God hath of his goodneſs
" given me a temper that hath prevented me from running into
" ſuch enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thank-
" fulneſs. And though I cannot ſay with David (I wiſh I could),
" that therefore 'his praiſe ſhall always be in my mouth;' yet
" I hope, that by his grace, and that grace ſeconded by my en-
" deavours, it ſhall never be blotted out of my memory; and I
" now beſeech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I muſt look back, and mention one paſſage more in his Proctorſhip, which is, that Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was this year [y] ſent to Trinity College in that Univerſity; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was ſent after him from his godfather (the father of our Proctor) to let his ſon know it, and commend his godſon to his acquaintance, and to a more than common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleaſing injunction to our Proctor, who was ſo gladly obedient to his father's deſire, that he ſome few days after ſent his Servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it ſeems Mr. Sheldon, having (like a young man as he was) run into ſome ſuch irregularity as made him conſcious he had tranſgreſſed his ſtatutes, did therefore apprehend the Proctor's invitation as an introduction to puniſhment; the fear of which made his bed reſtleſs that night; but at their meeting the next morning that fear vaniſhed immediately by the Proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their diſcourſe of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this firſt meeting proved the beginning of as ſpiritual a friendſhip as human nature is capable of; of a friendſhip free from all ſelf-ends: and it continued to be ſo till death forced a ſeparation of it on earth; but it is now re-united in heaven [z].

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y He was admitted into Trinity College in the latter end of 1613. He took the degree of B. A. Nov. 27, 1617, and that of M. A. May 28, 1620. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

z " ——————— Is aught ſo fair
" In all the dewy landſcapes of the ſpring,
" In the bright eye of Heſper and the morn,
" As virtuous friendſhip?"

(AKENSIDE'S PLEASURES OF THE IMAGINATION.)

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And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the conſiderable accidents in his Proctorſhip, I proceed to tell my reader, that this buſy employment being ended, he preached his ſermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that Univerſity ſince that day. And having well performed his other exerciſes for that degree, he took it the 29th of May following, having been ordained Deacon and Prieſt in the year 1611, by John King, then Biſhop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Chriſt-Church[a], and then knew him ſo well, that he owned it at his Ordination, and became his more affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the 29th of his age, he took from the Univerſity a licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderſon, Lord Viſcount Caſtleton[b], preſented to the Rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boſton, in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in ſo low and wet a part of that country, as was inconſiſtent with his health. And health being (next to a good conſcience) the greateſt of God's bleſsings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preſerve it, and he, apprehending a danger of loſing it, if he continued at Wibberton[c] a ſecond winter, did therefore reſign it back into the hands of his worthy kinſman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his reſignation he was preſented to the Rectory of Boothby Pannell[d] in the ſame county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and muſt continue to be famous, becauſe Dr. Sanderſon, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderſon, was more than forty years Parſon of Boothby Pannell, and from thence dated all or moſt of his matchleſs writings.

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[a] Dr. JOHN KING had this dignity conferred on him Aug. 4, 1605; and in 1611 he was made Biſhop of London.

[b] Sir NICHOLAS SANDERSON of Saxby and of Filingham in Lincolnſhire, Knight, was created a Baronet in 1612, to James I. and afterwards Viſcount Caſtleton in Ireland. Sir James Sanderſon, lineally deſcended from him, was in 1715 made Baron Sanderſon of Saxby, in the county of Lincoln; in 1716, Viſcount Caſtleton of Sandbeck, in the county of York; and in 1720, Earl of Caſtleton in the county of York.

[c] Wibberton R. St. Leodegar, in the Deanery of Holland, and Archdeaconry of Lincoln.

[d] Bothby, alias Boothby Pannell R. St. Andrew's, in the Deanery of Grantham, and Archdeaconry of Lincoln. He was inducted into this Rectory, Sept. 7, 1619, and was ſucceeded by Humphrey Babbington, who was inducted Nov. 1. 1661. "On this place," ſaith Biſhop Gibſon, "Dr. "Robert Sanderſon, who was for ſome years Rector here, has entailed a laſt-"ing name and honour."

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To this Living (which was of leſs value, but a purer air than Wibberton), he was preſented by Thomas Harrington of the ſame county and pariſh, Eſq. a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great uſe and eſteem in his country during his whole life[e]. And in this Boothby Pannell the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderſon and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendſhip, till the death of the laſt put a period to it.

About the time that he was made Parſon of Boothby Pannell, he reſigned his Fellowſhip of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows; and his reſignation is recorded in theſe words[f]:

Ego Robertus Sanderson per, &c.

I Robert Sanderson, Fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the Rector and Fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said College, wishing to them and their successors, all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

ROBERT SANDERSON.

May 6, 1619.

And not long after this reſignation, he was by the then Biſhop of York[g], (or the King, *Sede vacante*), made Prebendary

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[e] To this gentleman, his very kind neighbour and patron, he has dedicated three ſermons, printed in 1637. "Living ſo long under my charge, "as I doe alſo under your patronage, you never yet gave me the leaſt cauſe "to thinke myſelf, either deſpiſed in the work, or defrauded in the wages "of my miniſtry. Which as it is a gracious evidence of a pious and ſin-"cere heart in you, ſo it is a circumſtance wherein I am happy beyond "the condition of moſt of my brethren in the ſame calling."

(Epiſtle Dedicatory, &c.)

[f] The name of Robert Sanderſon firſt appears in the Regiſter of Lincoln College, ſubſcribed to the order of the College Chapter of the 6th of May, 1606; and it appears that he was a reſident Fellow till the time of his reſignation, which is inſerted in the Regiſter with his own hand, in the College Chapter of the 6th of May, 1619, in the following affectionate and ſolemn form:——

6 *Maii*, 1619.

Ego Robertus Sanderson, perpetuus ſocius Collegii B. Mariæ et omnium Sanctorum Lincoln in Univerſitate Oxon. totum meum jus quod habeo in dicta Societate in manus Domini Rectoris et ſociorum ibidem ſponte et liberè reſigno, exoptans illis univerſis et ſingulis et ſucceſſoribus eorum pacem, pietatem, et omnimodam felicitatem, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Teſtor, ROBERTUS SANDERSON.

[g] Dr. TOBIAS MATTHEW was then Archbiſhop of York. He died March 29, 1628, in the 83d year of his age.

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of the Collegiate Church of Southwell in that Dioceſe; and ſhortly after of Lincoln by the Biſhop of that See[h].

And being now reſolved to ſet down his reſt in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannell, and looking back with ſome ſadneſs upon his removal from his general and cheerful acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleaſures of a Univerſity life; he could not but think the want of ſociety would render this of a country Parſon ſtill more uncomfortable, by reaſon of that want of converſation; and therefore he did put on ſome faint purpoſes to marry. For he had conſidered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a ſingle life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes thoſe very cares into ſo mutual joys, as makes them become like the ſufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, becauſe they occaſioned his rejoicing in them. And he having well conſidered this, and obſerved the ſecret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleaſures and contented trouble of their daily care and conſtant endeavours to bring up thoſe little images of themſelves, ſo, as to make them as happy as all thoſe cares and endeavours can make them: He, having conſidered all this; the hopes of ſuch happineſs turned his faint purpoſe into a poſitive reſolution to marry. And he was ſo happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelſon, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was ſo good to him, as to give him ſuch a wife as was ſuitable to his own deſires; a wife that made his life happy, by being always content when he was cheerful; that was always cheerful when he was content; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his ſorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife that demonſtrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his deſires, during the whole courſe of his life; and at his death too, for ſhe out-lived him.

And in this Boothby Pannell he either found or made his pariſhioners peaceable and complying with him in the conſtant, decent, and regular ſervice of God. And thus his pariſh, his patron, and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietneſs; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and uſeleſs notions, but ſuch, and only ſuch plain truths as were neceſſary to be known, believed, and practiſed in order to the honour of God and their own ſalvation. And their aſſent to what he taught was teſtified by ſuch a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often ſay, "That without the laſt, the "moſt evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver)

[h] Dr. GEORGE MOUNTAIN, Biſhop of Lincoln, was tranſlated to London, July 20, 1621. It is probable, that Dr. John Williams, his immediate ſucceſſor in the See of Lincoln, was the patron of Dr. Sanderſon.

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"either are not (or at leaſt the leſs) effectual; and uſually ra-
"ther harden, than convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think his duty diſcharged by only reading the church-prayers, catechiſing, preaching, and adminiſtering the ſacraments ſeaſonably; but thought (if the law or the canons may ſeem to enjoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; even the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conſcience of all good Chriſtians, and inclines thoſe whom he loves to perform. He, conſidering this, did therefore become a law to himſelf, practiſing not only what the law enjoins, but what his conſcience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-ſuits, both in his pariſh and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often viſiting ſick and diſconſolate families, perſuading them to patience, and raiſing them from dejection by his advice and cheerful diſcourſe, and by adding his own alms, if there were any ſo poor as to need it; conſidering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are adviſed by St. Paul, "Help to bear one another's burden," either of ſorrow or want: And what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts ſhall call us to a ſtrict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted; to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or diſtreſsed family.

And that his practice was to do good, the following narrative may be one example. "He met with a poor dejected "neighbour that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent "of which was 9l. a year; and when the hay was made ready "to be carried into his barn, ſeveral days conſtant rain had "ſo raiſed the water, that a ſudden flood carried all away, and "his rich landlord would bate him no rent; and that unleſs "he had half abated, he and ſeven children were utterly un-"done." It may be noted, that in this age there are a ſort of people ſo unlike the God of mercy, ſo void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themſelves and children; love them ſo, as not to be concerned, whether the reſt of mankind waſte their days in ſorrow or ſhame; people that are curſed with riches, and a miſtake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not ſo with Dr. Sanderſon, for he was concerned, and ſpoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himſelf with ſorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning, and if his landlord would not abate what he deſired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor preſented to him the ſad condition of his poor dejected tenant, telling him how much God is pleaſed "when "men compaſsionate the poor:" And told him, that "though "God loves ſacrifice, yet he loves mercy ſo much better, that

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" he is beſt pleaſed when he is called *the God of Mercy*:" And told him, " the riches he was poſſeſſed of were given him by " that *God of Mercy*, who would not be pleaſed if he that had " ſo much given, yea, and forgiven him too, ſhould prove like " the rich Steward in the Goſpel, *that took his fellow ſervant by* " *the throat to make him pay the utmoſt farthing*." This he told him: And told him, that " the law of this nation (by which " law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men ho- " neſt or merciful: That was too nice an undertaking; but " does what it can to reſtrain men from being diſhoneſt or un- " merciful, and yet that our law was defective in both; and " that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God ſuf- " fered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do ſo, " yet if he did ſo, he was too like that rich Steward which he " had mentioned to him:" And told him, that " riches ſo " gotten, and added to his great eſtate, would, as Job ſays[i], *prove* " *like gravel in his teeth*; would in time ſo corrode his conſcience, " or become ſo nauſeous when he lay upon his death-bed, that " he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able: And " therefore adviſed him (being very rich) to make friends of " his *unrighteous Mammon*, before that evil day come upon him: " But however, neither for his own ſake, nor for God's ſake, " to take any rent of his poor dejected ſad tenant, for that were " to gain a temporal and loſe his eternal happineſs." Theſe and other ſuch reaſons were urged with ſo grave and ſo com- paſſionate an earneſtneſs, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent[k].

The reader will eaſily believe that Dr. Sanderſon, who was himſelf ſo meek and merciful, did ſuddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and will believe alſo, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boaſts, that " he had ſeen none periſh for " want of clothing; and that he had often made the heart of " the widow to rejoice." And doubtleſs Dr. Sanderſon might have made the ſame religious boaſt of this, and very many like occaſions: but ſince he did not, I rejoice that I have this juſt occaſion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myſelf and him in telling how like the whole courſe of Dr. Sanderſon's life was to this which I have now related[l].

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[i] Mr. Walton generally quotes from memory. " Bread of Deceit is " ſweet to a man; but afterwards his mouth ſhall be filled with gravel." *Prov.* xx. 17.

[k] It is related of Dr. Hammond, that having ſet the tithe of a large mea- dow, and received part of the money at the beginning of the year, it hap- pening that the product was afterward ſpoiled by a flood, he returned all the money to the poor tenant, ſaying, " God forbid I ſhould take the " tenth, where you have not the nine parts."

[l] Is it poſsible to read the above deſcription without great pleaſure? May every Clergyman of the Church of England ſeriouſly contemplate this excellent

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Thus he went on in an obſcure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed as often as any occaſion offered itſelf; yet not ſo obſcurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety, were much noted and valued by the Biſhop of his Dioceſe, and by moſt of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the firſt of which he was often ſummoned to preach many Viſitation Sermons, and by the latter at many Aſsizes[m]. Which Sermons, though they were much eſteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them, yet they were the leſs valued, becauſe he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory, (even the art of it), yet he was puniſhed with ſuch an innate invincible fear and baſhfulneſs, that his memory was wholly uſeleſs as to the repetition of his ſermons, ſo as he had writ them; which gave occaſion to ſay, when ſome of them were firſt printed and expoſed to cenſure (which was in the year 1632), "that the beſt ſermons that were ever read were never "preached."

In this contented obſcurity he continued till the learned and pious Archbiſhop Laud[n], who knew him well in Oxford (for

excellent portrait! Not merely content with the tranſitory gaze of admiration, may he faithfully copy, and accurately expreſs the tranſcript of it in his own life and manners!—Dr. Featley tells us, that "there were few "gentlemen of his acquaintance whom Dr. Sanderſon had not directed "to ſome noble and charitable work for men's improvement or relief: he, "their great caſuiſt, having their hearts and purſes at his devoir, and "uſing his happy power, always to their honour, comfort, and infinite "ſatisfaction." See "*Reason and Judgment*," &c. p. 29.

[m] In the collection of his Sermons, we find five preached *ad Clerum*, at the Viſitations held at Boſton or Grantham; one preached *ad Magiſtratum*, at a public Seſsions at Grantham; four at the Aſsizes at Lincoln, and one at the Aſsizes at Nottingham.

[n] Whom the author of "The Confeſsional" hath diſtinguiſhed with the harſh epithet of *malicious*. The noble hiſtorian has delineated the character of this great Prelate with his uſual ability and candour: "He "was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and diſ-"credited by ſome unpopular natural infirmities; the greateſt of which "was (beſides a haſty ſharp way of expreſsing himſelf) that he believed "innocence of heart and integrity of manners was a guard ſtrong enough "to ſecure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company "ſoever he travelled; and through what ways ſoever he was to paſs: and "ſure never any man was better ſupplied with that proviſion. He was "always maligned and perſecuted by thoſe who were of the Calvinian fac-"tion, which was then very powerful; and who, according to their uſual "maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, 'Papiſt;' and "under this ſenſeleſs appellation, they created him many troubles and "vexations." (*Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, &c. *Vol. I. p.* 90.)——Archbiſhop Laud's excellent book againſt Fiſher the Jeſuit, and his ſucceſs in recovering Mr. Chillingworth from Popery, afford inconteſtible proofs of his learning, and his ſincere attachment to the Church of England. Not to mention other inſtances of his liberality; how nobly did he beſtow his patronage,

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he was his contemporary there), told the King (it was the knowing and conſcientious King Charles I.[o]) that there was one Mr. Sanderſon, an obſcure country Miniſter, that was of ſuch ſincerity, and ſo excellent in all caſuiſtical learning, that he deſired his Majeſty would take ſo much notice of him as to make him his Chaplain. The King granted it moſt willingly, and gave the Biſhop charge to haſten it; for he longed to diſcourſe with a man that had dedicated his ſtudies to that uſeful part of learning. The Biſhop forgot not the King's deſire, and Mr. Sanderſon was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following (1631). And when the King and he became better known to each other, then, as it is ſaid, that after many hard queſtions put to the prophet Daniel, King Darius found "an excellent ſpirit in him[p];" ſo it was with Mr. Sanderſon and our excellent King; who having put many caſes of conſcience to him, received from Mr. Sanderſon ſuch deliberate, ſafe, and clear ſolutions, as gave him ſo great content in converſing with him (which he did ſeveral times in private) that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him "he "ſhould long for the next November; for he reſolved to have "a more inward acquaintance with him when that month and "he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never abſent from his ſermons, and would uſually ſay, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I "carry my conſcience to hear Mr. Sanderſon, and to act ac-"cordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from poſterity, that the King thought what he ſpake: For he took him to be his adviſer in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in thoſe days of his affliction, when he was under ſuch a reſtraint as he apprehended himſelf to be in danger of death or depoſing. Of which more hereafter.

In the firſt Parliament of this good King (which was 1625), he was choſen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Dioceſe of Lincoln[q], which I here mention, becauſe about that time did ariſe many diſputes about predeſtination, and the many critical points that depend upon or are interwoven in it; occaſioned as

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patronage, unexpected and undeſired, upon Mr. John Hales, of Eton, who eſteemed him ſo much, that he mourned for his death in a moſt remarkable manner, and wiſhed he had died in his ſtead!

[o] A Prince! whom the noble hiſtorian juſtly deſcribes as "the worthieſt "gentleman, the beſt maſter, the beſt friend, the beſt huſband, the beſt fa-"ther, and the beſt Chriſtian, that the age in which he lived produced."

[p] Mr. Walton, generally quoting from memory, is not always accurate: Compare *Dan.* i. 19, 20. and vi. 3.

[q] Dr. Sanderſon, being a Prebendary of Southwell, ſerved as one of the Clerks of the Convocation for the Archdeaconry of Nottingham, in the former part of the Long Parliament.—(*Thoroton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p.* 475.)

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was ſaid, by a diſquiſition of new principles of Mr. Calvin, though others ſay they were long before his time. But of theſe Dr. Sanderſon then drew up for his own ſatisfaction ſuch a ſcheme (he called it "Pax Eccleſiæ") as then gave himſelf, and hath ſince given others, ſuch ſatisfaction, that it ſtill remains to be of great eſtimation. He was alſo choſen Clerk of all the Convocations during that good King's reign; which I here tell my reader, becauſe I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention that Convocation in 1640, that unhappy Long Parliament, and ſome debates of the predeſtinarian points, as they have been ſince charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond[r], and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend Dean of Saliſbury[s]. And here the reader may note, that in letters wrote to the ſaid Dean, Dr. Sanderſon ſeems to have altered his judgment in ſome

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[r] On a portrait of Dr. Henry Hammond, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, afterward Canon of Chriſt-Church, Public Orator of the Univerſity, one of King Charles the Firſt's Chaplains, and a conſtant attendant on his Majeſty during his laſt troubles, are inſcribed the following lines:—

"En gentis lumen columen culmenque togatæ
"HAMMONDUS! Secli Lexque decusque ſui."

(GUTCH's WOOD's HISTORY, &c. p. 328.)

This good man who has already been mentioned in this volume, was born at Chertſey, in Surrey, Aug. 18, 1605, being the youngeſt ſon of Dr. John Hammond, phyſician to Prince Henry. Educated at Eton School, he was ſent to Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1630, he was preferred by the Earl of Leiceſter to the Rectory of Penſhurſt.—In 1639, he proceeded D. D. was Member of Convocation in 1640, and afterward named to be of the Aſſembly of Divines. In 1643, he was perſecuted and forced to retire, the Parliament viſitors ejecting him from his canonry of Chriſt-church and his office of Public Orator. Having ſpent his life in great retiredneſs, lucubration, and devotion, he ſurrendered up his moſt pious ſoul to God, in the houſe of Sir John Packington, April 25, 1660, aged 55 years: Whereupon his body was, upon the morrow, in the evening, buried in the chancel of Hampton Church, with the whole office and uſual rites of the Church of England, not at that time reſtored or practiſed by public command. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 123.

Biſhop Burnet has obſerved, that Hammond's death before the reſtoration was an unſpeakable loſs to the Church; that he was a man of great learning and of moſt eminent merit, having been the perſon that, during the bad times, had maintained the cauſe of the Church in a very ſingular manner; that he was a very moderate man in his temper, though with a high principle, and perhaps he would have fallen into healing counſels. He was alſo much ſet on reforming abuſes, and for reviving in the Clergy a due ſenſe of the obligations they were under.

[s] Dr. THOMAS PIERCE, for ſome years Preſident of Magdalen College, Oxford, well known in his time for his ſkill in the quinquarticular controverſy, and for his writings in defence of the ancient eſtabliſhment of the Church of England, againſt Baxter, Calamy, and other Non-conformiſts. On the Promotion of Dr. Ralph Brideoke to the See of Chicheſter, he was appointed Dean of Saliſbury. He compoſed the following epitaph upon himſelf, a little before his death:—

"Here

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points, since he wrote his scheme, called "Pax Ecclesiæ," which he seems to say in his last Will, besides other reasons to think so.

In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities[t]: But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither, May 3, Mr. Sanderson did then attend him, and was then (the 31st of August) created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Masters of Arts with him: Some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall out-

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"Here lies all that was mortal, the outside, dust, and ashes of Thomas "Pierce, D. D. once the President of a College in Oxford, at first the Rec-"tor of *Brington-cum-Membris*, Canon of Lincoln, and at last Dean of Sa-"rum; who fell asleep in the Lord Jesus, [Mar. 28. an. 1691.] but in "hope of an awake at the resurrection. He knew himself, and taught "others, that all the glorified saints in heaven cannot amount to one Sa-"viour, as all the stars in the firmament cannot make up one sun. There-"fore his only hope and trust was in the Lord Jesus, who will change," &c. *Phil.* iii. 21.

"Disce, viator, perinde esse, seu fragile frangi, seu mortale mori." *(Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 862.)*

Of his disputes with Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, see Dr. Walter Pope's Life of that Prelate, p. 171, 182.

Dr. Pierce, in a letter to Mr. Isaac Walton, dated 1677-8, gives a particular account, from a book written by Dr. Hammond, of Dr. Sanderson's change of sentiments relative to the famous points controverted between the Calvinists and the Arminians—how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets, and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of "Calvin's Institutions," the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors. How he erred with Mr. Calvin, while he took things upon trust, in the sublapsarian way. How being chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln, he reduced the quinquarticular controversy into five schemes and tables; and thereupon discerned the necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the supralapsarian, which he could never fancy.

[t] The King, Queen, and their respective courts, having being entertained this year by the University, on the 29th and 30th of August, it was his Majesty's pleasure, upon his leaving the University, which was the 31st of the same month, that there should be a creation in several faculties. Whereupon the names of those that made suit to be actually created being given into the hands of the Chancellor, Dr. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, by one of the Secretaries of State, was a Convocation celebrated on the same day in the afternoon, wherein were actually created two Bachelors of Arts, two Bachelors of Law, five and forty Masters of Arts, ten Bachelors in Divinity, three Doctors of Civil Law, three Doctors of Physic, and one and twenty Doctors in Divinity. *(Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. Col. 268.)*

Archbishop Laud has given a full account of his entertainment of their Majesties, when, at this their summer progress, they visited the University. *(Laud's Remains, &c. Vol. II. p. 100.)*

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live it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren[u], who were then Biſhops of Winton and of Norwich, and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his Univerſity. So was Meric, the ſon of the learned Iſaac Caſaubon[v]; and Prince Rupert[w], who ſtill lives; the

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[u] Dr. MATTHEW WREN, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, died April 24, 1667, aged eighty-one years and upwards. He was diſtinguiſhed for his extraordinary attachment to the royal cauſe, having ſuffered an impriſonment for eighteen years with ſingular patience and magnanimity. The preſſures under which he lay during this period were ſuch, that, his eſtate being taken away, he could not allow his children bread, much leſs ſupply their expenſes for living in Colleges. *(Kennet's Register, p. 220.)*——He built the beautiful Chapel at Pembroke-Hall, in Cambridge, "where he was buried with the greateſt ſolemnity ſeen in the memory of "man, performed by the whole Univerſity, twenty-four ſcholars of St. "John's, Peter-houſe, and Pembroke, being his relations, in mourning." *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 612.)*——The hiſtory of his life has been faithfully written by his great nephew, Chriſtopher Wren, Eſq. who left behind him a treatiſe in manuſcript, with this title, "Parentalia; Memorials of the Lives of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew Wren, D. D. Lord Biſhop of Ely, Chriſtopher Wren, D. D. Dean of Windſor, and Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Knight, Surveyor General of the Royal Buildings. With Collections and Records of original Papers." This treatiſe was publiſhed by his ſon, Stephen Wren, Eſq

It ſhould not be forgotten, that when Cromwell had repeatedly offered to releaſe the Biſhop, he refuſed to accept of the proffered boon, ſaying "that he ſcorned to receive his liberty from a tyrant and uſurper." His life was kindly prolonged by Providence, that as he had ſeen the deſtruction ſo he might alſo ſee the happy reſtoration of his order.

[v] MERIC CASAUBON, the heir of a great name and a learned race, having for his father Iſaac Caſaubon, who is called by Joſeph Scaliger, "doctiſsimus omnium qui hodie vivunt," (his grandfather being Henry Stephens, and his great grandfather Robert Stephens) was born at Geneva, in 1599. He came into England with his father, and was educated at Chriſt-Church in Oxford. It will be unneceſsary to expatiate on his vaſt erudition. He was much eſteemed by James I. and Charles I. He nobly rejected the propoſal of Cromwell, who invited him with the offer of a penſion to write the hiſtory of his life: And when Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, ſolicited him to undertake the government of one or more of her Univerſities, he declined a compliance with her requeſt, and determined to end his days in England. He was a Prebendary of Canterbury, and died in 1671. See the inſcription on his tomb in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.

[w] The name of this Prince, the third ſon of the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, occurs not unfrequently in the annals of this and of the ſucceeding reign. After innumerable toils, and a variety of heroic actions performed by him both by ſea and land, he ſpent ſeveral years in ſedate ſtudies, and the proſecution of chymical and philoſophical experiments. He died, Nov. 29, 1682, in the 63d year of his age, generally lamented, having maintained ſuch good temper, and exact neutrality in the unhappy diviſions which then prevailed, that he was honoured and reſpected by men of the moſt differing intereſts. See "Echard's Hiſtory of England." Vol. III. p. 666.

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then Duke of Lenox[x], Earl of Hereford[y], Earl of Eſsex[z], Earl of Berkſhire[a], and very many others of noble birth, too many to be named, were then created Maſters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, though inwardly ſick of being well[b], namely in the year 1639, a diſcontented party of the Scots Church were zealouſly reſtleſs for another reformation of their kirk government; and to that end created a new Covenant; for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his aſsent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be preſented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity, but by ſo many thouſands, and they ſo armed, as ſeemed to force an aſsent to what they ſeemed but to requeſt: So that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcaſtle[c], where the King was forced to meet them with an army; but upon a treaty[d] and ſome conceſsions he ſent them back, though not ſo rich as they intended, yet, for that time, without bloodſhed. But oh! this peace and this covenant were but the forerunners of war and the many miſeries that followed: For in the year following there were ſo many choſen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with thoſe very zealous and as

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x LODOWICK, Duke of Lenox, created Earl of Richmond, 11 James I.; and afterward Duke of Richmond, in 1623. He was at this time a ſtudent of Trinity College in Cambridge.

y Rather, Earl of Hertford. WILLIAM SEYMOUR, Earl of Hertford, educated in Magdalen College, Oxford. He was admitted B. A. in 1607. In 1643, he was elected Chancellor of this Univerſity, and being deprived by the Parliament in 1647, was re-inſtated May 26, 1660. He died Duke of Somerſet in October following.

z ROBERT DEVEREUX, Viſcount Hereford and Earl of Eſsex, who was afterward Captain-General of the army raiſed by the Parliament againſt the King.

a THOMAS HOWARD, Viſcount Andover, created Baron of Charlton and Earl of Berkſhire.

b Like the Italian Patient on whom this epitaph was written:

"STAVO BEN, MA, PER STAR MEGLIO, STO QUI."

c The Scotch army entered England, Aug. 20, 1640, and by ſlow marches encamped on the 27th of that month at Newbourn-upon-Tyne, four miles weſt from Newcaſtle. The King's forces, under the command of the Lord Conway, attempting to prevent them from paſsing the river, after a fierce but unſucceſsful engagement, retreated in confuſion, and abandoned Newcaſtle, which immediately fell into the hands of the Scots. (*Kennet's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p.* 96.)

d This treaty was made at Ripon, where the Engliſh and Scotch Commiſsioners met.

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factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the Members of that Parliament (all did never consent) and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would restore them to that former tranquillity which they had lost. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: And hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto,—"FOR THE CROWN "AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS."—This I saw and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it[e]. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common-prayer and ceremonies of the Church, and seemed restless for another Reformation: And though their desires seemed not reasonable

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[e] See a copy of this "Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland," in "Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion," Vol. II. p. 373.

This Covenant was recommended to the common people, by their preachers, in very strange language.—"See that the Covenant be both "taken and performed. It is the Covenant of the Most High God, who will "be much provoked sure with the neglect of it. You have holden forth a "pious example in entering into our Solemn League and Covenant for "Reformation, like the honoured Prince Josiah, and that with the same "sincerity. Oh! accompany that King one step farther, in causing all in "Jerusalem and Benjamin to make it and stand to it, when they have "made it." *(John Strickland's Sermon before the Lords, Nov.* 5, 1644, *p.* 5.)——"England shall be England, or a Sodom and Gomorrah, ac-"cording as it keeps or breaks the Covenant." *(Lazarus Seaman's Fast Sermon before the Commons, Sept.* 25, 1644, *p.* 45.)——"A Covenant is "a golden girdle to tie us fast to God; it is a joining and glewing our-"selves to the Lord: It is a binding ourselves apprentice to God: It is "not only commendable but very necessary (and for this cause you are "met here this day); to enter into a bond a second time, to bind and "enrol yourselves again unto the Lord, to make up this hedge, to tie this "golden girdle, and to join and glew yourselves once more unto the Lord, "in a perpetual Covenant never to be forgotten." *(Edm. Calamy's Ser-mon before the Lord Mayor, Jan.* 14, 1645, entitled, *The great Danger of Covenant-refusing and Covenant-breaking, p.* 2.)

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to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their conſciences, and prevent future confuſion, they did in the year 1641 deſire Dr. Sanderſon to call two more of the Convocation to adviſe with him, and that he would then draw up ſome ſuch ſafe alterations as he thought fit in the ſervice-book, and abate ſome of the ceremonies that were leaſt material, for ſatisfying their conſciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Weſtminſter's houſe[f], for the ſpace of five months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderſon had made the Reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fallen into ſuch a confuſion, that Dr. Sanderſon's model for Reformation became then uſeleſs. Nevertheleſs the repute of his moderation and wiſdom was ſuch, that he was in the year 1642 propoſed by both Houſes of Parliament to the King then in Oxford, to be one of their truſtees for the ſettling of Church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be ſo; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houſes of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an Aſſembly of Divines[g], to debate and ſettle Church-controverſies; of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge; in which Dr. Sanderſon was alſo named by the Parliament, but did not appear; I ſup-

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[f] Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS was then Dean of Weſtminſter. He held this Deanery *in commendam* during the whole time of his being Biſhop of Lincoln, and likewiſe three years after his tranſlation to York. *(Le Neve.)*

[g] Thomas Lord Fairfax, the Parliament's General, was wont to call this Aſſembly, which conſiſted chiefly of Preſbyterians, "The Chariots "and Horſemen of Iſrael." Mr. Baxter denominates it "The Learned "and Pious Synod at Weſtminſter." The order for convening it is inſerted in "Sir William Dugdale's View," p. 902.

Of the Members of this Aſſembly, Lord Clarendon obſerves, *(Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p.* 530.) that, "of about one hundred and twenty "of which it was to conſiſt, there were not above twenty, who were not "declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine or diſcipline of the Church "of England; ſome of them infamous in their lives and converſations; "and moſt of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of ſcandalous "ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of "England." The famous Selden, one of their lay aſſeſſors, took great delight in expoſing their want of learning. When they cited a text to prove their aſſertions, he would tell them, "Perhaps in your gilt little pocket Bibles" (which they would often pull out and read), "the tranſlation may "be thus; but the Greek and Hebrew ſignifies thus and thus;" and ſo would totally ſilence them. See "Whitlock's Memoirs," p. 68. Each member of this Aſſembly received a ſalary of four ſhillings a day, much too little, as ſome thought, for men of their merit; others grumbling at it as too much for what by them was performed. *(Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. X. p.* 200.)—"Our Engliſh Aſſembly ſate *humdrumming* ſeveral "years, and after all expectation brought forth nothing worth a mouſe." *(Foulis's Hiſt. of Wicked Plots, &c. p.* 207.)

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poſe for the ſame reaſon that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the ſummons wanting the King's authority.

And here I muſt look back and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Profeſsor Regius of Divinity in Oxford; but though knowledge be ſaid to *puff up*, yet his modeſty, and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and ſome other real or pretended reaſons, expreſsed in his ſpeech, when he firſt appeared in the chair, and ſince printed, kept him from entering into it till October 1646[h].

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchleſs lectures, which were firſt *de Juramento*, a point very ſeraphical and as difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furniſhed with abilities to ſatisfy the conſciences of men upon that important ſubject; ſo he wanted not courage to aſsert the true obligation of oaths, in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part, or at leaſt very uſeful to their religion. How much the learned world ſtands obliged to him for theſe and his following lectures *de Conſcientia*, I ſhall not attempt to declare, as being very ſenſible that the beſt pens fall ſhort in the commendation of them; ſo that I ſhall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete ſtandard for the reſolution of the moſt material doubts in that part of caſuiſtical divinity: And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading thoſe lectures (the King being then priſoner in the Iſle of Wight) that part of the Parliament then at Weſtminſter ſent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all Heads of Houſes. And all the other inferior Scholars, of what degree ſoever, were alſo to take theſe oaths by a fixed day; for thoſe that did not were to abandon their Colleges and the Univerſity too within twenty four hours after the beating of a drum[i]; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded againſt as ſpies.

Dr. Laud the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others had been formerly murdered, but the King yet was not; and the Univerſity had yet ſome faint hopes that

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h Upon the promotion of Dr. John Prideaux to the See of Worceſter, Dr. Sanderſon was appointed the King's Profeſsor in Divinity, July 21, 1642, and was ejected by the Parliament's Viſitors, June 14, 1648. In the beginning of Auguſt, 1660, he was reſtored. *(Le Neve.)*

i "In 1648, the Viſitors appointed by Parliament having ſat ſeveral times "in the lodgings of Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, in the "laſt yeare, but to little purpoſe, they proceeded, this yeare, with very great "rigour to the ruin of the Univerſitie. The Members of every College "were all ſummoned to appeare on a certaine day, and ſometimes two or "three Colleges appeared in one day, and if they did not give a poſitive "anſwer, whether they would ſubmit to them and their viſitation, as appointed by Parliament, they were forthwith ejected." *(Life of A. Wood, by himſelf, p. 50, 51.)*

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in a treaty then in being betwixt him and them, that confined him, or pretended to be ſuddenly, there might be ſuch an agreement made, that the Diſſenters in the Univerſity might both preſerve their conſciences, and the poor ſubſiſtence which they then enjoyed by their Colleges.

And being poſſeſſed of this miſtaken hope, that the men in preſent power were not yet grown ſo mercileſs, as not to allow manifeſt reaſon for their not ſubmitting to the enjoined oaths, the Univerſity appointed twenty delegates to meet, conſider, and draw up a manifeſto to them, why they could not take thoſe oaths but by violation of their conſciences: And of theſe delegates Dr. Sheldon, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, Dr. Morley, now Biſhop of Wincheſter, and that moſt honeſt, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch[k], were a part; the reſt I cannot now

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[k] A predilection in favour of his own family will not, he truſts, preclude the Editor of this Work from paying his tribute of praiſe to the memory of Dr. Richard Zouch, the firſt Civilian of the age in which he lived. He derived his deſcent from the Lord Zouches of Harringworth, in Northamptonſhire, and was one of the ſame family with Guido or Eudo de Zouch, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and with William Zouch, Archbiſhop of York, whoſe military proweſs, ſignally diſplayed in the defeat of the Scotch army near Durham, is celebrated in the annals of the Engliſh Hiſtory.——Born at Anſtley in Wiltſhire, in 1590, he received his education in William of Wykeham's ſchool, near Wincheſter; was matriculated in the Univerſity of Oxford in 1608, and admitted Fellow of New College in 1609. He took the degree of LL. B. June 30, 1614, and that of LL. D. April 8, 1619.

In 1613, he publiſhed "the Dove; or Paſsages of Coſmography;" a poem compriſing a deſcription of Aſia, Africa, and Europe; dedicated to his relation, the friend of Archbiſhop Whitgift and of Sir Henry Wotton, the truly noble and worthy honoured Edward Lord Zouch, St. Maure or Cantelupe. He concludes this poem with an account of Great Britain. Having deſcribed *renowned Exeter, sweet-seated Sals-b'ry,* and *Bristow, the merchant's magazine,* he proceeds:—

"Old *Winchester*, the ancient ſeate of kings,
"For virtue and for valour much renowned,
"So ſubject unto change are earthly things,
"Inſtead of diadem, with bayes is crowned;
"Where worthy WICCHAM's children now maintaine
"The fame once known by great King Arthur's traine.
"*Oxford*, by Iſis' cryſtal ſtreams confin'd,
"And well-diſcerning *Cambridge*, Learning's payre,
"Excell thoſe lamps which once on Ida ſhin'd,
"Bright Juno ſhew'd, cleare Pallas, Venus faire;
"But eyther of theſe thrice illuſtrious eyes
"Doth brightnes, clearneſse, fairneſse, all compriſe.
"As that true enſigne of the Almightie's love
"Lively diſplayed in the cloudy ſkye,
"The gazer's eye aſtoniſhed doth move
"To wonder at ſuch ſtrange varietie;
"Rainbow-reſembling *London*, England's bliſſe,
"The heav'n's great mercy, and earth's marvel is."

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name; but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson,

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He no sooner had obtained his first degree than he became an Advocate in Doctor's Commons. Through the influence of his noble kinsman, who was then Lord of the Cinque Ports, he was elected, in 1620, a Burgess to serve in Parliament for Hythe in Kent. In the same year he succeeded Dr. John Budden as Professor of Civil Law; and, in 1625, he was appointed Principal of Alban's Hall, on the death of Dr. Edward Chaloner, of the ancient family of the Chaloners of Guisborough in Yorkshire, who died of the plague at Oxford. Though a layman, he held the Prebend of Shipston, in the Church of Salisbury, which was then first annexed to the Law Professorship by James I.

When William Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University, by a letter dated June 23, 1623, had appointed certain persons nominated by the Convocation, to revise the statutes, and to reduce them to a better form and order, they chose a Committee among themselves to prepare materials for the inspection of the whole body. This Committee consisted of Robert Pink, D. D. Warden of New College, Richard Zouch, LL. D. Bryan Twine, B. D. and Mr. Peter Turner, Savilian Professor of Geometry. On the death of Lord Pembroke, Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, being elected Chancellor, April 12, 1630, exerted himself with unremitting zeal in promoting the arduous work of completing a settled and a known body of statutes. What was begun by his noble predecessor was happily accomplished in 1634, under the auspices of this Prelate, the most munificent patron of learning which that age produced.

The University of Oxford acquired immortal fame by their virtuous opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant. Those members of that venerable Society, who joined in this opposition, appointed twenty delegates to draw up a declaration of the motives which influenced their conduct. To Dr. Zouch was assigned the province of composing that part of their defence which regarded the law; whilst his friend Dr. Sanderson, then Regius Professor of Divinity, was requested to arrange the arguments deducible from law and conscience. The whole was methodized by the latter; and, when finished, was approved in full Convocation. That the learned men in Europe might be apprised of the propriety of this determination, it was printed in Latin, under the title of "Judicium Universitatis Oxonienſis de 1. Solenni Legâ et Fœdere. 2. Juramento Negativo. 3. Ordinationibus Parliamenti circa Disciplinam et cultum, in plenâ Convocatione, 1 Junii 1647, communibus Suffragiis, Nemine contradicente, promulgatum."

In 1648, when the Visitors appointed by Parliament exercised their powers in Oxford, Dr. Zouch acquiesced in their proceedings, actuated probably by the same motives which induced Sir Matthew Hale to accept of a Judge's place in the Common Pleas. After a mature deliberation, that great and good man determined, "that it being absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers, if he made no declaration of acknowledging their authority." Yet our Civilian resigned his office in the Admiralty, in which he was replaced at the restoration.

In 1653, an unprecedented violation of the public peace, attended with assassination, and every species of insult was committed upon the New Exchange in London, by the domestics of the Portuguese Ambassador, who was then soliciting terms of peace with Oliver Cromwell. The unbridled impetuosity of their fury had impelled them, for two successive nights, to acts of the most savage cruelty. Several of them were apprehended and committed to prison, the Ambassador having delivered into the hands of the

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and he was requeſted to methodize, and add what referred to reaſon and conſcience, and put it into form. He yielded to

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the civil magiſtrate his brother, Don Pantaleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, who was a principal in the riot. The Protector and his Privy Council differing in opinion on the extent of the privilege of an ambaſſador, and on the legality of proceeding againſt the delinquents, thought it neceſſary to requeſt the advice of Dr. Zouch, who was then, as Anthony Wood calls him, "the living Pandect of the law." By the expreſs direction of our able Civilian, the Ambaſſador's brother was declared amenable to a trial in an Engliſh Court of Judicature. Accordingly he was tried by a ſpecial commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer. The Commiſſioners were Lord Rolles, Juſtice Atkyns, Serjeant Steele, Dr. Richard Zouch, and five others. The Ambaſſador's brother was indicted for murder, convicted and executed. Nothing contributed more effectually to increaſe the reputation of Cromwell in foreign countries, than this act of public juſtice; which is univerſally acknowledged to have been ſtrictly conformable to the law of nations. On this ſubject Dr. Zouch compoſed a learned tract, entitled, "Solutio Quæſtionis de Legati delinquentis Judice competente, Oxon. 1657," to which he has annexed a narrative of the whole tranſaction. It was at this critical time, that the Portugueſe Ambaſſador preſented the famous panegyric on the Protector, ſuppoſed to be actually written by Milton, but generally believed to be the work of a Jeſuit. Yet Cromwell remained inſenſible to adulation; and with a reſolution worthy of an upright judge, permitted Juſtice to take her due courſe.

In 1657 he became a candidate for the office of Cuſtos Archivorum, vacated by the death of Dr. Gerard Langbaine. He was oppoſed on this occaſion by Dr. John Wallis, eminent above all his contemporaries for his mathematical knowledge, one of the Savilian Profeſſors, a man of mild and gentle manners, perfectly attached to the ſubſiſting government, and who had, in fact, been one of the Secretaries to the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, during the whole time of their ſitting. Dr. Wallis was elected in preference to his competitor; and the proceedings of this election were afterward commented on with great aſperity by the celebrated Mr. Henry Stubbs.

After the reſtoration, Dr. Zouch whoſe loyalty always remained unimpeached, had the honour of being named by the King, along with ſeveral other Commiſſioners, to reſtore the ſplendour, and regulate the diſorders of the Univerſity. He was re-inſtated in the Court of Admiralty; and if he had lived, he would doubtleſs have attained thoſe higher dignities in his profeſſion, to which his integrity and great abilities entitled him. He died at his apartments in Doctor's Commons, London, March 1, 1660, and was buried in the Church of Fulham, near the remains of Katharine, his eldeſt daughter, the wife of Sir William Powell, alias Hinſon. His works, which principally relate to his profeſſional ſtudies, are enumerated by Anthony Wood. It muſt be remarked to his credit, that at a time when there was a warm conteſt between the Civilians and the common Lawyers, the latter of which were diſcouraged by the Court, he treated the common law of England with reverence and reſpect; herein differing from Dr. Cowell, the King's Profeſſor at Cambridge, who endeavoured to extend the civil law beyond its due bounds. The author of the beſt didactic treatiſe extant, on the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical court, hath paid the greateſt attention to the writings of Dr. Zouch. Indeed they contain the fundamental principles of law and government, the knowledge of which conſtitutes an eſſential part of the education of an Engliſh gentleman. John and Daniel Elzevir have dedicated a beautiful and correct edition of his moſt celebrated work, entitled, "Elementa Juris Civilis," to its learned author. "He was," ſays Anthony Wood, "an exact artiſt, a ſubtle politician,

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their desires and did so. And then, after they had been read in a full Convocation and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all nations[1]; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them. But they were past the first; and for the latter I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment, and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the King, who had in the year 1646 sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon (the late Archbishop of Canterbury), and Dr. Morley (the now Bishop of Winchester) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he

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"an expert historian; and for the knowledge and practice of the "civil law, the chief person of his time, as his works, much esteemed be- "yond the seas, where several of them are reprinted, partly testify. He "was so well versed also in the statutes of the University, and controver- "sies between the Members thereof and the city, that none, after Twine's "death, went beyond him. As his birth was noble, so was his behaviour "and discourse; and as personable and handsome, so naturally sweet, "pleasing and affable. The truth is, there was nothing wanting, but a for- "ward spirit, for his advancement; but the interruption of the times, "which silenced his profession, would have given a step to his rise had he "been of another disposition."

[1] The assistance of Dr. Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, was of great service on this occasion. "These delegates," says Lord Clarendon, "to their eternal renown, being at the same time under a strict "and strong garrison put over them by the Parliament, the King in prison, "and their hopes desperate, passed a public act and declaration against the "Covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and "perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the Assem- "bly of Divines, which then sat at Westminster, ever ventured to make any "answer to it: But it must remain to the world's end, as a monument of "the learning, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place, against the highest "malice and tyranny, that was ever exercised in or over any nation." See the "History of the Rebellion," Vol. III. p. 56.

After the Restoration, when the Parliament sat at Oxford, the Commons ordered thanks to be returned to the University, for their noble and resolute conduct, at this time.

"MARTIS, 31 Octob. 1663.

"RESOLVED, That the thanks of this House be returned to the Chan- "cellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, for their re- "markable loyalty to his Majesty's father of happy memory, in the late re- "bellion: Especially for that extraordinary instance of their duty, in making "a bold opposition to the rebellious Visitors, and refusing to submit to their "League and Covenant: And lastly, for the illustrious performance they "printed, entitled, 'The Judgment of the University,' in which they have "learnedly maintained the justice of the King's cause."

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might with a good conſcience comply with the propoſals of the Parliament for a peace in Church and State: but theſe, having been then denied him by the Preſbyterian Parliament, were now by their own rules allowed him by thoſe Independents now in preſent power. And with ſome of thoſe Divines, Dr. Sanderſon alſo gave his attendance on his Majeſty in the Iſle of Wight; preached there before him, and had in that attendance many both public and private conferences with him, to his Majeſty's great ſatisfaction. At which time he deſired Dr. Sanderſon, that being the Parliament had then propoſed to him the aboliſhing of Epiſcopal Government in the Church, as inconſiſtent with monarchy, and ſelling theirs and the Cathedral Church-Land to pay thoſe ſoldiers that they had raiſed to fight againſt him, that he would conſider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do ſo, and did it, but it might not be printed till our King's happy reſtoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderſon's then taking his leave of his Majeſty in this his laſt attendance on him, the King requeſted him "to betake himſelf "to the writing caſes of conſcience for the good of poſterity." To which his anſwer was, "That he was now grown old, and "unfit to write caſes of conſcience." But the King was ſo bold with him as to ſay, "It was the ſimpleſt anſwer he ever heard "from Dr. Sanderſon; for no young man was fit to be made a "judge, or write caſes of conſcience." And let me here take occaſion to tell the reader this truth, very fit, but not commonly known; that in one of theſe conferences this conſcientious King was told by a faithful and private intelligencer, that "if "he aſsented not to the Parliament's propoſals, the treaty "'twixt him and them would break immediately, and his life "would then be in danger; he was ſure he knew it." To which his anſwer was, "I have done what I can to bring my con-"ſcience to a compliance with their propoſals and cannot; and "I will not loſe my conſcience to ſave my life:" And within a very ſhort time after, he told Dr. Sanderſon and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, that "the remembrance "of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his aſsent to "the Earl of Strafford's death, and the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in "Scotland; and that if God ever reſtored him to be in a peace-"able poſſeſsion of his crown, he would demonſtrate his re-"pentance by a public confeſsion and voluntary penance (I "think barefoot) from the Tower of London or Whitehall, to "St. Paul's Church, and deſire the people to intercede with "God for his pardon." I am ſure one of them, that told it me, lives ſtill, and will witneſs it. And it ought to be obſerved, that Dr. Sanderſon's Lectures *de Juramento* were ſo approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his impriſonment and ſolitude he tranſlated them into exact Engliſh, deſiring Dr. Juxſon[m] (then Biſhop of London), Dr. Hammond, and Sir Tho-

[m] Let it ever be remembered to the honour of this Prelate, whom Charles I. was wont to call "the good man," and whom he delared to be his greateſt com-

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mas Herbert[a] (who then attended him in his reſtraint) to compare them with the original. The laſt ſtill lives, and has declared it, with ſome other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately ſhewed me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms[*]. The tranſlation was deſigned to be put into the King's Library at St. James's, but, I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and tranſlator to be both ſo much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inſerted.

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eſt comfort, in his moſt afflictive ſituation, that he delivered his ſentiments without diſguiſe to the King, on the ſubject of Lord Strafford's fate, telling him plainly, that "he ought to do nothing with an unſatisfied conſcience, "upon any conſideration in the world." His character is thus beautifully pourtrayed by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. "There is in him no tumour, no ſourneſs, no diſtraction of thoughts; but "a quiet mind, a patient care, free acceſs, mild and moderate anſwers. "To this I muſt add, a ſolid judgment, a ſober plainneſs, and a moſt in-"dubitable character of fidelity in his very face; ſo as there needs not "much ſtudy to think him both a good man and a wiſe man." (*Reliq. Wottonianæ, p.* 31.) The appointment of this Divine to the office of Lord High Treaſurer of England gave great diſguſt to the nobility: But he conducted himſelf ſo well in the adminiſtration of it, as to ſilence all complaint.

[a] This learned perſon who publiſhed obſervations upon his Travels in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, under the patronage and at the expenſe of his kinſman, William Earl of Pembroke, went abroad in 1626, and ſpent four years in viſiting Aſia and Africa. Upon his return into England, he waited on that Nobleman, who having invited him to dinner, the next day, at Baynard's Caſtle in London, died ſuddenly that night, according to the calculation of his nativity, which his father had made ſeveral years before. Thus diſappointed in his expectations of promotion, he again went abroad, and travelled over ſeveral parts of Europe. He afterward joined the Parliament againſt Charles I. whom he was appointed to attend from the very beginning of his impriſonment to the time of his death. He ſhowed himſelf a moſt faithful ſervant to the King, whoſe real character he ſoon diſcovered to be totally different from that which had been repreſented to him. In 1660, Charles II. advanced him to the dignity of a Baronet, by the name of Thomas Herbert of Tinterne, in Monmouthſhire, "for faithfully ſer-"ving his royal father, during the two laſt years of his life."——In 1678 he publiſhed "Threnodia Carolina; containing Memoirs of the two laſt Years of the Reign of King Charles I." A work much commended for the candour, impartiality, and truth, with which it is compoſed. He aſſiſted Sir William Dugdale in compiling the third volume of his "Monaſticon Anglicanum;" and died at York his native place, in 1682, leaving ſeveral MSS. to the public library at Oxford, and others to that of the Cathedral at York.

Charles I. who always entertained the moſt ſincere affection for this his upright and faithful ſervant, gave him many of his books a little before his death. There is extant a copy of Shakſpeare's Works, fol. 1632, in which is the King's writing, in theſe words, "*Dum ſpiro ſpero. C. R.*" And by Mr. Herbert's hand, "*Ex dono ſerenissimi Regis Car. ſervo ſuo humiliss. T. Herbert.*"

[*] The Life of this eminent antiquary, written by himſelf, is prefixed to the ſecond edition of his "Hiſtory of St. Paul's Cathedral."

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I now return to Dr. Sanderſon in the chair at Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the Covenant, negative oath, and Parliament ordinance for Church-diſcipline and worſhip, were under a ſad and daily apprehenſion of expulſion; for the Viſitors were daily expected, and both city and Univerſity full of ſoldiers, and a party of Preſbyterian Divines, that were as greedy and ready to poſſeſs, as the ignorant and ill-natured Viſitors were to eject the Diſſenters out of their Colleges and livelihoods[p]: But notwithſtanding, Dr. Sanderſon did ſtill continue to read his Lecture, and did, to the very faces of thoſe Preſbyterian divines and ſoldiers, read with ſo much reaſon, and with a calm fortitude, make ſuch applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been aſhamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborn to do what followed. But theſe thriving ſinners were hardened: and as the Viſitors expelled the orthodox, they, without ſcruple or ſhame, poſſeſſed themſelves immediately of their Colleges; ſo that, with the reſt, Dr. Sanderſon was (in June 1648[q]) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not impriſoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond[r], and others then were.

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p See a full account of this Viſitation in "Walker's Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Clergy," P. I. p. 122, &c.

q June 14, 1648.

A tranſcript of the following order was kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Sheffield, Provoſt of Worceſter College, and Keeper of the Aſhmolean Muſeum:

"AT THE COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS, FOR REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF OXON.

"WHEREAS the anſweres of Dr. Fell, Deane of Chriſt-Church, and "others, the Prebendaries of Chriſt-church, in Oxford, refuſinge to ſubmitt "to the authoritie of Parliament for viſitinge the ſaid Univerſitie, were re- "ferred to this Committee, by ſpeciall order of both Houſes of Parliament, "to hear, and determine, and to apply effectual remedies as the caſes "ſhould require: Upon full hearinge and debate of the ſaid anſweres, it "was reſolved, that the matter hereof was an high contempt, and denyale "of authoritie of Parliament; and further reſolved, that Dr. Sanderſon "was guilty hereof; and that, for an effectual remedy, the ſaid Dr. Sander- "ſon be removed from his place of Prebendary of Chriſt-Church, and Re- "gius Profeſor of the Univerſitie of Oxford: And whereas upon further "conſideration, this Committee thought fitt, and ordered, that their for- "mer vote ſhould be ſuſpended, in hope of his ſubmiſsion to the authori- "tie, and conformity to the orders and ordinances of Parliament, for the "reformation of the Univerſitie: Now upon hearinge the report of the Vi- "ſitors (which is), That the ſaid Dr. Sanderſon hath not, all this while, "given any ſatisfactorie teſtimony of his ſubmiſsion: it is therefore order- "ed, That the laſt vote of the Committee concerning the ſuſpenſion of the "ſaid Dr. Sanderſon, be taken off, and revoked; and the former vote con- "cerning his removall doe ſtand and be confirmed.

"CAT. MSS. ANGL. N°. 3736. FRANC. ROUS."

r During his confinement at this time, Dr. Hammond began his excellent "Paraphraſe, and Annotations on the New Teſtament."—When Dr. Sanderſon was ejected from the Divinity chair, he was ſucceeded by Dr.

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I muſt now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulſion, when the Univerſity had denied this ſubſcription, and apprehended the danger of that viſitation which followed, they ſent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Chriſt-Church (now Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their reaſons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the Petition was by Parliament referred to a Committee to hear and report the reaſons to the Houſe, and a day ſet for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the reſt went to inform and fee counſel, to plead their cauſe on the day appointed: but there had been ſo many committed for pleading, that none durſt be ſo bold as to undertake it cordially: For at this time the privileges of that part of the Parliament then ſitting were become a *Noli me tangere*, as ſacred and uſeful to them as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number muſt never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reaſon Dr. Morley was forced for want of counſel, to plead the Univerſity's reaſons for not-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reaſon, and a boldneſs equal to the juſtice of his cauſe, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the reſt appearing with him were ſo fortunate as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was ſome few days before the Viſitors and more ſoldiers were ſent down to drive the Diſſenters out of the Univerſity. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that Committee, obſerving Dr. Morley's behaviour and reaſon, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his principles in religion, and of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might expreſs it, ſent for me that relate this ſtory, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "he had "ſuch a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take "the oaths, and muſt therefore be ejected his College, and "leave Oxford; he deſired I would therefore write to him "to ride out of Oxford when the Viſitors came into it, and not "return till they left it, and he ſhould be ſure then to return "in ſafety; and that by ſo doing he ſhould, without taking any "oath, or other moleſtation, enjoy his Canon's place in the "College." I did receive this intended kindneſs with a ſudden gladneſs, becauſe I was ſure the party had a power to do what

Dr. Robert Croſſe, Fellow of Lincoln College, who at the end of three months reſigned it. The Regulators of the Univerſity then appointed Dr. Joſhua Hoyle, on whom they had conferred the Maſterſhip of Univerſity College. How this honourable office was filled, Anthony Wood has informed us: "Profeſsoris regii munus obire cœpit D. Hoyle oratione planè "plumbeâ, et eruditionis omnimodæ prorſus experte."

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he profeſsed, and as ſure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word; to which his anſwer was, "that I muſt not fail to return my friend (who ſtill lives) his "humble and undiſsembled thanks, though he could not accept "of his intended kindneſs; for when Dr. Fell (then the Dean), "Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, and "all the reſt of the College were turned out, except Dr. Wall, "he ſhould take it to be, if not a ſin, yet a ſhame, to be left "behind with him only[s]." Dr. Wall I knew, and will ſpeak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may be eaſily imagined with what a joyful willingneſs theſe ſelf-loving Reformers took poſſeſsion of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved Colleges and ſubſiſtence: but their conſciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the Reformers poſſeſsing them without ſhame or ſcruple, where I will leave theſe ſcruple-mongers, and proceed to make an account of the then preſent affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the Biſhops' houſes were turned to be priſons, and they filled with Divines that would not take the Covenant, or forbear reading Common-prayer, or that were accuſed for ſome faults like theſe[t]. For it may be noted, that

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[s] They were all, except Dr. Wall, ejected in 1647. Dr. Samuel Fell died of grief, the day he was made acquainted with the murder of Charles I. viz. on Feb. 1, 1648-9. Dr. Gardner, Canon of the third ſtall, lived to be reſtored, and died in 1670. Dr. Paine, Canon of the fourth ſtall, died during the rebellion. Dr. Hammond, Sub-dean and Canon of the ſecond ſtall, died in 1660. As for Dr. Wall, Canon of the ſeventh ſtall, he conformed no doubt to the meaſures of the Viſitors. He died poſſeſsed of it in 1666.—Wood, in his "Ath. Oxon." Vol. II. p. 375, ſpeaks of Wall's ingratitude to his College, and of his liberality to the city of Oxford, of which ſee "Gutch's Wood's Hiſtory," &c. p. 512.

It appears from a treatiſe, printed in 1660, entitled, "A Defence of Human Learning in the Miniſtry," that Dr. Wall was once domeſtic Chaplain to Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, whoſe family he honoured with his learning and piety, and who gave this honourable character of him, that he was the beſt read in the Fathers of any he ever knew. He publiſhed a Latin ſermon preached before the Univerſity, on the firſt day of May in that year, under the title of "Solomon in Solio, Chriſtus in Eccleſiâ."

[t] "When all the common jails and compters about town were filled "with the principal Gentry and Clergy of the kingdom, the venerable pa-"laces of the Biſhops were converted into priſons. On January the 3d, "1642-3, Lambeth, Ely, and London houſes were ordered to be made "priſons, and Dr. Alexander Leighton was appointed Keeper to the firſt of "them. The ſame was done, four days after, by the Biſhop of Lincoln's "houſe. And the Biſhop of Winchester's houſe, in Southwark, was applied "to the ſame purpoſe. And when all theſe, capacious as they were, could "not contain the priſoners, the Deanery of St. Paul's was made a priſon." *(Walker's Sufferings, &c.)*——"When the legal or orthodox Clergy "were thus put under confinement, ſome, to the number of twenty, were "impriſoned on board of ſhips in the Thames, and ſhut down under "decks, no friend being ſuffered to come to them." *(Dr. Richard Grey's miserable and distracted State of Religion in England, upon the Downfall of the Church Establishment, p. 17.)*

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about this time the Parliament ſent out a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occaſion to complain of their miniſters, for being troubleſome or ſcandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a ſelect Committee for that purpoſe; and the miniſter, though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give ſatisfaction, or be ſequeſtered; and you may be ſure no pariſh could want a covetous, or malicious, or croſs-grained complainant: by which means all priſons in London, and in many other places, became the ſad habitations of conforming Divines.

And about this time the Biſhop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution ſuſpended for ſome days, many citizens, fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became ſo maliciouſly impudent as to ſhut up their ſhops, profeſsing not to open them till juſtice was executed. This malice and madneſs is ſcarce credible, but I ſaw it.

The Biſhops had been about this time voted out of the Houſe of Parliament, and ſome upon that occaſion ſent to the Tower[u], which made many Covenanters rejoice, and moſt of them to believe Mr. Brightman[v] (who probably was a well-meaning

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u The Biſhops being declared incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers preſented a proteſting petition, maintaining their indubitable right of ſitting and voting in that Houſe, and expreſsing their willingneſs and readineſs to perform their duties there, if they could obtain protection from force and violence. This act was conſtrued into high treaſon, and the twelve Biſhops, who ſubſcribed the petition and proteſtation, were ordered to be committed to the Tower. Theſe were WILLIAMS, Archbiſhop of York; MORTON, Biſhop of Durham; WRIGHT, of Lichfield; HALL, of Norwich; OWEN, of St. Aſaph; PIERS, of Bath and Wells; COOK, of Hereford; SKINNER, of Oxford; WREN, of Ely; GOODMAN, of Glouceſter; TOWERS, of Peterborough; and OWEN, of Landaff. The Biſhops of Durham and Lichfield, in conſideration of their great age and ill health, were conſigned to the care of the Gentleman Uſher.

v Mr. THOMAS BRIGHTMAN, born at Nottingham, and educated at Queen's College in Cambridge, was Rector of Hawnes in Bedfordſhire. He was the author of "The Revelation of St. John illuſtrated, with an Analyſis and Scholions," &c. and of "A moſt comfortable Expoſition of the laſt and moſt difficult Part of the Prophecie of Daniel, from the 26th Verſe of the 11th Chapter, to the end of the 12th Chapter," written originally in Latin. He alſo compoſed a Latin Commentary on the Canticles, or Song of Solomon, which his warm imagination prompted him to conſider as a prophetic deſcription of the ſtate of the Church from King David's time to after the year 1550. He ſhows himſelf upon all occaſions a moſt inveterate enemy of Epiſcopacy. The tranſlator of the two laſt works thus characteriſes him:—"He was indeed one of a thouſand, great "and gracious many ways, both in life and learning, *dum ea docuit quæ "fecit, et ea fecit quæ docuit, et verba vertebat in opera.* He taught in "that he did practiſe, did practiſe that he taught, and ſo turned words "into works. He was a great artiſt, and a great linguiſt. He had good "ſkill in all arts and tongues needful for a complete Divine, even in ſong "alſo, vocal muſic being the beſt, till his more weighty ſtudies called him "from

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man) to be inſpired when he writ his "Comment on the Apocalypſe;" a ſhort abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the ſtreets, and called "Mr. Brightman's Revelation of the Revelation," and both bought up and believed by all the Covenanters: And though he was groſsly miſtaken in other things, yet becauſe he had there made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no Biſhops, to be Philadelphia[x], in the Apocalypſe, "that angel that God loved;" and the power of Prelacy to be Antichriſt, the evil angel, which the Houſe of Commons had now ſo ſpued up, as never to recover their dig-

"from the Maidens to Divinity, their miſtreſs, wherein he excelled and "ſhined above many of his fellows: all that then lived with him in Queen's "College in Cambridge, whereof he was a Fellow, do very well know. "He ſhined every way, and was a BRIGHT-MAN indeed in his life; ſhining "to all that heard his learned catechiſing, and common places, and lec-"tures in the College, or his ſermons in the country, in Bedfordſhire. He "is ſaid to have always prayed for a ſudden death. His prayer was granted. "As he was reading a book, and travelling in a coach with his friend and "patron, Sir John Oſborn, he was ſeized with a fainting fit, and being "taken out of the carriage for the benefit of the air, he inſtantly expired, "Aug. 24, 1607."

Mr. Thomas Cartwright, the noted Puritan, in alluſion to the name of Mr. Brightman, conſiders him as full of illumination as "a bright ſtar in "the church of God." Though no favourable opinion can be entertained of his writings, yet the acknowledged innocence of his life and converſation entitles him to every encomium.

x "The Antitype thereof is the ſecond reformed church, which ſhould "ſpring up after that of Germany. And this is the Church of Helvetia, "Suavia, Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland. I joyn all theſe together "into one Church, becauſe they almoſt live by one and the ſame lawes and "manner of government, as touching any matter of moment. Neither "doth the diſtance of place breake offe that ſociety, which the conjoining "of mindes and good will coupleth together. Yea, this diſperſing doth "chiefly agree to the Philadelphians, whom we ſaid to dwell more thickly "in the fields than in the city. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that this "bareneſs of the citizens taketh up a great deal of place, though the ci-"tizens be not ſo many. We ſhall find, that this Church I ſpeak of aroſe "up after that of Germany, when Ulrick Zuinglius began to teach, at "Zurich, among the Zuizers, anno 1519. And the Reformation was "begun the fourth year after, that is 1523."

(Brightman on the Revelation, p. 109.)

"Laodicea, the ſeventh city, wanteth a parallel to match her, as being "a peerleſs paragon. The counterpain of the third reformed church, "which before that I do by name ſpecifie, I muſt put away from me, by "all earneſt intreaty, the unjuſt ſuſpicion which ſome men may raiſe "againſt me, and the offence which they may take of my words. It was "not truly any diſtempered affection of my heart, that hath ſet me on "work to ſeek out an odious application of this epiſtle. God is my witneſs, "that I am not grieved through envy either at the wealth or yet at the "honour of any man.——Wherefore let no man blame me for ſpeaking "that which not ſo much my own mind, as the duty of a faithful inter-"preter, conſtraineth me to utter. And I hope that thoſe, who love the "truth, will not diſdain and reject ſo equal a petition, on which hope re-"lying, and chiefly on his help, who is the guide of my way and my life,

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nity:—Therefore did those Covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman, for discovering and foretelling the Bishops' downfal; so that they both railed at them, and at the same time rejoiced to buy good pennyworths of all their land, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford both to themselves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them down [y].

And the Bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did and when he did not preach true doctrine; and by this, and the like means, several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in what will follow [z].

I have heard of two men that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, *for he was beholden to him;* and the other that he was not, *for he was not beholden to him.* And something like this was in the designs both of the Covenanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former: for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one

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"I will forthwith address myself to come to the matter. The counter-"pain, I say, of Laodicea is the third reformed Church, OUR CHURCH "OF ENGLAND." (*Ibid. p.* 123, 124.)

"Their great admired opener of the Revelation (Brightman on Apoc. "c. 3.), maketh our Church the linsey-wolsey Laodicean Church, neither "hot nor cold." (*Dr. Sanderson's Sermon on Rom.* xiv. 3.)

[y] The noted Hugh Peters, in an epistle to the reader prefixed to a book entitled "Church Government, and Church Covenant discussed, 1643," was bold to say, Presbytery and Independency are the ways of worship and Church-fellowship now looked at, since we hope *Episcopacy is coffined up, and will be buried without expectation of another resurrection.*

[z] This dreadful state of things seems, in some measure, to have been predicted by Sir Walter Raleigh, who, observing the vast increase of separatists and sectaries, remarks, "That all cost and care bestowed and had "of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, was ac-"counted by those people a kind of Popery, so that time would soon "bring it to pass, if it were not resisted, that God would be turned out of "churches into barns; and from thence again into the fields, and moun-"tains, and under hedges; and the offices of the ministry, robbed of all "dignity and respect, be as contemptible as those places: all order, dis-"cipline, and Church-government left to newness of opinion and men's "fancies: yea, and soon after as many kinds of religion spring up, as "there are parish-churches in England; every contentious and ignorant "person clothing his fancy with the spirit of God, and his imagination "with the gift of revelation: insomuch as when the truth, which is but "one, shall appear to the simple multitude no less variable than contrary "to itself, the faith of men will soon die away by degrees; and all religion "be held in scorn and contempt." (*History of the World, B. II. c.* 5.)

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making it a ſign of being in the ſtate of grace if we were but zealous for the Covenant, and the other not: for we ought to buy and ſell by a meaſure, and to allow the ſame liberty of conſcience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourſelves; and therefore not to force any to ſwear to the Covenant contrary to their conſciences, and probably loſe both their livings and liberties too. But though theſe differed thus in their concluſions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the beſt ſequeſtered Livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the leaſt ſcruple of conſcience.

They alſo made other ſtrange obſervations of election, reprobation, and free-will, and the other points dependent upon theſe; ſuch as the wiſeſt of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am ſure I am not, though I muſt mention ſome of them hiſtorically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderſon at Boothby Pannell.

And in the way thither I muſt tell him, that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good ſequeſtered Living by the help of a Preſbyterian pariſh, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Preſbyterian, being well ſettled in this good Living, began to reform the Church-yard, by cutting down a large yewe tree, and ſome other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a ſhelter to the pariſhioners: and they, excepting againſt him for ſo doing, were by him anſwered, "That the trees were his, and it was lawful for every man to "uſe his own as he, and not as others, thought fit." I have heard (but do not affirm it), that no action lies againſt him that is ſo wicked as to ſteal the winding-ſheet from off a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reaſon to be, becauſe none were ſuppoſed to be ſo void of humanity; and that ſuch a law would vilify that nation that would but ſuppoſe ſo vile a man to be born in it[a]: I ſpeak this becauſe I would not ſuppoſe any man to do what this Covenanter did: And whether there were any law againſt him I know not, but pity the pariſh the leſs for turning out their legal Miniſter.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderſon at Boothby Pannell, where he hoped to have enjoyed himſelf, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and deſired privacy; but it proved otherwiſe: For all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confuſion, committee-men, and ſoldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glaſs windows, and ſerving each other to their ſeveral ends, of revenge, or power, or profit[b]; and theſe

[a] But ſee Burn's Eccleſiaſtical Law," Vol. I. p. 364.

[b] "After the military ſtandard was erected, theſe profane outrages were "greatly increaſed. Some ſtately religious fabrics were totally demoliſhed;

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committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this Covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy (so the historian Thucydides saith) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations; and so though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguiled and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably; nor did he; for the soldiers would appear and visibly oppose and disturb him in the Church when he read prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be served more acceptably, which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the Church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers[c].

" many were converted into stables, or polluted and profaned by other " shocking abominations. Their beautiful sculptures, though only con- " taining Scripture-histories, were absurdly broken down with axes and " hammers; their monuments erected to illustrious and venerable per- " sonages were defaced; the very urns, in which their ashes had been " deposited, were ransacked; and their consecrated utensils were exposed " to rapine and plunder. Crosses, whether graved or delineated, whether " in churches or out of them, were peculiar objects of enthusiastic aver- " sion. Nor less was their rage levelled against painted glass, containing " in it either portraitures of Prelates and Kings, of Fathers and Martyrs, " of our Saviour and his Apostles, or representations of Scripture- " histories. The pious captive Sovereign, amidst all his calamities, could " not forbear taking notice of this breaking of Church-windows, this " pulling down of crosses, this defacing of the monuments and inscrip- " tions of the dead, &c. as the malignant effects of popular, specious, " and deceitful reformations. *Eikon Bas.* c. 20."

(The Ornaments of Churches considered, &c. p. 116.)

[c] Of such insolence of behaviour numberless instances are recorded. " Dr. Layton, one of the fanatical preachers of that time, brought in a " guard of soldiers together with their arms, into Lambeth Church, in the " time of Divine Service, tore the Book of Common Prayer in Pieces, " pulled the surplice from the Minister's back, and scoffing at the good " people, who were at their devotions, said 'Make an end of your " 'pottage;' and the soldiers following him to the Communion-table, " with tobacco-pipes in their mouths, and committing divers outrages to " the great terror of the congregation."

(Dugdale's Short View, &c. p. 566.)

" Sunday 9th of September, 1649, at the Church of St. Peter's-Paul's- " Wharf, Master Williams reading morning service out of the Book of " Common Prayer, and having prayed for the King, as in that Liturgy " established by act of Parliament he is enjoined, six soldiers from St. Paul's " Church, where they quarter, came into the Church, commanding him " to come down out of the pulpit, which he immediately did, and went " quietly with them into the vestry; when presently a party of horse from " St. Paul's

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At this time he was adviſed by a Parliament-man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be ſtrict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make ſome little variations, eſpecially if the ſoldiers came to watch him; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to ſecure him from taking the covenant, or ſequeſtration; for which reaſons he did vary ſomewhat from the ſtrict rules of the Rubric[d]. I will ſet down the very words of confeſsion which he uſed, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and very much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

"O ALMIGHTY GOD and merciful Father, we thy unworthy "ſervants do with ſhame and ſorrow confeſs that we have all "our life gone aſtray out of thy ways like loſt ſheep; and that "by following too much the vain devices and deſires of our own "hearts, we have grievouſly offended againſt thy holy laws, "both in thought, word, and deed; we have many times left "undone thoſe good duties which we might and ought to have "done; and we have many times done thoſe evils, when we

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"St. Paul's rode into the Church, with ſwords drawn and piſtols ſpanned, "crying out, 'Knock the rogues on the head; ſhoot them and kill them;' "and preſently ſhot at random at the crowd of unarmed men, women, "and children, and carried away the Miniſter a priſoner to Whitehall."

(Walker's History of Independency, Part II. p. 254.)

[d] This mode was adopted by many of the Clergy, who were deterred from openly uſing the liturgy of the Church of England. It is related of Dr. Rainbow, afterward Biſhop of Carliſle, that though he could not uſe the Engliſh Liturgy, yet he introduced ſome of thoſe excellent prayers of which it is compoſed, and that not only in his private family; but he alſo compoſed ſuch prayers as he uſed in the Church out of thoſe in the Liturgy; and ſo gradually brought the ignorant people to affect the common prayers a little transformed and altered, who diſliked the common prayer book itſelf, they knew not why.

"The iniquity of the times would not bear the conſtant and regular uſe "of the Liturgy: To ſupply therefore that neceſsity, Mr. Bull formed all "the devotions he offered up in public, out of the Book of Common "Prayer, which did not fail to ſupply him with fit matter and proper "words, upon all thoſe occaſions that required him to apply to the throne "of grace for a ſupply of the wants of his people. He had the example of "one of the brighteſt lights of that age, the judicious Dr. Sanderſon, to "juſtify him in this practice; and his manner of performing the public "ſervice was with ſo much ſerioufneſs and devotion, with ſo much ferven- "cy and ardency of affection, and with ſo powerful an emphaſis in every "part, that they, who were moſt prejudiced againſt the Liturgy, did not "ſcruple to commend Mr. Bull, as a perſon that prayed by the ſpirit; "though at the ſame time, they railed againſt the Common Prayer, as a "beggarly element, and as a carnal performance." *(Mr. Nelson's Life of Dr. George Bull, p. 39.)*——See alſo the method obſerved by Dr. John Hacket, in "Granger's Biogr. Hiſt." Vol. III. p. 211.

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"might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. "We confeſs O Lord that there is no health at all, nor help in "any creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in thy mer- "cy; whoſe juſtice we have by our ſins ſo far provoked: have "mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miſe- "rable offenders: ſpare us, good God, who confeſs our faults, "that we periſh not; but, according to thy gracious promiſes "declared unto mankind in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, reſtore us "upon our true repentance into thy grace and favour. And "grant, O moſt merciful Father, for his ſake, that we hence- "forth ſtudy to ſerve and pleaſe thee by leading a godly, righ- "teous, and a ſober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the "eternal comfort of our own ſouls, through Jeſus Chriſt our "Lord. *Amen.*"

In theſe and other provocations of tearing his ſervice-book; a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening ſervice was ended, to viſit and condole with him for the affront offered by the ſoldiers. To whom he ſpake with a compoſed patience, and ſaid: "God hath reſtored me to my deſired privacy, with my "wife and children, where I hoped to have met with quietneſs, "and it proves not ſo; but I will labour to be pleaſed, becauſe "God on whom I depend, ſees it is not fit for me to be quiet. "I praiſe him that he hath by his grace prevented me from "making ſhipwreck of a good conſcience to maintain me in a "place (Doctor of the Chair) of great reputation and profit: "and though my condition be ſuch, that I need the laſt, yet I "ſubmit; for God did not ſend me into this world to do my "own, but ſuffer his will, and I will obey it."——Thus by a ſub- lime depending on his wiſe and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully ſubmit to what God had appointed; ſtill juſ- tifying the truth of that doctrine and the reaſon of that diſcipline which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of "The King's Medita- tions in his Solitude" was printed and made public[*]: and Dr.

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[*] Dr. GAUDEN's too luxuriant imagination, which betrayed him into a rankneſs of ſtyle in the Aſiatic way, is an argument with Biſhop Burnet, that he was not the author of Εικων Βασιλικη, "in which there is a noble- "neſs and juſtneſs of thought, with a greatneſs of ſtyle, that made it be looked "on as the beſt written book in the Engliſh language." It has gone through forty-ſeven impreſſions, and the number of copies printed is ſaid to have been forty-eight thouſand.——Of this work Biſhop Warburton remarks, "it is ſo far from being certain," as Neale in his hiſtory pretends, "that it "is ſpurious, that it is the moſt uncertain matter I ever took the pains to "examine. There is ſtrong evidence on both ſides; but I think the "ſtrongeſt and moſt unexceptionable is on that which gives it to the King." *(Warburton's Works, Vol. VII. p. 920.)*

The controverſy concerning the real author of this performance is diſ- cuſſed in the "Gene al Dictionary," Vol. III. p. 359, &c. Vol. X. p. 76, and in the "Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 631.

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Sanderſon was ſuch a lover of the author, and ſo deſirous that not this nation only, but the whole world ſhould ſee the character of him in that book, and ſomething of the cauſe for which he and many others then ſuffered, that he deſigned to turn it into Latin; but when he had done half of it moſt excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed the whole very well before him.

And about this time his dear and moſt intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet converſation and reſt with him for ſome days at Boothby Pannell, and did ſo. And having formerly perſuaded him to truſt his excellent memory, and not read, but to try to ſpeak a ſermon as he had wrote it, Dr. Sanderſon became ſo compliant as to promiſe he would. And to that end, they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbouring Miniſter, and requeſted to exchange a ſermon, and they did ſo. And at Dr. Sanderſon's going into the pulpit, he gave his ſermon (which was a very ſhort one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was wrote; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond looking on his ſermon as written, obſerved him to be out, and ſo loſt as to the matter, eſpecially the method, that he alſo became afraid for him; for it was diſcernible to many of that plain auditory: but when he had ended this ſhort ſermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderſon ſaid with much earneſtneſs, "Good Doctor, give me my ſermon; and know, that "neither you nor any man living ſhall ever perſuade me to "preach again without my books." To which the reply was, "Good Doctor, be not angry; for if I ever perſuade you to "preach again without a book, I will give you leave to burn all "the books that I am maſter of[f]."

Part of the occaſion of Dr. Hammond's viſit was at this time to diſcourſe with Dr. Sanderſon about ſome opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtleſs differed formerly: It was about thoſe knotty points which are, by the learned, called the Quinquarticular Controverſy[g]; of which I ſhall proceed, not to give any judgment (I pretend not to that), but ſome ſhort hiſtorical account which ſhall follow.

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[f] "It was remarked of Dr. Hammond himſelf, that his memory was ſerviceable, but not officious: faithful to things and buſineſs; but unwillingly containing the texture, and punctuality of words; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one ſermon by heart, than to pen twenty." See "Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond," p. 96.

[g] It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that the Calviniſts and Arminians differed in opinion on 1. The eternal decrees. 2. Free-will. 3. Grace and converſion. 4. The extent of Chriſt's redemption and univerſal grace. And, 5. The perſeverance of the ſaints.——On theſe ſubjects are ſeveral letters written by Dr. Sanderſon to Dr. Hammond, and printed in the works of the latter.—The angelic Dr. Henry More has, in a letter to a foreigner, expreſſed his wiſh, that the quinquarticular points were all reduced to this one, "That none ſhall be ſaved without ſincere obedience."

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There had been ſince the unhappy covenant was brought and ſo generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (thoſe of London eſpecially) to preach and be too poſitive in the points of univerſal redemption, predeſtination, and theſe other depending upon theſe. Some of which preached, "That all men were, before they came into this world, ſo pre-"deſtinated to ſalvation or damnation, that it was not in their "power to ſin ſo, as to loſe the firſt, nor, by their moſt diligent "endeavour, to avoid the latter. Others that it was not ſo; "becauſe then God could not be ſaid to grieve for the death of "a ſinner, when he himſelf had made him ſo by an inevitable de-"cree, before he had ſo much as a being in this world:" affirming therefore, "that man had ſome power left him to do the will "of God, becauſe he was adviſed to work out his ſalvation with "fear and trembling;" maintaining, "that it is moſt certain "that every man can do what he can to be ſaved; and as cer-"tain, that he that does what he can to be ſaved ſhall never be "damned:" And yet many that affirmed this to be a truth would yet confeſs, "That that grace, which is but a perſuaſive "offer, and left to us to receive or refuſe, is not that grace which "ſhall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon theſe or the like occaſions come to be ſearched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderſon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now reverend Dean of Saliſbury), of which I ſhall proceed to give ſome account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the 52 London Miniſters (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aſperſed Dr. Hammond moſt heinouſly, for that he had in his "Practical Catechiſm" affirmed, that our "Saviour died for the ſins of all "mankind[h]." To juſtify which truth, he preſently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works). After which there were many letters paſt betwixt the ſaid Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and

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[h] Dr. HAMMOND, on the firſt publication of this work, was attacked by Mr. Francis Cheynel, one of the Aſſembly of Divines, the ſame perſon whoſe extraordinary treatment of Mr. Chillingworth is related by himſelf, in a tract entitled "Chillingworthi Noviſsima." See Cheynel's Life, in "Dr. Johnſon's Works," Vol. XII. p. 190.

It was uſual with Dr. Hammond, in the ſummer ſeaſon, to ſpend an hour before evening prayer in catechiſing, according to the form of the Church Catechiſm, which he rendered fully intelligible to the meaneſt capacities by his explanations, which were much the ſame in ſubſtance with the work which he afterward publiſhed, his "Practical Catechiſm." Though it firſt appeared without a name, it preſently met not only with approbation, but with univerſal eſteem and veneration; the cavils of Cheynel being not worth notice, though Dr. Hammond condeſcended to anſwer them. King Charles I. in his laſt inſtructions to his children, recommended this, among other books, as a moſt ſafe and ſound guide to religion.

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decrees. Dr. Sanderſon was with much unwillingneſs drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneaſy to him, who, in his judgment of God's decrees, differed with Dr. Hammond (whom he reverenced and loved dearly), and would not therefore engage himſelf in a controverſy, of which he could never hope to ſee an end: Nevertheleſs they did all enter into a charitable diſquiſition of theſe ſaid points in ſeveral letters, to the full ſatisfaction of the learned; thoſe betwixt Dr. Sanderſon and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his works; and for what paſsed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter ſent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderſon was by theſe debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent ſermons were firſt printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find ſome accuſation of Arminius for falſe doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting thoſe ſermons in folio in the year 1657, that accuſation of Arminius is omitted[1]. And the change of his judgment ſeems more fully to appear in his ſaid letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may ſeem to be perplexed with theſe ſeveral affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond in a poſtſcript to the laſt letter of his to Dr. Sanderſon, ſays "God can reconcile his own contradic-"tions, and therefore adviſes all men, as the Apoſtle does, to "ſtudy mortification, and be wiſe to ſobriety." And let me add further, that if theſe 52 Miniſters of Sion College were the occaſion of the debates in theſe letters; they have, I think, been the occaſion of giving an end to the Quinquarticular Controverſy; for none have ſince undertaken to ſay more; but ſeem to be ſo wiſe, as to be content to be ignorant of the reſt, till they come to that place, where the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader alſo, that if the reſt of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderſon, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confeſs it to the honour of God and themſelves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious diſputes, and fuller of recantations.

I am not willing to lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderſon where we left them together at Boothby Pannell, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Co-

1 In the quarto edition, p. 34, is the following marginal remark: "Of "late our Engliſh Arminians have got the trick to fetch in within the "compaſs of this title of Puritans, all orthodox Divines, that oppoſe againſt "their Semipelagian ſubtleties, of purpoſe to make ſound truth odious, and "their own corrupt novelties more paſsible and plauſible." And again, in page 35: "So Pelagius, from whoſe root Popery (in that branch) and "Arminianiſm ſprouted, was a man as ſtrict for life as moſt Catholics, yet "a moſt dangerous and peſtilent heretic." In the ſubſequent editions in folio, the firſt remark is entirely omitted; and in the ſecond quotation, the words "and Arminianiſm" are wanting.

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venanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, whose life seemed to be sacrificed, to appease the popular fury of that present time. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both at his trial and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us, that is, to note, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advised his disciples) "Pray for those that persecuted and despitefully used "him." And not only pardoned those enemies, but passionately begged of Almighty God that he would also pardon them: and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, "That they "would pardon and pray for him." But though he did all this, yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious zeal had so far transported them, and violated all modesty, that though they could not know whether he were justly or unjustly condemned, were yet suffered to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, "that the Parliament would hasten his execution [k]." And he having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery (for that was one of the accusations for which he died [l]); he declared with sadness, "That the several sects and divisions "then in England (which he had laboured to prevent) were "now like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest than he could "ever have expected without them." And said, "these sects "and divisions introduce prophaneness under the cloak of an "imaginary religion;" and, "that we have lost the substance "of religion by changing it into opinion; and that by these "means, the Church of England, which all the Jesuits' machina-

[k] "The second particular," says Archbishop Laud, in his last speech, "is concerning this great and populous city, which God bless. Here hath "been of a late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then go to the "great court of this kingdom, the Parliament, and clamour for justice; as "if that great and wise court, before whom the causes come which are un-"known to many, could not, or would not, do justice, but at their appoint-"ment. A way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his "blood upon their own heads, and, perhaps, upon the city's also: and this "hath been lately practised against myself, the magistrates standing still, and "suffering them openly to proceed from parish to parish, without any check. "God forgive the setters of this (with all my heart I beg it); but many "well-meaning people are caught by it."

[l] Mr. Evelyn informs us, that he was at Rome in the company of divers of the English fathers, when the news of the Archbishop's sufferings, and a copy of his sermon made upon the scaffold, came thither. They read the sermon, and commented upon it, with no small satisfaction and contempt, and looked on him as one that was a great enemy to them, and stood in their way; while one of the blackest crimes imputed to him by his enemies was his being Popishly affected.

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"tions could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger by thoſe "Covenanters, which were his accuſers." To this purpoſe he ſpake at his death; for which, and more to the ſame purpoſe, the reader may view his laſt ſad ſermon on the ſcaffold. And it is here mentioned, becauſe his dear friend Dr. Sanderſon ſeems to demonſtrate the ſame fear of Popery in his two large and remarkable prefaces before his two volumes of ſermons; and ſeems alſo with much ſorrow to ſay the ſame again in his laſt Will, made when he was, and apprehended himſelf to be, very near his death. And theſe Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war, begun by them, Dr. Sanderſon was ejected out of the Profeſſor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it (for he lived fourteen years after) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable caſes of conſcience, ſo rationally ſtated, and ſo briefly, ſo clearly, and ſo convincingly determined, that poſterity might have joyed and boaſted, "that "Dr. Sanderſon was born in this nation, for the eaſe and benefit "of all the learned that ſhall be born after him:" But this benefit is ſo like time paſt, that they are both irrecoverably loſt.

I ſhould now return to Boothby Pannell where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderſon together, but neither can now be found there: For the firſt was, in his journey to London, and the ſecond ſeized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried priſoner to Lincoln, then a garriſon of the Parliament's. For the pretended reaſon of which commitment, I ſhall give this following account:

There was one Mr. Clarke (the miniſter of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannell), who was an active man for the Parliament and Covenant; and one that, when Belvoire Caſtle (then a garriſon for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King's ſoldiers, was taken in it, and made a priſoner of war in Newark (then a garriſon of the King's); a man ſo active and uſeful for his party, that they became ſo much concerned for his enlargement, that the Committee of Lincoln ſent a troop of horſe to ſeize and bring Dr. Sanderſon a priſoner to that garriſon; and they did ſo. And there he had the happineſs to meet with many that knew him ſo well as to reverence and treat him kindly; but told him, "he muſt continue their priſoner, till he ſhould pur-"chaſe his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. "Clarke, then priſoner in the King's garriſon of Newark. There were many reaſons given by the Doctor of the injuſtice of his impriſonment, and the inequality of the exchange, but all were ineffectual: For done it muſt be, or he continue a priſoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions:

Firſt, that Dr. Sanderſon and Mr. Clarke being exchanged, ſhould live undiſturbed at their own pariſhes; and if either were injured by the ſoldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, ſhould procure him a redreſs, by having ſatisfaction made for his loſs, or for any other injury; or if not, he to

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be uſed in the ſame kind by the other party. Nevertheleſs Dr. Sanderſon could neither live ſafe, nor quietly, being ſeveral times plundered and once wounded in three places; but he apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forebore both: and poſſeſſed his ſoul in a contented quietneſs, without the leaſt repining. But though he could not enjoy the ſafety he expected by this exchange, yet by his Providence that can bring good out of evil it turned ſo much to his advantage, that whereas his Living had been ſequeſtered from the year 1644, and continued to be ſo till this time of his impriſonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his ſequeſtration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but more contented ſubſiſtence for himſelf, his wife, and children, till the happy reſtoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his caſuiſtical learning, peaceful moderation, and ſincerity became ſo remarkable, that there were many that applied themſelves to him for reſolution in perplexed caſes of conſcience; ſome known to him and many not; ſome requiring ſatisfaction by conference, others by letters; ſo many, that his life became almoſt as reſtleſs as their minds; yet, as St. Paul accounted himſelf "a "debtor to all men," ſo he, for he denied none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert ſays, "that all wordly joys ſeem leſs, "when compared with ſhowing mercy, or doing kindneſſes;" then doubtleſs this Barnabas, this ſon of conſolation, Dr. Sanderſon might have boaſted for relieving ſo many reſtleſs and wounded conſciences; which, as Solomon ſays, "are a burden "that none can bear," though their fortitude may ſuſtain their other calamities; and if words cannot expreſs the joy of a conſcience relieved from ſuch reſtleſs agonies; then Dr. Sanderſon might rejoice, that ſo many were by him ſo clearly and conſcientiouſly ſatisfied; and would often praiſe God for that ability, and as often for the occaſion; and that "God had inclined his heart "to do it, to the meaneſt of any of thoſe poor, but precious ſouls, "for which his Saviour vouchſafed to be crucified."

Some of thoſe very many caſes that were reſolved by letters have been preſerved and printed for the benefit of poſterity; as namely:——

1. Of the Sabbath.
2. Marrying with a Recuſant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of Scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the King's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a raſh vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wiſh the world might ſee it, that it might undeceive ſo many miſtaken patrons, who think they have diſcharged that great and dangerous truſt, both to God and man if they take no money for a Living, though it may be parted with for other ends leſs juſtifiable, which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown reſtleſs and giddy by the many falſe-

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hoods, and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons, when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous phrenzies in this time[m], he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened such an undertaking with danger; yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last 20 sermons, (first printed in the dangerous year 1655), in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Non-conformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed of a good sequestered Living, and with it such a spirit of covetousness and contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifested (his conscience having slept long and quietly in that Living) was yet at the reading of it so awakened (for there is a divine power in reason), that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was still to sustain, if he consented to it, and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being overreasoned, he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, "he had sold "a book in which there was false divinity; and that the preface "had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly Ministers of "that party for unjust dealing." To which his reply was "('twas Tim. Garthwaite[n]), that 'twas not his trade to judge "of true or false divinity, but to print and sell books; and yet "if he or any friend of his, would write an answer to it, and "own it by setting his name to it, he would print the answer, "and promote the selling of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in sad-coloured clothes, and God

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[m] Of the impious and insolent familiarity, with which the Preachers of these times addressed the Supreme Being, too many proofs are extant.

One of these Preachers thus boldly expostulates. "O Lord, when wilt "thou take a chair, and sit among the House of Peers? And when, O "God, when I say, wilt thou vote among the honourable House of Com-"mons, who are so zealous of thine honour?" Again, "Lord thou hast "said, that he is worse than an infidel, that provides not for his own fami-"ly.—Give us not reason to say this of thee, Lord; for we are of thine "own family, and yet have been scurvily provided for of a long time." See many other instances in "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence."

[n] Several books which appeared at this time were printed for "Timothy Garthwaite, at the Little North door of St. Pauls." In 1660 "The Gentleman's Calling" was published, with an epistle addressed to Mr. Garthwaite, recommending an impression of it dated, "Sarum, *Oct.* 27, 1659, your assured friend, HUM. H."—that is Humphrey Hinchman, afterward Bishop of Salisbury, and then of London. To this industrious bookseller the literary world is obliged for the preservation of the Letters of Mr. John Hales of Eton, written from the Synod of Dort. See Mr. Farlingdon's Address to Mr. Garthwaite, prefixed to "Golden Remains," 1673.

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knows, far from being coſtly: The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand: We had no inclination to part preſently, and therefore turned to ſtand in a corner under a penthouſe (for it began to rain) and immediately the wind roſe, and the rain increaſed ſo much, that both became ſo inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly houſe, where we had bread, cheeſe, ale, and a fire for our ready money. The rain and wind were ſo obliging to me, as to force our ſtay there for at leaſt an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many uſeful obſervations of the preſent times with much clearneſs and conſcientious freedom. I ſhall relate a part of them, in hope they may alſo turn to the advantage of my reader. He ſeemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to aboliſh our Liturgy, to the grief and ſcandal of ſo many devout and learned men, and the diſgrace of thoſe many martyrs, who had ſealed the truth and neceſſary uſe of it with their blood: And that no Miniſter was now thought godly that did not decry it; and, at leaſt, pretend to make better prayers extempore: And that they, and only they that could do ſo, prayed by the ſpirit, and were godly: though in their ſermons they diſputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did diſlike this, ſo he did moſt highly commend the Common Prayer of the Church, ſaying, "The "Holy Ghoſt ſeemed to aſſiſt the compoſers; and that the ef"fect of a conſtant uſe of it would be, to melt and form the "ſoul into holy thoughts and deſires; and beget habits of de"votion." This he ſaid; and that "the Collects were the "moſt paſſionate, proper, and moſt elegant comprehenſive ex"preſſions that any language ever afforded; and that there was "in them ſuch piety, and that, ſo interwoven with inſtructions, "that they taught us to know the power, the wiſdom, the ma"jeſty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to him "and our neighbour; and that a congregation behaving them"ſelves reverently, and putting up to God, theſe joint and known "deſires for pardon of ſins, and their praiſes for mercies re"ceived, could not but be more pleaſing to God, than thoſe raw "unpremeditated expreſſions which many underſtood not, and "to which many of the hearers could not ſay, *Amen*."

And he then commended to me the frequent uſe of the Pſalter or Pſalms of David, ſpeaking to this purpoſe, "That they "were the treaſury of Chriſtian comfort, fitted for all perſons "and all neceſſities, able to raiſe the ſoul from dejection by the "frequent mention of God's mercies to repentant ſinners; "able to ſtir up holy deſires; to increaſe joy; to moderate ſor"row; to nouriſh hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's "leiſure for what we beg: Able to beget a truſt in the mercy, "power, and providence of our Creator; and to cauſe a reſigna"tion of ourſelves to his will: and then (and not till then) to

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"believe ourſelves happy[o]." This he ſaid the Liturgy and Pſalms taught us; and that by the frequent uſe of the laſt they would not only prove to be our ſoul's comfort, but would become ſo habitual, as to transform them into the image of his ſoul that compoſed them. After this manner he expreſsed himſelf and ſorrow concerning the Liturgy and Pſalms; and ſeemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, ſhould in common pulpits be turned into needleſs debates about free-will, election, and reprobation, of which, and many like queſtions, we may be ſafely ignorant, becauſe Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard queſtions, but by meekneſs and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he ſeemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiſcreet preaching, the generality of the nation were poſſeſsed with ſuch dangerous miſtakes, as to think, "they "might be religious firſt, and then juſt and merciful; that they "might ſell their conſciences, and yet have ſomething left that "was worth keeping; that they might be ſure they were elected, "though their lives were viſibly ſcandalous; that to be cunning "was to be wiſe; that to be rich was to be happy, though it is "evidently falſe; that to ſpeak evil of government, and to be "buſy in things they underſtood not, was no ſin." Theſe, and the like miſtakes, he lamented much, and beſought God to remove them, and reſtore us to that humility, ſincerity, and ſingleheartedneſs, with which this nation was bleſsed, before the unhappy covenant was brought amongſt us, and every man preached and prayed what ſeemed beſt in his own eyes. And he then ſaid to me, "that the way to reſtore this nation to a more meek, "and Chriſtian temper, was to have the body of divinity (or "ſo much of it as was needful to be known by the common "people) to be put into fifty-two homilies, or ſermons of ſuch "a length as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an hour's "reading; and theſe needful points to be made ſo clear and "plain, that thoſe of a mean capacity might know what was ne-"ceſsary to be believed, and what God requires to be done; "and then ſome plain applications of trial and conviction: and "theſe to be read every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the "blood circulates the body at a ſet time; and then as certainly "begun again, and continued the year following[p]."

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[o] "The Pſalms," ſays Dr. Donne (*Donne's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 663.*), "are the Manna of the Church." As Manna taſted to every man like that that he liked beſt, ſo do the Pſalms miniſter inſtruction and ſatisfaction to every man in every emergency or occaſion. How beautiful are the late Biſhop Horne's ſentiments on this ſubject! Happier hours than thoſe which have been ſpent in meditations on the ſongs of Sion he never expects to ſee in this world; and he has juſtly remarked, that the Pſalms are calculated alike to profit and to pleaſe; they inform the underſtanding, elevate the affections, and entertain the imagination.

[p] Of the Homilies appointed to be read in Churches, it muſt be allowed, that they abound with ſtrange phraſes, with obſolete and uncouth expreſ-ſions,

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And he explained the reaſon of this his deſire, by ſaying to me, "All grammar ſcholars that are often ſhifted from one to "another ſchool, learn neither ſo much, nor their little ſo truly, "as thoſe that are conſtant to one good maſter: becauſe by the "ſeveral rules of teaching in thoſe ſeveral ſchools, they learn "leſs, and become more and more confuſed; and, at laſt, ſo "puzzled and perplexed, that their learning proves uſeleſs both "to themſelves and others. And ſo do the immethodical, uſe-"leſs, needleſs, notions that are delivered in many ſermons, "make the hearers; but a clear and conſtant rule of teaching "us what we are to know, and do, and what not, and that "taught us by an approved authority, might probably bring the "nation to a more conſcientious practice of what we know, "and ought to do." Thus did this prudent man explain the reaſon of this his deſire: and oh! that he had undertaken what he adviſed; for then, in all probability, it would have proved ſo uſeful, that the preſent age would have been bleſſed by it; and poſterity would have bleſſed him for it.

And at this happy time of my enjoying his company and this diſcourſe, he expreſſed a ſorrow by ſaying to me, "O that I had "gone Chaplain to that excellently accompliſhed gentleman, "your friend, Sir Henry Wotton! which was once intended when "he firſt went Ambaſſador to the State of Venice: for by that "employment I had been forced into a neceſſity of converſing, "not with him only, but with ſeveral men of ſeveral nations; "and might thereby have kept myſelf from my unmanly baſh-"fulneſs, which has proved very troubleſome, and not leſs incon-"venient to me; and which I now fear is become ſo habitual "as never to leave me[q]: and beſides, by that means, I might "alſo have known, or at leaſt have had the ſatisfaction of ſee-"ing one of the late miracles of mankind, for general learning,

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ſions, with coarſe and inappoſite applications of Scripture; not to enume-rate ſome more eſſential defects. And though an entire aſſent may not be withheld from the declaration of an eminent Prelate, that "the ſecond, "third, fourth, and fifth Homilies exhibit an unexceptionable ſummary of "doctrine upon the important points which they tend to illuſtrate, and an "excellent model of compoſition for popular inſtruction;" yet the proſecu-tion of the plan recommended by Dr. Sanderſon, with the addition of ſome diſcourſes to be uſed on the feſtivals, cannot fail of being attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences. The expediency of ſuch a work will appear to be at this time more immediately neceſſary, when we conſi-der the recent introduction and too extenſive circulation of thoſe miſerable and motley diſcourſes, which, under the direction of venal compilers, are ſold at a low price, to ſupply the lazy and the ignorant.

[q] "Is unus, quem et fateri pudet, pudor pluſquam ſubruſticus, et, quam "facilè patior amicos, amoris quodam errore, modeſtiam interpretari, in-"virilis quædum verecundia.—Inſuperabilis illa quidem, ut quam natura "inſevit, fortunavit educatio, fovit hactenus atque etiamnum fovet tenuitatis "propriæ conſcientia: Sed quâ tamen vix aliud comperi quidquam à pri-"mâ pueritiâ ad hunc usque diem aut rationibus meis, aut exiſtimationi "magis adverſarium." *(Oratio habita in Schola Theologica Oxon. à R. S. ſacræ Theologiæ, &c. 12. Oct. 1646.)*

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"prudence, and modeſty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Pa-
"dre Paulo, who, the author of his life ſays, was born with a
"baſhfulneſs as invincible as I have found my own to be: A
"man whoſe fame muſt never die, till virtue and learning ſhall
"become ſo uſeleſs as not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's converſation; and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happineſs, and his great humility and condeſcenſion. I had alſo a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am deſirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in thoſe times of confuſion in many pariſhes where the maintenance was not great, there was no Miniſter to officiate; and that many of the beſt ſequeſtered Livings were poſſeſſed with ſuch rigid Covenanters as denied the ſacrament to their pariſhioners, unleſs upon ſuch conditions, and in ſuch a manner as they could not with a good conſcience take it: This he mentioned with much ſorrow, ſaying, "The bleſ-
"ſed ſacrament did, even by way of preparation for it, give oc-
"caſion to all conſcientious receivers to examine the perform-
"ance of their vows, ſince they received that laſt ſeal for the
"pardon of their ſins paſt; and alſo to examine and reſearch
"their hearts, and make penitent reflections on their failings;
"and, that done to bewail them ſeriouſly, and then make
"new vows or reſolutions to obey all God's commands better,
"and beg his grace to perform them. And that this being
"faithfully done, then the ſacrament repairs the decays of grace,
"helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's
"grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us ſtill hunger
"and thirſt after his righteouſneſs, which we then receive, and
"being aſſiſted with our own endeavours, will ſtill ſo dwell in us,
"as to become our ſanctification in this life, and our comfort
"on our laſt ſick-beds." The want of this bleſſed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that deſired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I ſhall not diſoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his perſon and temper. As firſt, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comelineſs, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtſhip; his looks and motion manifeſted an endearing affability and mildneſs, and yet he had with theſe a calm and ſo matchleſs a fortitude, as ſecured him from complying with any of thoſe many Parliamentary injunctions that interfered with a doubtful conſcience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wiſdom uſeful, his integrity viſible, and his whole life ſo unſpotted, ſo like the primitive Chriſtians, that all ought to be preſerved as copies for poſterity to write after, the Clergy eſpecially, who with impure hands ought not to offer ſacrifice to that God whoſe pure eyes abhor iniquity, and eſpecially in them.

There was in his ſermons no improper rhetoric, nor ſuch perplexed diviſions, as may be ſaid to be like too much light,

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that ſo dazzles the eyes that the ſight becomes leſs perfect: But in them there was no want of uſeful matter, nor waſte of words; and yet ſuch clear diſtinctions as diſpelled all confuſed notions, and made his hearers depart both wiſer, and more confirmed in virtuous reſolutions[r].

His memory was ſo matchleſs and firm, as it was only overcome by his baſhfulneſs: for he alone or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Perſius without book; and would ſay, "the repe-"tition of one of the Odes of Horace to himſelf (which he did "often) was to him ſuch muſic, as a leſſon on the viol was to "others, when they played it voluntarily to themſelves or friends."

And though he was bleſſed with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was ſo diſtruſtful of it, that he did uſually over-conſider of conſequences, and would ſo delay and reconſider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his Divinity Lectures in Oxford, and all the ſcholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, reſolved and writ what he meant to determine; ſo that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend, Dr. Sheldon would often ſay of him, namely, "That his judgment was ſo much ſuperior to his "fancy, that whatſoever this ſuggeſted, that diſliked and con-"trolled; ſtill conſidering and reconſidering, till his time was "ſo waſted, that he was forced to write, not, probably, what "was beſt, but what he thought laſt." And yet what he did then read appeared to all hearers to be ſo uſeful, clear, and ſatisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applauſe.

Theſe tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him ſome averſeneſs to enter into the toil of conſidering and determining all caſuiſtical points; becauſe during that time they neither gave reſt to his body or mind. But though he would not ſuffer his mind to be always loaden with theſe knotty points and diſtinctions;

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[r] If we had not the moſt convincing proofs of the indefatigable diligence with which the Divines of the two laſt centuries applied themſelves to ſtudy, it would be difficult to ſuppoſe that they could find time to collect the vaſt maſs of matter, that forms the ſubſtance of their works. And to digeſt that matter ſeems to require a man's whole life.——In extent of erudition, Dr. Sanderſon was ſurpaſſed by none of his contemporaries. He is clear and perſpicuous in his argumentation, eaſy and natural in his language. But his far-fetched introductions, his tedious repetitions of diviſion and ſubdiviſion, are diſguſting. In compliance with the prevailing mode of the times, he introduces Latin quotations, even when he preaches to the common people; herein unlike to Dr. Edward Pocock, who was deſcribed by one of his country pariſhioners, as "a plain honeſt man, but "no Latiner." In his diſcourſes, we meet with the moſt comprehenſive and the moſt accurate knowledge of claſſic antiquity. Thoroughly converſant in the beſt writings of Greece and Rome, he illuſtrates his own ſentiments by the moſt appoſite applications from thoſe treaſures of learning.

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yet the ſtudy of old records, genealogies [s], and heraldry [t], were a recreation, and ſo pleaſing, that he would ſay they gave a pleaſant reſt to his mind [u]. Of the laſt of which I have ſeen two remarkable volumes, and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactneſs.

And this holy humble man had ſo conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly paſſions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet, he both began and ended it with an even and undiſturbed quietneſs; alwas praiſing God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor ſuffered him in the times of trial to violate his conſcience for his ſafety, or to ſupport himſelf or them in a more ſplendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore reſolved with David, "That his "praiſe ſhould be always in his mouth."

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his perſon, his temper, and ſome of the accidents of his life paſt; and much more might be added of all: But I will with ſorrow look forward to the ſad days, in which ſo many good men (Clergymen eſpecially) were ſufferers; namely, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderſon was in a pitiful condition as to his eſtate [x]: And in that time Mr. Robert Boyle, a gentleman of a

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[s] "He was the moſt diligent collector of genealogies I ever knew in "theſe parts, eſpecially of Lincolnſhire." *(Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, p. 475.)*

[t] In his Articles of Viſitation, in 1662, the Clergy within the county of Lincoln are deſired to bring with them, in writing, a note of all ſuch coats of arms as are in the Church windows, and of all ſuch monuments, graveſtones, and inſcriptions whether of ancient or later times, as are yet remaining, in their ſeveral reſpective Churches or Chapels, or the Chancels thereof.

In one of his ſermons he has a continued alluſion to this favourite ſcience: "Conſider this, you that are of *noble* or *generous* birth. Search your *pedi-* "*grees*, collect the ſcattered *monuments* and *hiſtories* of your *anceſtors*, and "obſerve by what ſteps your worthy *progenitors* raiſed their houſes to the "height of *gentry* or *nobility*. You uſurp their *arms*, if you inherit not "their *virtues*: and thoſe enſigns of *honour* and *gentry*, which they by "induſtry achieved, ſit no otherwiſe upon your ſhoulders, than as rich "*trappings* upon aſſes' backs. If you, by brutiſh ſenſuality, and ſpending "your time in ſwiniſh luxury, *ſtain the colours* and *embaſe the metals* "of thoſe badges of your *gentry* and *nobility*, which you claim by de-"ſcent." *(Sanderson's Sermons, p. 212.)*

[u] Thus did this good man innocently employ the hours of his relaxation from ſeverer ſtudies. Animated by this bright example, let the Clergy be induced occaſionally to extend their inquiries to other matters beſides divinity. Dr. Sanderſon obſerved it "very requiſite that Miniſters ſhould "have a competent ſkill in hiſtory, mathematics, law, and phyſic, to entertain the ingenious and to adviſe the ignorant, who expect the Prieſt's lips "ſhould preſerve all knowledge, and that the people ſhould receive it from "their mouths." *(Reason and Judgment, &c. p. 27.)*

[x] "Dr. Sanderſon had at that time a wife and children, *was reduced to* "*great poverty, and, in the year* 1658, *was in a very pitiful condition.* But,

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very noble birth[y], and more eminent for his liberality, learning and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he

"living to the restoration, he was reinstated in his Professorship and Canonry "in August, 1660, and in October the same year consecrated to the Bishopric "of Lincoln, the palace of which, at Buckden he repaired; and, as fines "came in, augmented several poor Vicarages, notwithstanding he was old "and had a family; which when his friends suggested to him, he made them "this return, 'that he left them to God, and hoped he should be able to "'give them a competency;' though whether he did or not I am not inform-"ed, only the contrary seems probable, because he enjoyed the Bishopric "but a very little time." *(Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 105.)*—Of his state of poverty, see "Tracts by Morley, Bishop of Winchester," published in 1683, and "Kennet's Register," p. 209.

The following incident, which is said to be well authenticated, proves the indigence to which Dr. Sanderson was reduced at one time, as well as the esteem in which he was held by those who knew him. Having been pillaged by soldiers, and left destitute, he sent his old servant, as he was wont in better times, to Grantham, to purchase provisions, telling him, that though he could not supply him with money, he doubted not that God would provide for his family. A company of gentlemen, seeing the servant loitering in the market, reproved his idleness. The servant related his master's great distress, and the errand upon which he was sent. The good Doctor's wants were cheerfully and liberally supplied by the company, and the servant was dismissed and loaded with provisions.

Yet the author of "The Confessional" hath observed, that Dr. Calamy exhibits a different representation, informing us, that "a certain worthy "Clergyman of the Church of England, Mr. Stephens, of Sutton, in Bed-"fordshire, gave him an account, that to his knowledge, the Doctor was far "from being reduced to any poverty, in those times; nor was he in a pitiful "condition in 1658. He lived in as much plenty as the better sort of Clergy "did, upon his Rectory, and maintained his children fashionably. His "living was valued at 130 or 140 pounds per annum, and he had money be-"sides which did not lie dead. For though he did not put it out to interest "in the ordinary way, which he had written against; yet did he dispose of it "in a way really more advantageous to the lender, and sometime to the bor-"rower. For he would give a hundred pounds for twenty pounds for se-"ven years. This he thought lawful, but not the common way, which oc-"casioned reflections from several on his casuistical skill. This, he (Mr. "Stephens) said, was the common report; and one that was his agent in "disposing of the money, assured him of the truth of it." *(The Church and Dissenters compared as to Persecution, p. 78.)*———From the general character of Dr. Sanderson, thus cruelly aspersed, the candid reader will determine what degree of credit is due to the above evidence. The farcasms on the casuistry of this eminent Divine, if they deserve notice, are best answered by the words of Archbishop Usher: "I proposed," says he, "the case to judicious Dr. Sanderson, who grasped all the circum-"stances of it, and returned that happy answer, that met all my thoughts, "satisfied all my scruples, and cleared all my doubts."

[y] Mr. BOYLE, the glory of his age and nation, died December 30, 1691, having survived his beloved sister, Lady Ranelagh, only one week. To the accomplishments of a scholar and a gentleman, he added the most exalted piety, the purest sanctity of manners. His unbounded munificence was extended to the noblest and most honourable purposes—the advancement of true religion in almost all parts of the world. A firm friend to the Church of England, he was one of her brightest ornaments. So long as goodness, learning, and charity, are held in estimation, the name of Boyle will be revered.

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ſtill lives, having caſually met with and read his Lectures *de Juramento*, to his great ſatisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderſon's great innocence and ſincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition, by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, ſent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow[z] (the now learned Biſhop of Lincoln) 50 l. and with it a requeſt and promiſe: The requeſt was, "that he "would review the Lectures *de Conſcientia*, which he had read "when he was Doctor of the Chair in Oxford, and print them "for the good of poſterity;" and this Dr. Sanderſon did in the year 1659. And the promiſe was, "that he would pay him "that, or, if he deſired it, a greater ſum yearly, during his life, "to enable him to pay amanuenſis, to eaſe him from the trouble "of writing what he ſhould conceive or dictate." For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the ſaid Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

At Oxford, which was then the aſylum of learned men, Mr. Boyle fixed his reſidence in 1654, that he might purſue his philoſophical, critical, and theological ſtudies. Here he formed a ſtrict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time principal Librarian of the Bodleian Library.——Lord Orrery, in his notes on "Pliny's Epiſtles," B. VI. Ep. 16. has compared Mr. Boyle, in his philoſophical character, to Pliny the Elder, as reſembling him in "his conſtitution of body, and his ſpeculative turn of mind, and his "too great credulity in believing all men as ſincere and ingenuous as himſelf."

[z] Dr. Thomas Barlow, Provoſt of Queen's College, Oxford, was appointed Biſhop of Lincoln in 1675, and dying, in 1691, was buried on the north-ſide of the chancel of the Church of Bugden, near to the body of Dr. Sanderſon, and, at his own requeſt, in the grave of Dr. William Barlow, one of his predeceſſors, whoſe monument being deſtroyed in the late civil war, he cauſed another to be erected, and alſo one for himſelf, with an inſcription written by him a few days before his death. From his incomparable knowledge both in theology and Church-hiſtory, and the eccleſiaſtical law, the character which Cicero gave of Craſſus has been applied to him: "Non unus è multis, ſed unus inter omnes ſingularis." His great zeal againſt Popery was conſiderably abated after the acceſſion of James II.; and it is much to be regretted, that we do not find his name among thoſe ever venerable Prelates, who, in the hour of danger, ſtood forth the champions of the Proteſtant religion, by their ſteady oppoſition to the mandates of arbitrary power.

Dr. Sanderſon, in conſequence of this application, communicated by Dr. Barlow from Mr. Boyle, publiſhed his treatiſe entitled "De Obligatione Conſcientiæ Prælectiones Decem Oxonii in Schola Theologicâ habitæ, Anno Domini 1647," and addreſſed it to Mr. Boyle in an elegant dedication, dated at Boothby Pannell, Nov. 22, 1659, wherein he commends his patron, "cùm natalium ſplendore illuſtrem, tum generoſæ mentis indole, amore literarum, humanitate, pietate, et omni virtutum genere "multò etiam illuſtriorem, mihi tamen, *delitescenti nimirum in parvâ "Casulâ ſuaviter, nec quid rerum foris geratur, præsertim ut nunc sunt "tempora, multum solicito*, de facie nunquam ante paucos menſes, nec de "nomine quidem, adeoque ne nunc tandem niſi ſolâ munificentiâ notum."

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Towards the beginning of the year 1660, when the many mixed ſects, and their creators, and mercileſs protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confuſion both in Church and State; when amazement and fear had ſeized moſt of them by foreſeeing they muſt now not only vomit up the Church's and the King's land, but their accuſing conſciences did alſo give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god of oppoſition, diſobedience and confuſion, which they had ſo long and ſo diligently feared, was now ready to reward them with ſuch wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him[a]; when theſe wretches (that had ſaid to themſelves, "we "ſhall ſee no ſorrow") were come to foreſee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and ſuch ſufferers as Dr. Sanderſon (and with him many of the oppreſsed Clergy and others) could foreſee the cloud of their afflictions would be diſperſed by it; then the 29th of May following, the King, by our good God reſtored us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a general joy and peace ſeemed to breathe through the three nations; the ſuffering and ſequeſtered Clergy (who had, like the children of Iſrael, ſat long lamenting their ſad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were, after many thoughtful days and reſtleſs nights, now freed from their ſequeſtration, reſtored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praiſe, and pray to Almighty God publicly, in ſuch order as their conſciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will eaſily believe that Dr. Sanderſon and his dejected family rejoiced to ſee this happy day, and be of this number[b].

At this time of the conformable Clergy's deliverance from the Preſbyterian ſeverities, the Doctor ſaid to a friend, "I look back "on this ſtrange and happy turn of the late times, with amaze- "ment and thankfulneſs; and cannot but think the Preſbyte-

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[a] This alluſion may admit ſome apology, when it is conſidered that the opinion concerning the reality of witchcraft was not exploded even at the end of the ſeventeenth century. The prejudices of popular credulity are not eaſily effaced. Men of learning, either from conviction, or from ſome other equally powerful motive, adopted the ſyſtem of demonology advanced by James I.; and it was only at a recent period that the Legiſlature repealed the act made in the firſt year of the reign of that monarch entitled "An Act againſt Conjuration, Witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits."

A preacher from Queen's College, Cambridge, is required to deliver a diſcourſe againſt witchcraft, diabolical contracts, &c. at Huntingdon, every year, on the 25th day of March. See "Smith's Select Diſcourſes," p. 442.

[b] On July 20, 1660, ſome of the Clergy of the county of Lincoln, in the name of the reſt, being brought into the royal preſence, the Earl of Mancheſter preſented an addreſs to the King, by the hands of the reverend and moſt learned Dr. Sanderſon, accompanied by that worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Meers. This addreſs, of which there is a copy in "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 209, was probably penned by Dr. Sanderſon.

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" rians ought to read their own errors, by conſidering that by " their own rules the Independents have puniſhed and ſupplant- " ed them, as they did the conformable Clergy, who are now " (ſo many as ſtill live) reſtored to their lawful right; and, as the " prophet David hath taught me, ſo I ſay, with a thankful heart, " 'Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth: and a reward " 'for the righteous.'"

It ought to be conſidered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times, men of learning, prudence, and virtue, were uſually ſought for, and ſolicited to accept of Epiſcopal government, and often refuſed it. For they conſcientiouſly conſidered, that the office of a Biſhop was not made up of eaſe and ſtate, but of labour and care: that they were truſted to be God's almoners of the Church's revenue, and double their care for the Church's good and the poor; to live ſtrictly themſelves, and uſe all diligence to ſee that their family, officers, and clergy, became examples of innocence and piety to others; and that the account of that ſtewardſhip muſt, at the laſt dreadful day, be made to the Searcher of all hearts: and, for theſe reaſons, they were in the primitive times timorous to undertake it. It may not be ſaid, that Dr. Sanderſon was accompliſhed with theſe, and all the other requiſites required in a Biſhop, ſo as to be able to anſwer them exactly; but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of ſeventy-three years (for he was ſo old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man than are apparent in others in theſe days, in which, God knows, we fall ſo ſhort of that viſible ſanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Chriſtianity.—This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I ſhall ſay more of Dr. Sanderſon; as namely, that at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Archbiſhop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderſon more or better), was by his Majeſty made a chief truſtee to commend to him fit men to ſupply the then vacant Biſhoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderſon, and therefore humbly deſired the King that he would nominate him: and, that done, he did as humbly deſire Dr. Sanderſon, that he would, for God's and the Church's ſake, take that care and charge upon him. Dr. Sanderſon had, if not an unwillingneſs, certainly no forwardneſs to undertake it, and would often ſay, "he had not led himſelf, but his friend " would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily " prayed againſt; and beſought God, if he did undertake it, ſo " to aſſiſt him with his grace, that the example of his life, his " cares, and endeavours might promote his glory, and help for- " ward the ſalvation of others [c]."

[c] "He was made Biſhop, with the univerſal vote of all good men in " 1660, as who expected his prudence, counſel, equanimity, and moderation, " equal with his other abilities, might allay animoſities, cloſe differences, " heal men's diſtempers, and work a right underſtanding; all men imagining

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This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his Bishopric; and am next to tell that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, at Westminster, the 28th of October, 1660[d].

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have a satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the Church-service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last, some were then preferred to power and dignity in the Church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate, and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual: For there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy, in the Strand[e]; and the points debated were, I think, many

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"his gravity might awe, his goodness oblige, his moderation temper, his "reason persuade, and his approved sincerity prevail upon all men other-"wise minded; for he was not only a man of much learning and reading, "but of a mature understanding, and a mellow judgment, in all matters "politic and prudential, both ecclesiastical and civil." (*Reason and Judgement*, p. 39.)——"He had this advantage of other men, that, when he en-"tered upon that employment which lay open to the malice and envy of so "many, his life was so spotless, his integrity so eminent, that partiality itself "could not accuse him: he being a man of solid worth, in whom was no-"thing dubious or dark, nothing various or inconstant, nothing formal or "affected, nothing as to his public carriage that was suspected, nothing that "needed palliation or apology. I never heard of any thing said or done by "him, which a wise and good man would have wished not said or undone." (*Ib.* p. 40.)

[d] A sermon was preached at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Fathers in God Gilbert (Sheldon) Lord Bishop of London, Humphrey (Henchman) Lord Bishop of Sarum, George (Morley) Lord Bishop of Worcester, Robert (Sanderson) Lord Bishop of Lincoln, George (Griffith) Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, on Sunday October 28, 1660, at St. Peter's, Westminster, by John Sudbury, D. D. and one of the Prebendaries of that Church, on 1 *Tim.* iii. 1.—It was dedicated to Lord Hyde the Chancellor, who was present, and at whose desire it was printed.

[e] At the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy. A person in the least degree conversant in the transactions of this memorable period will determine whether this Conference deserves to be called "a complication of sophis-"try, hypocrisy, and virulence, on the part of the orthodox, hardly to be "paralleled in a Popish history." See the Preface to the first edition of "The Confessional," p. xxix.

"The Bishops being provoked by their long sufferings, and not brooking "to have laws prescribed to them by those who had been the occasion there-"of, were not very forward to make any alterations which were proposed by "the Presbyterians, even in some things as might have deserved considera-"tion; refusing them so much as the change of *deadly sin*, in the Liturgy "into *heinous sin*."

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(and I think many of them needleſs); ſome affirmed to be truth and reaſon, ſome denied to be either; and theſe debates, being at firſt in words, proved to be ſo looſe and perplexed, as ſatisfied neither party. For ſome time that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or miſtaken, or denied, and ſo no ſatisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more ſatisfactory and uſeful, it was therefore reſolved, that the day following the deſires and reaſons of the Nonconformiſts ſhould be given in writing, and they in writing receive anſwers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the diſſenting brethren; yet I am ſure Mr. Richard Baxter [f] was one, and I am ſure alſo one of the points

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"The Preſbyterians, on the other hand, heaped together all the old exceptions, which the Puritans, for two years, had raiſed againſt the Liturgy, with the addition of ſome new ones. But Mr. Baxter's new-fangled Liturgy, drawn up in a method which was warranted by no ancient forms, either Greek or Latin, was looked on by all, on the Church ſide, with the greateſt diſdain. And, indeed, it is an occaſion of no little wonder to think, that ſo many learned men of the Preſbyterian ſide could ever be perſuaded to give their conſent to let ſuch an odd performance of that kind be laid before Biſhops Coſin, Morley, Nicholſon, Pearſon, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Heylin, Mr. Thorndike, &c. men ſo admirably verſed in antiquity and Liturgical learning; and this eſpecially, when they were directed by the commiſſion to compare the Common Prayer Book with the moſt ancient Liturgies, which have been uſed in the Church, in the moſt primitive and pureſt times; and to avoid, as much as may be, all unneceſſary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have ſo long received in the Church of England." *(Dr. Nicholl's Preface to his Comment on the Common Prayer, p. ix. x.)*——Charles II. in his declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, propoſed to the diſſatisfied part of the Clergy, that they would read ſo much of the Liturgy, as they themſelves had no exception againſt. But, in many of them, he could not prevail for ſo much as one ſyllable, not one Collect, no nor ſo much as one chapter, according to the Rubric; ſo much doth yielding work upon that good generation. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 432.

[f] Mr. BAXTER's genius, like that of many other reformers, was "ten times apter for pulling down than for building up." "Baxter," ſays Biſhop Burnet, "was a man of great piety, and if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been eſteemed one of the learned men of the age. He writ near two hundred books. Of theſe three are large folios. He had a moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and ſimplicity, but was moſt unhappily ſubtile and metaphyſical in every thing. Great ſubmiſſion was paid to him by the whole party. So he perſuaded them, that, from the words of the commiſſion, they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the good or peace of the Church, without conſidering what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding ſo much might have in irritating the minds of thoſe who were then the ſuperior body in ſtrength and number.

"The good Sir Matthew Hale lived in habits of intimacy with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour, and whom he conſidered as a perſon of great devotion and piety, and of a very ſubtile and quick apprehenſion; their converſation lay moſt in metaphyſical and abſtracted ideas and ſchemes." *(Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 35.)*

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debated was "Concerning a command of lawful Superiors, "what was ſufficient towards its being a lawful command?"— This following propoſition was brought by the conforming party:

"That command which commands an act in itſelf lawful, "and no other act or circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reaſons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: One was, "Becauſe that may "be a ſin *per accidens*, which is not ſo in itſelf; and may be un-"lawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the com-"mand." Another was, "That it may be commanded under "an unjuſt penalty."

Again, this propoſition being brought by the Conformiſts, "That command which commandeth an act in itſelf lawful, "and no other act whereby any unjuſt penalty is enjoined, nor "any circumſtance whence *per accidens* any ſin is conſequent "which the commander ought to provide againſt, is not ſinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reaſon, then given in with his own hand in writing, thus: "Becauſe the firſt act commanded "may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an un-"juſt penalty, though no other act or circumſtance command-"ed be ſuch."

Again, this propoſition being brought by the Conformiſts, "That command which commandeth an act in itſelf lawful, "and no other act whereby any unjuſt penalty is enjoined, nor "any circumſtance whence directly, or *per accidens*, any ſin is con-"ſequent, which the commander ought to provide againſt, hath "in it all things requiſite to the lawfulneſs of a command, and "particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per acci-"dens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjuſt "penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the ſame reaſons.

PETER GUNNING[g].
JOHN PEARSON[h].

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[g] Dr. PETER GUNNING was a reſolute defender of his Majeſty King Charles the Firſt's cauſe and right, and the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, againſt all ſorts of ſectaries, with whom he had almoſt daily public diſputes in their congregations, for which he underwent all ſorts of obloquy, hardſhips, and impriſonments. At the reſtoration, he was made, firſt Prebendary of Canterbury, Maſter of Bennet, and ſoon after of St. John's College in Cambridge; then Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and, laſtly, of Ely, in poſſeſſion of which ſee he died, in 1684. (*Magna Britannia*, p. 575, 576.)

Biſhop Burnet has obſerved, that Gunning was a man of great reading, and noted for a ſpecial ſubtilty of writing; that in this conference all the arts of ſophiſtry were made uſe of by him in as confident a manner as if they had been ſound reaſoning. He was a man of an innocent life, unwearied active to very little purpoſe. He was much ſet on reconciling us with Popery, and ſet himſelf with great zeal to clear the Church of Rome from idolatry. This made many ſuſpect him as inclining to go over. But he was far from it, and was a very honeſt, ſincere man, but of no ſound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs. He was for conform-

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Theſe were then two of the diſputants, ſtill alive, and will atteſt this; one being now Lord Biſhop of Ely, and the other of Cheſter. And the laſt of them told me very lately, that one of the Diſſenters (which I could, but forbear to name), appeared to Dr. Sanderſon to be ſo bold, ſo troubleſome, and ſo illogical in the diſpute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderſon (who

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ing in all things to the rules of the primitive Church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the uſe of oil, and many other things. He formed many in Cambridge upon his own notions, who have perhaps carried them farther than he intended. Baxter and he ſpent ſome days, in much logical arguing, to the diverſion of the town, who ſaid, "here were a couple of "fencers engaged in diſputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor "have any good effect." See "Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times."

[h] Dr. JOHN PEARSON, the ſon of a private Clergyman in Norfolk, and grandſon to Vaughan Biſhop of London, was elected from Eton ſchool into King's College in Cambridge, in 1632. He was Fellow of that College for ſome time, and in 1639 was collated by Biſhop Davenant to the Prebend of Netherhaven in the Church of Sarum, the ſame which Mr. Hooker formerly enjoyed. In 1642, he was Miniſter of St. Clement's Eaſt Cheap, London, where he preached thoſe excellent ſermons, which he afterwards digeſted into his juſtly celebrated "Expoſition of the Creed." In 1657, he and Mr. Gunning diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a conference with two diſputants of the Church of Rome. At the reſtoration he was rewarded with preferment, being appointed Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, and ſucceſſively Maſter of Jeſus College, and of Trinity College: and at length was promoted to the See of Cheſter, on the death of Dr. Wilkins.

Of the manner in which Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearſon conducted themſelves at the Savoy Conference, Mr. Baxter has given the following account:—"Dr. Pearſon and Dr. Gunning did all their work (beſide Biſhop "Morley's diſcourſes), but with great difference in the manner. Dr. Pear- "ſon was their true logician and diſputant, without whom, as far as I could "diſcern, we ſhould have had nothing from them, but Dr. Gunning's paſ- "ſionate invectives, mixed with ſome argumentations. He diſputed accu- "rately, ſoberly, and calmly, being but once in any paſſion, breeding in us "a great reſpect for him, and a perſuaſion, that, if he had been independent, "he would have been for peace; and that, if all were in his power, it would "have gone well:——He was the ſtrength and honour of that cauſe, which "we doubted whether he heartily maintained. Dr. Gunning was their for- "wardeſt and greateſt ſpeaker, underſtanding well what belonged to a diſ- "putant, a man of greater ſtudy and induſtry than any of them, well read in "fathers and councils, and of a ready tongue (and I hear and believe of a "very temperate life as to all carnal exceſſes whatſoever), but ſo vehemene "for his high impoſing principles, and ſo over zealous for Arminianiſm, and "formality, and Church-pomp, and ſo very eager and fervent in his diſ- "courſe that, I conceive, his prejudice and paſſion much perverted his "judgment; and, I am ſure, they made him lamentably over-run himſelf "in his diſcourſes." (*Reliq. Bart. p.* 364.)

We muſt here regret a ſad and melancholy inſtance of human imbecility. This acute reaſoner, this profound Divine, the author of "The Expoſition of the Creed," and of many other moſt learned works, was, for ſome years before his death, reduced to a ſtate of childhood, and became totally deprived of his memory, and of the uſe of his mental faculties.

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was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a Moderator with other Bishops) to say, with an unusual earnestness, "that he had never "met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less "abilities, in all his conversation [i]."

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late distressed Clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, were so charitable, as at their next meeting in Convocation to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction, by alteration, explanation, and addition, to some part both of the Rubric and Common Prayer; as also by adding some new necessary Collects, with a particular Collect of thanksgiving. How many of these new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this Convocation the Common-Prayer was made more complete by adding three new necessary offices; which were, "A Form of Humiliation for the Murder of King Charles the Martyr;" "A Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King;" and "For the Baptizing of Persons of riper Age [j]." I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the Convocation; and he did also, by desire of the Convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the Service-Book). And it may be noted, that William [k], the now most

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i "At this Conference in the Savoy," Bishop Morley tells us, "the "generality of the non-conforming Divines showed themselves unwilling "to enter upon dispute; and seemed to like much better another way "tending to an amicable and fair compliance, which was frustrated by a "certain person's furious eagerness to engage in a disputation." (*The Protestant Peace-maker, by Bishop Rust*, 1682.)——There is little doubt, but that Mr. Baxter is here meant.

j "It was thought convenient, that some prayers and thanksgivings, "fitted to special occasions, should be added in their due places, particularly for those at sea, together with an office for the baptism of such as "are of riper years; which, although not so necessary, when the former "book was compiled, yet, by the growth of Anabaptism, through the "licentiousness of the late times, crept in amongst us, is now become ne-"cessary, and may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our "plantations, and others converted to the faith."

(*Preface to the Common Prayer.*)

k Dr. WILLIAM SANCROFT was, as his name imports, a man of incorrupt sincerity. If innocence of life, and rectitude of heart, ever demanded our

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Reverend Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was in theſe employments diligently uſeful, and eſpecially in helping to rectify the Kalendar and Rubric. And laſtly, it may be noted, that for the ſatisfying all the diſſenting brethren and others, the Convocation's reaſons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them deſired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderſon; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be now known by this title, "The Preface[1]:" and begins thus, "It [illegible] been the wiſdom of the Church."

[illegible]hall now follow Dr. Sanderſon to his Biſhopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that buſy and weighty employment. And firſt, that it was with ſuch condeſcenſion and obligingneſs to the meaneſt of his Clergy, as to know and be known to moſt of them. And indeed he practiſed the like to all men of what degree ſoever, eſpecially to his old neighbours or pariſhioners of Boothby Pannell, for there was all joy at his table when they came to viſit him: Then they prayed for him, and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that the care and toil required of a Biſhop may juſtly challenge the riches and revenue

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our eſteem and veneration, this Prelate is juſtly entitled to them. To a good conſcience he ſacrificed every worldly conſideration.—When he lay upon his death-bed, he was viſited by Mr. Needham, formerly one of his Chaplains, who had differed from him in his political conduct. Having given him his benediction moſt affectionately, he ſaid, "You and I have "gone different ways in theſe late affairs; but I truſt that Heaven's gates "are wide enough to receive us both." Upon Mr. Needham's modeſt attempt to give an account of his own conduct, his Grace was pleaſed to reply; "I always took you for an honeſt man: What I ſaid concerning "myſelf was only to let you know, that what I have done I have done in "the integrity of my heart, indeed in the great integrity of my heart." See his character finely drawn by Mr. Nelſon, in "The Life of Dr. George Bull," p. 354.

Dr. John Pell, the firſt mathematician of the age in which he lived, and celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern languages, was the perſon who, on Dec. 5, 1661, brought into the Upper Houſe of Convocation, the Kalendar reformed by him, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Sancroft.

[1] "The Preface is ſaid to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderſon, and it ſhould "ſeem by the ſtyle thereof to be his. However no mention of his being "the author of it is made in the Acts of the Upper Houſe of Convoca"tion. It is there only ſaid, 'Die Lun. 2. Decemb. Præfatium ſive Ex"ordium Libri Precum fuit Introduct. et Public. Perlect.' On Monday "the 2d of December, the Preface or Introduction to the Common "Prayer-Book was brought in and read: But it is not ſaid by whom. "It was referred to a Committee of the Upper Houſe, to conſider of it, "who were Dr. Matthew Wren, Biſhop of Ely; Dr. Robert Skinner, "Biſhop of Oxon; Dr. Humphrey Henchman, Biſhop of Sarum; and "Dr. George Griffith, Biſhop of St. Aſaph. On the 13th of that month, "the Acts ſay, ſome amendments were made to the Preface." (*Dr. Nicholl's Comment on the Common Prayer.*)——It may be further remarked, that the Prayers "for Ember Weeks," "for the Parliament," "for all Conditions of Men," were added at the review of the Liturgy in 1661.

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with which their predeceſſors had lawfully endowed them; and yet he ſought not that ſo much, as doing good with it both to the preſent age and poſterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The Biſhop's chief houſe at Bugden, in the county of Huntington, the uſual reſidence of his predeceſſors (for it ſtands about the midſt of his Dioceſe), having been at his conſecration a great part of it demoliſhed, and what was left ſtanding under a viſible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great ſpeed, care, and charge[m]. And to this may be added, that the King having by an injunction commended to the care of the Biſhops, Deans, and Prebends of all Cathedral Churches, the repair of them, their houſes, and an augmentation of the revenue of ſmall Vicarages; he, when he was repairing Bugden, did alſo augment the laſt, as faſt as fines were paid for renewing leaſes: So faſt, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was ſo bold as to adviſe him to remember, "he was under his firſt fruits, "and that he was old, and had a wife and children that

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[m] Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, Biſhop of Lincoln, did wonders at his ſeat of Bugden, with the will of a liberal man, and the wit of a good ſurveyor: For, in the ſpace of one year, with many hands and good pay, he turned a ruinous thing into a ſtately manſion. The out-houſes were re-edified with convenient beauty, as well for uſe as uniformity: And the outward courts, which were next them, he caſt into fair alleys, and graſs-plats. Within doors, the cloiſters were the trimmeſt part of his reparations: The windows of the ſquare beautified with ſtories of coloured glaſs; the pavement laid ſmooth and new; and the walls, on every ſide, hung with pieces of exquiſite workmen in limning, collected and provided long before. The like and better was done for the Chapel in all theſe circumſtances, and with as much coſt as it was capable of. He loved ſtirring and walking, which he uſed two hours or more every day in the open air, if the weather ſerved; eſpecially if he might go to and fro, where good ſcents and works of well-formed ſhape were about him. But that this was his innocent recreation, it would amount to an error, that he ſhould bury ſo much money in gardens, arbours, orchards, pools for water-fowls, and for fiſh of all variety, with a walk raiſed three foot from the ground, of about a mile in compaſs, ſhaded and covered on each ſide with trees and pales. He that reports this knows beſt that all the nurſeries about London for fair flowers and choice fruits were ranſacked to furniſh him. Alcinous, if he had lived at Bugden, could not have lived better. And all this, take it together, might have ſtood to become five ages after his reparation. *But what is there that appears now? or what remains of all this coſt and beauty? all is diſſipated, defaced, pluckt to pieces to pay the army;* following the rule, which Severus the Emperor gave to his ſons Antoninus and Geta, "*locupletate Milites, cæteros contemnite!*" Here's nothing ſtanding of all the Biſhop's delights and expenſe. "Nebuzar-adan, the ſervant of the King of Babylon, hath been there," *2 Kings*, xxv. 8. and made profit of the havoc of the palace, though the building would have yielded more gain to have let it ſtood, than to be demoliſhed. See "Biſhop Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams," P. II. p. 29.

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"were yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity "were considered[n]." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not become a Christian Bishop to "suffer those houses built by his predecessors to be ruined for "want of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of those poor "Vicars that were called to so high a calling as to sacrifice at "God's altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he "had a power by a small augmentation to turn it unto the "bread of cheerfulness; and wished, that as this was, so it "were also in his power to make all mankind happy, for he "desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he "hoped to leave them a competence, and in the hands of a "God that would provide for all that kept innocence, and "trusted in his providence and protection, which he had al-"ways found enough to make and keep him happy[o]."

There was in his Diocese a Minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness: This Minister asked the Bishop what Books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning? To which his answer was, "That "he declined reading many books; but what he did read were "well chosen[p], and read so often, that he became very fami-

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[n] Dr. Sanderson had issue three sons, and two daughters. 1. Catharine, baptized May 27, 1621. Thomas, baptized Feb. 2, 1621, which Thomas was married at Lenton, otherwise Lavington, to Elizabeth Winlup, one of the daughters of Samuel Winlup, S. T. P. June 19, 1655. Being deprived of his Fellowship of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, he applied himself to physic, and became eminent in the practice of it at Grantham, where he died. 3. Mary, baptized May 30, 1625, who was married to William Geery of Braunston, Clerk, Oct. 16, 1649. 4. Robert, baptized Nov. 18, 1630, and married to Anne Foxley, grand-daughter of Edward Foxley, senior, parish-clerk, May 17, 1658. 5. Henry, baptized Dec. 3, 1633. *(From the Parish Register of Boothby Pannell.)*—— Henry married Frances, the eldest daughter of Edward second Earl of Manchester, by his second wife, the daughter of Robert Rich Earl of Warwick. *(Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p.* 113.)

[o] Among the subscribers towards the repair of the dilapidated buildings of Christ Church in Oxford, we find the name of Dr. Sanderson contributing eighty pounds. (*Kennet's Register, p.* 345.)

[p] Luther advised all that intended to study in what art soever, that they should betake themselves to the reading of some sure and certain sorts of books oftentimes over and again; for to read many sorts of books produceth more and rather confusion, than to learn thereout any thing certainly or perfectly, like as those that dwell every where and remain certainly in no place, such do dwell no where, nor are any where at home. And like as in company we use not daily the community of all good friends, but of some few selected, even so likewise ought we to accustom ourselves to the best books, and to make the same familiar unto us, that is, to have them, as we use to say, at our finger's ends. *(Luther's Table Talk, p.* 507.)

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"liar with them;" and told him, "they were chiefly three, "Ariſtotle's Rhetoric," "Aquinas's Secunda Secundæ[q]," "and "Tully," but chiefly his "Offices[r]," which he had not "read over leſs than twenty times, and could at this age repeat "without book" And told him alſo, "The learned Civilian "Doctor Zouch (who died lately) had writ "Elementa Juriſ- "prudentiæ;" which was a book that he thought he could alſo "ſay without book; and that no wiſe man could read it too "often, or love, or commend it too much:" And he told him "the ſtudy of theſe had been his toil; but for himſelf, he al- "ways had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and "that when his thoughts were haraſsed with any perplexed "ſtudies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and "that his very recreation had made him ſo perfect in them, "that he could in a very ſhort time give an account of the de- "ſcent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or "gentry of this nation."

Before I give an account of his laſt ſickneſs, I deſire to tell

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q THOMAS AQUINAS, uſually ſtyled "The Angelic Doctor," and "The Eagle of Divines," was the great luminary of the ſcholaſtic world, in the fourteenth century. He firſt introduced the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, in direct oppoſition to ſeveral Divines, and particularly to the Roman Pontiffs. It was uſual, at that time, to compoſe and publiſh ſums, or ſyſtematical collections of virtues and vices. "The Second Part of the Sum of "Thomas Aquinas was wholly employed in laying down the principles of "morality, and in deducing and illuſtrating the various duties that reſult "from them." (*Moſheim's Eccles. Hiſt. Vol. III. p.* 102.) "Not- "withſtanding the ridicule, which, in theſe days, attends the mere men- "tion of the Angelic Doctor, I will venture to affirm," ſays an eminent writer of the preſent age, "That in that work 'The Summa Theologica "of Thomas Aquinas,' there are, mixed indeed with many difficult "ſubtleties and perverſe interpretations of Scripture, not a few theolo- "gical queſtions of great moment, ſtated with clearneſs and judgment."

r "'Tully's Offices,' a book which boys read and men underſtand, was "ſo eſteemed of my Lord Burleigh, that, to his dying day, he always car- "ried it about him, either in his boſom or his pocket, as a complete "piece, that, like 'Ariſtotle's Rhetoric,' would make both a ſcholar and "an honeſt man." (*Lloyd's State Worthies.*)——"En itaque quem in "hoc ſcriptionis genere ducem ſequaris illum olim in Academiâ Oxonienſi "Theologiæ Profeſſorem regium, SANDERSONUM: Hominem in primis "dialecticum, neque verò minùs oratorem: Qui horridiorem illam ſcho- "laſticorum ἀκριβειαν, elegantiæ cujuſdam novæ et ſingularis condimento "temperatam exhibuit; ita ut de qualibet re ſubjectâ aptè, diſtinctè, gra- "viter, nec inornatè verba faceret. Unde illi hæc eximia dicendi facultas "acceſſerit rogas? Inde nimirum unde eandem et ipſe facilè poſſis de- "promere. Verſabatur ille in M. T. Ciceronis Operibus non quidem "oratoriis, quæ plus admirationis, quàm imitationis habere videbantur, "ſed in philoſophicis; quippe ad uſus morales communesque magis ac- "temperatis: Hæc ille continuò legere, relegere, eorum ſuccum atque "ſanguinem haurire, in ſcripta ſua tranſfundere. Itaque illi verborum "neque delectus neque copia deerat." (*Dr. John Burton's Address to the Reader, prefixed to his Latin Tract, entitled* "Samuel.")

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the reader, that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet [8], and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: And this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying (indeed too much). In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding), he made his last Will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what has been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did, in his last Will, give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion and Church-government, in these very words:——

I Robert Sanderson, Doctor of Divinity, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, and by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintnes of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my Will and Testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin), but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education (to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and unpartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities

[8] "In his apparel none more plain; in his diet none more temperate, "'eating,' as he would say, 'rationally, only for health and life:' One "meal a day sufficed him, with some fruit at night: in his sleep none more "sparing; eleven or twelve at night being his usual time of going to rest, "five, or very rarely six, the hour of his rising."

(*Reason and Judgment*, p. 16.)

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which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the Puritans on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God the Father of Mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also further humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious Sovereign, the reverend Bishops, and the Parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this Church in point of religion by the late great increase of Popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late.

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his Will which follows:

As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish-church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or, at the farthest, the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person, how near soever related to me, other than the inhabitants of Bugden; without the unnecessary expense of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning-gown for the Preacher; whereof the former, after my body shall be interred, to be given to the Preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the Curate of the parish, for the time being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my own household Chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains five pounds, upon condition that he speak nothing at all concerning my person either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone be laid over me, with this inscription, in legible Roman characters:—DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO SEXTO. HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS[t].——*This manner of burial, although*

[t] Prefixed to the inscription on his monument are his arms: and there is also an addition denoting the day on which he died, viz. January 29, 1662. Mr. James Heath (of whom see "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 337.) wrote an elegy with an epitaph on the much lamented death of Dr. Sanderson.

"It was the request of Rainbow Bishop of Carlisle, that no pomp or state should

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I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my Will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever testifying at my death, what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time, my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expenses otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons.——This is a part of his Will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his body was buried in Bugden, the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from oſtentation, as he deſired it; and all the reſt of his Will was as punctually performed. And when I have, to his juſt praiſe, told this truth, that he died far from being rich, I ſhall return back to viſit, and give a further account of him on his laſt ſick-bed.

His laſt Will, of which I have mentioned a part, was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his ſtrength to decay, by reaſon of his conſtant infirmity, and a conſumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expreſsing a deſire to enjoy his laſt thoughts to himſelf in private, without diſturbance or care, eſpecially of what might concern this world. Thus, as his natural life decayed, his ſpiritual life ſeemed to be more ſtrong, and his faith more confirmed: ſtill labouring to attain that holineſs and purity, without which none ſhall ſee God. And that not any of his Clergy (which are more numerous than any other Biſhop's of this nation) might ſuffer by his retirement, he did, by commiſsion, empower his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin[u], with epiſcopal power, to give inſtitutions to all Livings or Church-preferments, during this

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" ſhould be uſed at his funeral, no more than any eulogium ſhould be made " of him (ſuch was his rare modeſty and humility); ſo did he deſire to be " buried in Dalſton Churchyard, and to have a plain ſtone laid over his " grave, with no other inſcription but that ſuch a day and year died Ed- " ward, Biſhop of Carliſle." *(Life of Bishop Rainbow, p. 81.)*

[u] Mr. JOHN PULLIN, B. D. and formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. We find his name ſubſcribed to a copy of commendatory Latin verſes prefixed to "Duport's Greek Verſion of Job." He was a Prebendary of Lincoln, and alſo Chancellor of Lincoln.

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his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement, which was wholly spent in devotion, he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their prayers backward "for him; and that it was not his desire to live an useless life, "and, by filling up a place, keep another out of it that might "do God and his Church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "that during his "being a housekeeper, which was more than forty years, there "had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was "now like to be the first." He would also mention with thankfulness, "that, till he was threescore years of age, he "had never spent five shillings in law, nor, upon himself, so "much in wine: and rejoiced much that he had so lived, as "never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good father; and that "he hoped that he should die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the Church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family, out of "The Whole Duty of Man." As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals: and his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he, expecting and calling for it, was answered, "It would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, with some earnestness, "A quarter of an "hour!—Is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably "has not many hours to live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary either of motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed. In which I desire he may rest, till I have given some short account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his Chaplain Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express[x]. After the praise and thanks-

[x] This narrative entirely confutes the rumour that was industriously propagated concerning this good man, "that, before his death, he re-"pented of what he had written against the Presbyterians, and that on his "death-bed, he would suffer no hierarchical Minister to come to pray with "him, but desired, and had only Presbyterians about him:" And further to contradict this report, Mr. Pullin, his household Chaplain, published a sermon,

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giving for this bleſsing was ended, he ſpake to this purpoſe: "I have now to the great joy of my ſoul taſted of the all-"ſaving ſacrifice of my Saviour's death and paſsion; and with "it received a ſpiritual aſsurance that my ſins paſt are par-"doned, and my God at peace with me: and that I ſhall never "have a will or power to do any thing that may ſeparate my "ſoul from the love of my dear Saviour. Lord confirm this "belief in me; and make me ſtill to remember that it was "thou, O God, that tookeſt me out of my mother's womb, "and haſt been the powerful Protector of me to this preſent "moment of my life: thou haſt neither forſaken me now I am "become grey-headed, nor ſuffered me to forſake thee in the "late days of temptation, and ſacrifice my conſcience for the "preſervation of my liberty or eſtate. It was not of myſelf but "by grace that I have ſtood, when others have fallen under "my trials; and theſe mercies I now remember with joy and "thankfulneſs; and my hope and deſire is, that I may die re-"membering this, and praiſing thee, my merciful God."—— *The frequent repetition of the Pſalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Chriſtians: The Pſalms having in them, not only prayers and holy inſtructions, but ſuch commemorations of God's mercies, as may preſerve, comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator.* And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Pſalmiſt ſaid, that "his eyes ſhould prevent both the dawning "of the day and the night-watches, by meditating on God's "word;"—ſo it was Dr. Sanderſon's conſtant practice every morning to entertain his firſt waking thoughts with a repetition of thoſe very pſalms that the Church had appointed to be conſtantly read in the daily morning-ſervice; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as conſtantly cloſed his eyes with a repetition of thoſe appointed for the ſervice of the evening; remembering and repeating the very pſalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, ſo did this exerciſe of his devotion. And if the firſt-fruits of his waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it; he would arraign and condemn himſelf for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now the employment of Dr. Hammond and him in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he deſired his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him abſolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this deſire of his was ſatisfied, his body ſeemed to be at more eaſe,

a ſermon, preached at a Viſitation holden at Grantham, Oct. 8, 1641, the laſt ſermon that Dr. Sanderſon wrote with his own hand. This ſermon was printed in 1681, with all his other ſermons, in one volume folio.

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and his mind more cheerful; and he ſaid often, "Lord, forſake "me not now my ſtrength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, "and let my mouth be ever filled with thy praiſe." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his eaſe and refreſhment[y]: and, during that time, did often ſay to himſelf the 103d Pſalm; a Pſalm that is compoſed of praiſe and conſolations, fitted for a dying ſoul, and ſay alſo to himſelf very often theſe words, "My heart is fixed O God! my heart is "fixed where true joy is to be found." And now his thoughts ſeemed to be wholly of death, for which he was ſo prepared that the king of terrors could not ſurpriſe him "as a thief in "the night;" for he had often ſaid, "he was prepared, and "longed for it." And as this deſire ſeemed to come from heaven, ſo it left him not, till his ſoul aſcended to that region of bleſſed ſpirits, whoſe employments are to join in concert with his, and ſing praiſe and glory to that God, who hath brought him and them into that place, "into which ſin and ſorrow "cannot enter[z]."

Thus this pattern of meekneſs and primitive innocence changed this for a better life:—It is now too late to wiſh that mine may be like his: for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age; and God knows it hath not; but I moſt humbly beſeech Almighty God that my death may: and I do as earneſtly beg,

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y Thus Dr. Hammond, in his laſt ſickneſs, did not by peeviſhneſs diſquiet his attendants; but was pleaſed with every thing that was done, and liked every thing that was brought.—(*Life of Dr. Hammond, p.* 227.) There are three of Archbiſhop Secker's ſermons which I read repeatedly with ſerious attention—becauſe they apply to a condition in which the lot of humanity will one day aſſuredly place me; unleſs it ſhould pleaſe Almighty God to take me out of this world by a ſudden death. They are "on the Duties of the Sick," from *Iſa.* xxxviii. 1, 2 The following paſſage relates to our behaviour towards all who are about us in our ſickneſs:—"We are ſtrictly bound to ſhow them, peculiarly at that time, "great humanity and goodneſs; not requiring from them more fatiguing "and conſtant attendance than is fit; nor more care, ſkill, and dexterity "than is to be expected: recollecting that our illneſs inclines us to imagine things amiſs in a degree beyond reality, and that others ought not "to ſuffer merely becauſe we do: thinking often how diſagreeable an "office they go through, and what benefit and comfort we receive from "it: begging them to forgive us thoſe haſty ſallies of fretfulneſs and impatience, that ſometimes will eſcape us; and making them good amends, "in every way that we can, for all the trouble which they take about us." (*Secker's Sermons, Vol. III. p.* 281.)

z "Thus was he taken away with a happy euthanaſia, compoſedly, "peaceably, and comfortably departing, giving himſelf to prayer, meditations, and diſcourſes, which his own ſtrength could bear, full of the "grace and peace of God, and confirmed by the abſolution of the Church." (*Reaſon and Judgment, &c. p.* 43.)

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that if any reader ſhall receive any ſatisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be ſo charitable as to ſay *Amen*[a].

I. W.

Blessed is that man in whose spirit there is no guile. Psal. xxxii. 2.

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[a] However diverſified the conditions of men are, there is one common event to all. When the hour of death approaches, the diſtinctions of worldly pomp are of no avail. At that awful period every conſolation will vaniſh, except that which flows from the conſciouſneſs of doing well, and the expectance of another life.——The examples recorded in the preceding pages preſent to our view the nobleſt of all ſpectacles—the calm compoſure, the pious reſignation of good men, who, having finiſhed their earthly courſe of virtuous conduct, anticipate the bleſsedneſs of the heavenly ſtate, and, full of joyful hope and humble confidence in the merits of a Redeemer, cloſe the laſt ſcene with dignity and honour.

"Sic mihi contingat vivere, ſicque mori!"

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[The Letter of Dr. Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, mentioned in Page 419, is inſerted in the Life of Mr. Iſaac Walton, prefixed to this Work.]

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APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

I. "LOGICÆ ARTIS COMPENDIUM. *Oxon.* 1615."—8vo.

II. "PHYSICÆ SCIENTIÆ COMPENDIUM, à ROBERTO SANDERSON, Coll. Lincoln. in almâ Oxonienſi olim ſocio, &c. ante multos annos Lucis uſuræ deſtinàtum, nunc verò ex authentico Manuſcripto primò Impreſsum. *Oxoniæ*, 1671."

III. SERMONS. "Dr. Sanderſon's XII. Sermons, 1632." 4to.—"Dr. Sanderſon's Sermons, (including the twelve before printed) 1664." Folio.—"Ditto, with his Life by Iſaac Walton, 1689." Folio.

IV. "NINE CASES of CONSCIENCE DETERMINED, 1678, 1685." 8vo.—Several of theſe were printed ſeparately. Two in 1658 (not in 1628, as Wood aſserts). Three more in 1667. Another in 1674, and one in 1678.

The laſt of theſe Nine Caſes is "Of the Uſe of the Liturgy;" the very ſame tract which was publiſhed by Iſaac Walton in his "Life of Dr. Sanderſon, 1678," under the title of "Biſhop Sanderſon's Judgment concerning ſubmiſsion to Uſurpers." In this tract is given a full account of the manner in which Dr. Sanderſon conducted himſelf, in performing the ſervice of the Church, in the times of the Uſurpation.

V. "DE JURAMENTI PROMISSORII OBLIGATIONE PRÆLECTIONES SEPTEM; HABITÆ in SCHOLA THEOLOGICA OXONII, Termino Michaëlis, anno Dom. MDCXLVI. à ROBERTO SANDERSON. Præmiſsâ Oratione ab eodem habitâ cùm Publicam Profeſsionem auſpicaretur, 26 Octobris, 1646. *Lond.* 1647."

Theſe Lectures were tranſlated into the Engliſh language by Charles I. during his confinement in the Iſle of Wight, and printed at London, in 1655.—8vo.

VI. DE OBLIGATIONE CONSCIENTIÆ PRÆLECTIONES DECEM OXONII in SCHOLA THEOLOGICA HABITÆ, anno Dom. MDCXLVII. An Engliſh tranſlation of the "Prelections on the Nature and Obligation of Promiſsory Oaths and of Conſcience" was publiſhed in 3 vol. 8vo. *London*, 1722.

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VII. "CENSURE of Mr. ANTON. ASCHAM his BOOK of the CONFUSIONS and REVOLUTIONS of GOVERNMENT. *London*, 1649."—8vo. Of Anthony Aſcham, who was appointed by the Rump Parliament their agent, or reſident in the Court of Spain, in 1649, and who was killed in his apartments, at Madrid, by ſome Engliſh Royaliſts, ſee "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 385.

VIII. "EPISCOPACY (as eſtabliſhed by Law in England) NOT PREJUDICIAL to REGAL POWER. Written in the Time of the Long Parliament, by the ſpecial Command of the late King. *London*, 1673."

IX. "DISCOURSE CONCERNING the CHURCH, in THESE PARTICULARS: Firſt, concerning the Viſibility of the true Church: Secondly, concerning the Church of Rome. *London*, 1688." Publiſhed by Dr. W. Aſheton, of Brazen-noſe College, Oxford, from a MS. communicated to him by Mr. John Pullen, the Biſhop's domeſtic Chaplain.

X. 1. "BISHOP SANDERSON's JUDGMENT concerning SUBMISSION to USURPERS." 2. "PAX ECCLESIÆ." 3. "BISHOP SANDERSON's JUDGMENT in ONE VIEW for the SETTLEMENT of the CHURCH." This tract is written by way of queſtion and anſwer. Anthony Wood tells us, that the queſtions were formed by the publiſher, and that the anſwers were made up of ſcraps, without any alteration, taken out of the prefaces and ſermons of the Biſhop. 4. "REASONS of the preſent JUDGMENT of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD, concerning the SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT, the NEGATIVE OATH, the ORDINANCES concerning DISCIPLINE and WORSHIP. *London*, 1678." Theſe tracts are annexed to "Iſaac Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderſon." 1678.

XI. A large "PREFACE" to a book written at the command of Charles I, by Archbiſhop Uſher, and publiſhed by Dr. Sanderſon, entitled "The POWER communicated by GOD to the PRINCE, and the OBEDIENCE required of the SUBJECT. *London*, 1661."—4to. A ſecond corrected edition of this work was publiſhed in 8vo, 1683. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 347.

XII. "A PREFATORY DISCOURSE" prefixed to a collection of Treatiſes, entitled 'CLAVI TRABALES, or NAILES faſtened by ſome great MASTERS of ASSEMBLYES, concerning the KING's SUPREMACY and CHURCH GOVERNMENT under BISHOPS; the particulars of which are as followeth:

'1. Two Speeches of the late Lord Primate Uſher's. The one of the King's Supremacy; the other of the Duty of Subjects to ſupply the King's Neceſsities.

'2. His Judgment and Practice in point of Loyalty, Epiſcopacy, Liturgy, and Conſtitutions of the Church of England.

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'3. Mr. Hooker's Judgment of the King's Power in matters of Religion, Advancement of Biſhops, &c.

'4. Biſhop Andrews of Church Government, &c.; both confirmed and enlarged by the ſaid Primate.

'5. A letter of Dr. Hadrianus Saravia, of the like ſubjects. Unto which is added a Sermon of Regal Power, and the Novelty of the Doctrine of Reſiſtance. Publiſhed by Nicholas Bernard, Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Whitchurch in Shropſhire.

'Si totus orbis adverſus me conjuraret, ut quidquam moliretur adverſus regiam Majeſtatem, ego tamen Deum timerem, et ordinatum ob eo Regem offendere temerè non auderem. *Bern. Ep. I.* 70. *ad Ludovicum Regem, an.* 1130. *London*, 1661.'

The Preface, written by Dr. Sanderſon, is dated "London, Aug. 10, 1661," and ſubſcribed "The unworthy ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, Ro. LINCOLN."

XIII. "PROPHECIES concerning the RETURN of POPERY," inſerted in a book entitled 'Fair Warning: The ſecond Part. *London*, 1663.' This volume containing alſo ſeveral extracts from the Writings of Archbiſhop Whitgift, and Mr. Richard Hooker, was publiſhed with a view to oppoſe the Sectaries, who were ſaid to be opening a door at which Popery would certainly enter.

XIV. "The PREFACE to the BOOK of COMMON PRAYER," beginning with theſe words; "It hath been the wiſdom of the Church"——

XV. "ΕΠΙΝΟΜΙΣ, ſeu EXPLANATIO JURAMENTI," &c. inſerted in the 'Excerpta è Corpore Statutorum Univ. Oxonienſis,' p. 194. It was written to explain the oath of Obligation to obſerve the penal Statutes.

XVI. "ARTICLES of VISITATION and ENQUIRY concerning MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL, exhibited to the Miniſters, Churchwardens, and Sidemen of every Pariſh within the Dioceſe of Lincoln, in the firſt epiſcopal Viſitation of the Right Rev. Father in God, ROBERT, by Divine Providence, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln; with the oath to be adminiſtered to the Churchwardens, and the Biſhop's Admonition to them. *London*, 1662."—4to. See an account of this excellent tract in "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 727.

XVII. Mr. Peck, in the 'Deſiderata Curioſa,' Vol. II. has inſerted "The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES of the CATHEDRAL CHURCH of the bleſsed Virgin St. MARY, at LINCOLN; containing an exact Copy of all the monumental Inſcriptions there, in Number 163, as they ſtood in 1641; moſt of which was ſoon after torn up, or otherwiſe defaced. Collected by ROBERT SANDERSON, S. T. P. afterwards Lord Biſhop of that Church, and compared with and corrected by Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE's MS. Survey."

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Dr. White Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough, had in his poſſeſſion the copies of two letters tranſcribed from the originals that were in the hands of Biſhop Barlow. 1. Superſcribed "For Mr. Thomas Barlow, at the Library in Oxon," and ſubſcribed "Your very loving friend and ſervant, ROBERT SANDERSON," dated "Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 28, 1656," importuning Dr. Barlow, "to undertake the managing that diſpute in the queſtion of great importance upon the ancient landmarks, by Dr. Jeremy Taylor; ſo unhappily (and ſo unſeaſonably too) endeavoured to be removed in the doctrine of original ſin." 2. Another letter of Dr. Sanderſon to Dr. Barlow, at Queen's College, dated "Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 17, 1657," expreſsing himſelf, "That Dr. Taylor is ſo peremptory and pertinacious of his errors, as not to hearken to the ſober advices of his grave, reverend, and learned friends, amidſt the diſtractions of theſe times," &c. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 633.

The treatiſe here alluded to is entitled "Unum Neceſsarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance, deſcribing the Neceſsity and Meaſures of a ſtrict, holy, and a Chriſtian Life, and reſcued from popular errors. By JER. TAYLOR, D. D." In the ſixth chapter of this treatiſe the author diſcuſses the ſubject of original ſin otherwiſe than it is commonly explained in the Church of England; whoſe ninth article affirms, that "the natural propenſity to evil, and the perpetual luſting of the fleſh againſt the ſpirit, deſerves the anger of God and damnation." See alſo another tract inſerted in Taylor's Polemical and Moral Diſcourſes, under the title of "Deus Juſtificatus; or a Vindication of the Glory of the Divine Attributes in the Queſtion of original Sin, in a Letter to a Perſon of Quality."

It is foreign to my purpoſe to examine this ſubject of controverſy. What Dr. Jeremy Taylor has advanced upon the queſtion proceeded from the beſt motives, according to his own motto,—"Nihil opinionis gratiâ, omnia conſcientiæ faciam."

Dr. Sanderſon and Dr. Hammond were jointly concerned in a work entitled "A PACIFIC DISCOURSE of GOD's GRACE and DECREES," and publiſhed by the latter in 1660.

It would be improper not to obſerve, that in the Preface to the Polyglott Bible, printed at London in 1657, Dr. Bryan Walton has claſsed Dr. Sanderſon among thoſe of his much honoured friends who aſsiſted him in that noble work.

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Printers, High-Ouſegate,
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